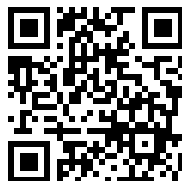


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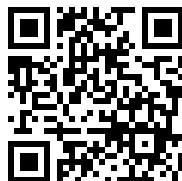


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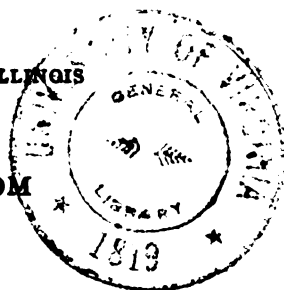
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## VOM MITTELALTER ZUR REFORMATION

### *Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Bildung\**

#### VORBEMERKUNG

Als mich die Modern Language Association of America vor vielen Jahren zu ihrem Ehrenmitgliede machte, bekannte sie dadurch ein vertrauendes Interesse für die damals von mir in Angriff genommenen Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schrift- und Literatursprache. Mir war diese Auszeichnung ein erfreuliches Zeugnis des lebendigen Zusammenhangs der amerikanischen und der deutschen Wissenschaft. Es bekundete mir, dass jenseits des grossen Meeres in dem gewaltigen, stark und kühn der Zukunft entgegenschreitenden Staat die Erinnerung an eine der ethnischen und geistigen Wurzeln seiner Kraft noch nicht erkaltet war. Nur wenn drüben in den Kreisen der Gelehrten über die verstandesmässige Kritik hinaus eine Sympathie des Herzens sich regte für die dem eigenen, nationalen Idiom stammverwandte deutsche Sprache, die so vielen und nicht den schlechtesten amerikanischen Bürgern einst die Muttersprache gewesen war oder noch jetzt zweite Muttersprache ist, und für die geistige Welt, die in dieser deutschen Sprache lebt, konnte ich mir die scharfe Aufmerksamkeit erklären, die so früh in den an Zahl und Umfang geringen Erstlingen meiner Forschung bereits das neue Ziel und den neuen Weg entdeckte und aus den dem Fernerstehenden als unscheinbar geltenden Früchten meiner Arbeit Hoffnung schöpfte künftiger reicher Ernte.

Jedesfalls, mich beglückte und ermutigte das Bewusstsein, Genosse sein zu dürfen einer führenden wissenschaftlichen Vereinigung jenes Landes, dem seit anderthalb Jahrhunderten in Deutschland alle hochgesinnten Geister Bewunderung, Neigung, Liebe zuwendeten und das der greise Goethe, in seinen "Wanderjahren" und im Vermächtnis des sterbenden Faust, als das Land der Verheissung, als Stätte der einstigen Verwirklichung seines höchsten pädagogisch-staatlichen Menschheitsideals betrachtete.<sup>1</sup> Längst hegte ich daher den Wunsch, meinen freudigen Dank der Gesellschaft, die mich in ihre Reihen aufnahm, nun auch als ein tätiges Mitglied zu bewähren, indem ich ihr aus dem Kreise meiner Forschungen zur deutschen Sprachgeschichte einen Beitrag für ihre Zeitschrift zur Verfügung stellte. Der Weltkrieg hat wie so vieles auch diesen schönen Vorsatz nicht ins Werk setzen lassen. Dankbar folge ich aber jetzt der willkommenen Aufforderung des Herrn Kollegen Voss von der Wisconsin-Universität, über den Plan und die Durchführung meiner sprachgeschichtlichen

\* This paper was presented before the Germanistic Section at the fortieth meeting of the Modern Language Association at the University of Michigan, December 28, 1923.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. darüber meinen Aufsatz "Faust und die Sorge", Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte, Halle a/S. M. Niemeyer, Jahrgang i (1923), S. 56 ff.

Forschungen, über ihre Ziele und Schicksale Bericht zu erstatten. Die Lage Deutschlands nach dem Ausbruch des Weltkriegs und die nach dem Frieden von Versailles hereinbrechende furchtbare deutsche Not bringt es mit sich, dass dieser Bericht ein Notschrei wird.

## I

Mich hat bereits im Sommer 1877 als jungen Studenten in Bonn das Problem der Entwicklung der neuhochdeutschen Schrift- und Literatursprache an sich gezogen. Damals hatte mir Wilmanns—er war eben erst von Greifswald nach Bonn berufen—für eine Seminararbeit das Thema gestellt, die beiden Fassungen von Goethes „Werther,“ die 1774 erschienene und die Umarbeitung für die „Schriften“ (Bd. i, 1787, Leipzig, Göschen) in aesthetischer Hinsicht, also hauptsächlich nach Komposition und Charakteristik mit einander zu vergleichen. Bei dem Vergleich sah ich, dass zwischen beiden Redaktionen auch ein weitgehender sprachlicher Unterschied bestehe. Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Romans zeigt eine stark mundartlich gefärbte Sprache mit mancher Altertümlichkeit und Gewaltbarkeit. In ihr herrscht das Sprachideal des Sturmes und Dranges, genialische Natürlichkeit, Urwüchsigkeit, das Streben nach heimatlicher Rede, nach Bodenständigkeit. Der südwestdeutsche Typus der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache, der von Gottscheds zentralisierender Reform auf Grundlage des meissnischen Deutsch noch unberührt, im Kreise der dem meissnischen Hochdeutsch anhängenden Grammatiker und Schriftsteller als „Reichssprache“ verpönt war, ist es, dem Goethe hier folgte. Sein aus dem Hamann-Herderischen Gedanken der poetischen Sprache, aus der Theorie des Originalgenies sich nährenden Widerstand gegen die schriftsprachliche Einheit war die letzte Auflehnung des südwestdeutschen sprachlichen Partikularismus. Nachdem Goethe in Weimar den genialen Stil überwunden hatte, unterzog er seinen Werther einer Umarbeitung der künstlerischen Form, aber auch der Sprache. Er näherte diese jetzt dem gemeindeutschen, „hochdeutschen“ Typus Gottscheds und Adelungs, tilgte also die Frankfurtschen Kürzungen (Apokopen, Synkopen, Elisionen), die altmodischen oder provinziellen Flexionsformen und setzte dafür das der anerkannten schriftsprachlichen Regel Gemässe.

Durch diese Untersuchung, der sowohl Wilmanns als später in Leipzig Zarncke und Hildebrand grosses Interesse entgegen-

brachten, fühlte ich mich gerüstet, um 1881 mit meiner Bearbeitung der von Wilhelm Scherer gestellten Preisaufgabe "Darstellung der Sprache des jungen Goethe in seinen Schriften und Briefen bis 1776" mich um den Preis der Grimm-Stiftung zu bewerben. Die Grundzüge meiner Preisarbeit veröffentlichte ich in einem vor der Dessauer Philologenversammlung von 1884 gehaltenen Vortrag, der 1885 in deren "Verhandlungen" (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner), S. 166 ff. gedruckt ist, andere Ergebnisse in zwei grösseren Rezensionen der Zeitschrift f. die österreich. Gymnasien 1882 (über das Deutsche Wörterbuch), S. 661-684 und im Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum 1886, Bd. 12, S. 134-163. Die Vollendung aber und Drucklegung der ganzen Arbeit verschob ich, da 1885 die Oeffnung des Goethischen handschriftlichen Nachlasses und seit 1887 die grosse kritische Weimarische Gesamtausgabe der Werke und Briefe Goethes neue handschriftliche Grundlagen für die Darstellung seiner Sprache zugänglich machte, die aber erst 1910 und 1914 für einen wichtigen Teil meiner Aufgabe brauchbar wurden, nachdem Julius Wahle die früheren ungenügend bearbeiteten Gedichtbände aus den Handschriften endlich ergänzt und berichtigt hatte.

Das Problem der *Einigung der neuhochdeutschen Schrift- und Literatursprache* liess mich nicht los. Ich widmete ihm, zurückgreifend bis auf Luther, eine umfassende Untersuchung, von der ein einleitendes Kapitel, dem 16. Jahrhundert gewidmet, 1884 als meine Hallische Habilitationsschrift erschien. Kurz darauf traten aber die beiden inhaltlich mit meiner Arbeit nahe sich berührenden, ja vielfach sich deckenden bekannten Bücher von Socin und Kluge an die Oeffentlichkeit. Da verzichtete ich schweren Herzens auf die Fortführung und Vollendung meines gross angelegten Werkes und begnügte mich damit, ein Stück daraus (über die Behandlung des auslautenden e) in der Festschrift für meinen geliebten Lehrer Hildebrand zu seinem 70. Geburtstag herauszugeben (Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie, Leipzig, Veit u. Co. 1894, S. 290-324: "Zur Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache"). Andere Teile werden noch einzeln veröffentlicht werden.

Meine sprachwissenschaftliche Methode verdanke ich meinen Leipziger Studienjahren (Winter 1876, Winter 1877 bis 1879). Die Vorlesungen von Georg Curtius über Griechische Gram-

matik und Einleitung in die Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, die Uebungen seiner Grammatischen Gesellschaft, an denen ich mich durch sprachliche Behandlung einer griechischen Inschrift und eine Untersuchung über das Verhältnis der griechischen Verben *εἶλω*, *εἰλέω*, *ἐλίσσω*, *ἔλλω* und ihrer Verwandten im Lateinischen und Germanischen beteiligte,<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Braunes bahnbrechende Vorlesungen über Altsächsische Grammatik und über Althochdeutsche Grammatik. Zarnckes encyclopädisch in die Forschung einführende Vorlesung über Deutsche Grammatik und Hildebrands höchst anregendes Kolleg über Deutsche Etymologie wiesen mir die Richtung. Es war die Zeit, wo die sogenannte junggrammatische Bewegung, wesentlich angeregt durch Wilhelm Scherers kühnes Buch "Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache" (Berlin, Weidmann, 1868) das Gesetzmässige in der Sprache, namentlich im Lautwandel, und die Macht der Formübertragung oder Analogie erkennen lehrte. Wir Leipziger jungen Germanisten haben natürlich damals viel über die brennenden methodologischen Tagesfragen der deutschen und der allgemeinen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft debattiert. Namentlich Rudolf Kögel, ein begeisterter Schüler Braunes, eine leidenschaftliche Forschernatur und ein hitziger Disputator, ein Prachtmensch von höchstem wissenschaftlichem Idealismus und ein lieber treuer Kamerad, stand mir oft im lebhaften Gefecht gegenüber. Denn ich war geleitet von Curtius' besonnenem Urteil und Hildebrands intuitiver kulturgeschichtlicher Sprachbetrachtung, die in den Uebungen seines Deutschen Privatissimum und tausendfältig in freundschaftlichem Verkehr bis zu seinem Tode (1895) sich mir immer wieder hinreissend offenbarte. Aber mehr noch bewirkte wohl mein eigener Trieb und die besondere Anlage meines wissenschaftlichen Interesses, dass ich niemals ein Junggrammatiker wurde. Dem Dogma von der Ausnahmlosigkeit der Lautgesetze und von der alternativen Wirkung phonetischer, also gesetzlicher und analogistischer, also psychologischer und willkürlicher, zufälliger

<sup>3</sup> Veranlasst durch ein Platonzitat im deutschen Streitgespräch "Der Ackermann aus Böhmen", behandelte ich unter Benutzung dieser Leipziger Seminararbeit das Problem im Hinblick auf die Lehre des Platonischen Timaios (p. 40B) von der kosmischen Stellung der Erde: Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher für die klassische Altertumswissenschaft, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur 1922, S. 254-278.

Sprachveränderung vermochte ich nicht beizustimmen. Mir galt schon damals aller Sprachwandel als ein Vorgang des menschlichen Innenlebens, wohl geformt durch lautmechanische Faktoren, aber nicht durch sie hervorgerufen, und mir schien daher die sprachgeschichtliche Forschung verpflichtet, das sprachliche Werden und Wachsen als einen Teil des Kulturwandels, wesensverwandt den Wandlungen der Mode, der Sitte, der gesellschaftlichen Formen, der geistigen Bildung aufzufassen. Später nachdem ich als Leipziger Doktor mein Studium noch drei Jahre in Berlin fortsetzte, hat mich der Umgang mit Scherer in dieser Ansicht bestärkt, obwohl gerade er die methodologischen Verdienste von Braune und Paul sehr hoch anschlug. Namentlich aber hat mich dann in Halle der Verkehr mit meinem Freunde und Kollegen Hermann Collitz in meiner sprachwissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis gefördert. Ohne die hervorragenden Fortschritte zu verkennen, die den Führern der sogenannten junggrammatischen Schule, Brugmann, Osthoff Paul, Sievers, Braune, auf lautgeschichtlichem Felde gelungen waren, hat Collitz, im Einklang vielfach mit Fick, Bezzenberger, Schuchardt wiederholt äusserst glücklich gegen die junggrammatische Einseitigkeit gekämpft und betont, dass auch

<sup>1</sup> Um Missverständnissen vorzubeugen möchte ich übrigens betonen, dass die methodologischen Gegensätze sich im Lauf der Jahre sehr ausglich. Kögel näherte sich als Leipziger Privatdocent immer mehr meiner Auffassung und aus meinem Zusammenwirken mit Sievers in Halle (1887-1892) weiss ich z.B., dass er und ich in Beurteilung des Problems der Schriftsprache und der Lautgesetzfrage wohl ungefähr denselben Standpunkt einnahmen. Noch heute ist sehr lesenswert meines Hallischen Schülers Eduard Wechsslers Schrift, *Giebt es Lautgesetze?* Halle a/S., Max Niemeyer 1900 (aus *Forschungen zur roman. Philologie*, Festgabe für Herm. Suchier).—Durch Vossler und seine Schule (Spitzer, Lerch, Klemperer) ist bekanntlich in der Sprachwissenschaft eine neue Wendung eingetreten. Die Betonung des schöpferischen Elements und der kulturgeschichtlichen Faktoren entspricht ja durchaus meinen eigenen längst bekundeten Anschauungen. Aber ich kann die Antithese "Positivismus und Idealismus" in der Sprachwissenschaft nicht für glücklich ansehen. Die historischgenetische, empirische und induktive Sprachforschung entstand vor und unabhängig von dem englisch-frenzösichen philosophischen Positivismus auf eigenen Wegen durch Rask und Grimm, Bopp und Diez und ihre Nachfolger. Ebensowenig ist die literarhistorische Methode Scherers positivistisch. Auch sie stammt aus einer Forschungsweise und Weltanschauung, die viel älter sind als der Positivismus und mit ihm nichts zu tun haben. Oder will man auch Herders "Ideen" und Goethes "Dichtung und Wahrheit" aus dem Positivismus ableiten?



aller Lautwandel ein soziologischer und persönlicher Vorgang sei, in dem immer auch die Psyche der Redenden unter dem Einfluss des Geschmacks, des Bildungstriebes, der gesellschaftlichen Sitte sich auswirke (z. B. in seiner ausgezeichneten Besprechung von Osthoffs und Brugmann's Morphologischen Untersuchungen, Anzeiger f. deutsches Altertum V, 1879, S. 319ff.)

In der erwähnten Hallischen Habilitationsschrift über die schriftsprachliche Bewegung während des 16. Jahrhunderts und in dem Vortrag über die Sprache des jungen Goethe hatte ich diese meine Auffassung des sprachlichen Lebens auf das Problem der Kunstsprache, d. h. der Gemein-, Schrift- und Literatursprache angewendet und, schärfer als bisher geschehen war, nachzuweisen gesucht, dass über der natürlichen Sprache der Familie und der mundartlichen Genossenschaft sich in verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen und Bildungsschichten verschiedene Kreise und Stufen normierter Sprachgestaltung, also sozusagen verschiedene Klassen gemeinsprachlicher Rede- und Schreibform entwickeln, neben einander bestehn, sich gegenseitig berühren oder auch kreuzen und allmählich mit einander ausgleichen zu einer relativen Spracheinheit. Aber meine an der Universität Halle gehaltenen Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im Zeitalter der Reformation und der Renaissance, anderseits die Beschäftigung mit der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur stellte mir die ganze Frage der neuhochdeutschen Sprachgeschichte noch in ein anderes Licht.

Die ungerechte und schädliche Vernachlässigung des 17. Jahrhunderts hatte ich schon während meines Berliner Aufenthalts (1880-1883), dann in dem meiner Hallischen Habilitation vorausgehenden Leipziger Wintersemester 1883-84 bei meinen Forschungen über die Einigung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache mit Bedauern empfunden. In Gesprächen mit Scherer hatte auch er, wenngleich mehr vom rein literargeschichtlichen Standpunkt aus, meine Empfindung geteilt und nachdrücklich eine eindringlichere Behandlung dieses Zeitraums wilder Triebe und gährender Fülle verlangt, wie er schon in seiner deutschen Literaturgeschichte die geschichtliche Bedeutung jener schlechtlin als Verfallzeit verlästerten Epoche

und seine zahlreichen fruchtbaren Ansätze schöpferischer Entwicklung zum ersten Mal scharf beleuchtet hatte.

Nicht minder verhängnisvoll aber war die gleiche Missachtung des 14. Jahrhunderts. Auch dies hatte Scherer erkannt, und er zuerst wohl unter allen Germanisten hat, um die bis dahin im deutschen literaturgeschichtlichen Unterricht an den Universitäten klaffende Lücke zu beseitigen, regelmässig in einer eigenen Vorlesung die sonst übersprungene oder höchstens mit fliehender Eile voller Abscheu gestreifte sogenannte Uebergangszeit von 1250-1517 dargestellt. Auch die Kunstgeschichte hatte ja lange das Barock und die Leistungen der Praeraphaeliten als Verfall oder Verzerrung und als rohe Unfertigkeit bemäkelt und bei Seite gelassen. Die schöpferische Grösse Berninis hat noch Jakob Burckhardt verkannt. Scherer gehört zu den grossen konsequenten Vollendern der geschichtlichen-genetischen Erkenntnis: er brach in seinem wahrhaft epochemachenden Buch "Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache" mit dem aus der Romantik stammenden Vorurteil Jacob Grimms und dessen schematischer Steigerung durch August Schleicher, wonach nur der primitiven Sprache Einfalt, Sinnlichkeit, gesetzliche Harmonie und urwüchsiges Leben zukomme, in der Sprache der jüngeren Zeiten aber Verwitterung und Verfall, Absterben und Verkümmern, Störung des gesetzmässigen Baues und Entartung erscheine, und er zeigte, dass in der Sprache, wie nach der Lehre des grossen englischen Geologen Lyell in der Entwicklung der Erdoberfläche, die prähistorischen Wandlungen aus denselben Ursachen und durch dieselben Kräfte erfolgen, die den in der Gegenwart sich vollziehenden Veränderungen zu Grunde liegen, dass in der deutschen Sprache also die Vorgänge der modernen Zeit benutzt werden müssen zur Beleuchtung der wesensverwandten Erscheinungen der urgermanischen oder vorgermanischen Periode.

Im Einklang mit dieser wahrhaft universalen Anschauung des geschichtlichen Lebens stand und zu ihrer Bestätigung diente auch das Ergebnis meiner Forschungen, dass in den geschmähten drei Jahrhunderten, dem vierzehnten, fünfzehnten und dem siebzehnten, wo freilich eine normative, nach einem Kanon des Klassischen wertende Literaturgeschichte nur Erstarren und Tiefstand erblickte, gerade die Wurzeln und die

frischen Sprösslinge des Werdens und des Wachstums der neuhochdeutschen Schrift- und Literatursprache liegen.

## II

So veröffentlichte ich denn im Jahr 1888 und 1891, ausgehend von einer Anzeige dreier, der Beschreibung altdeutscher Handschriften und Miniaturen gewidmeter Bücher von Bartsch, Adelbert von Keller, Adolf von Oechelhäuser, zwei umfassende Untersuchungen über das Fortleben der mittelhochdeutschen Poesie in den Handschriften des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Die erste erschien in 5. Jahrgang des Centralblatts für Bibliothekswesen S. 111-133 unter dem Titel: "Die pfälzischen Wittelsbacher und die altdeutschen Handschriften der Palatina" und unternahm es, den Ursprung und die älteste Geschichte der Heidelberger Bibliothek teilweise mit neuen Mitteln und auf neuem Wege zu erhellen. Manche meiner Feststellungen, Vermutungen und Hinweise haben sich als fruchtbar erwiesen und sind in Verein mit den Ergebnissen meiner zweiten, gleich zu nennenden Untersuchung verwandten späteren Arbeiten, die meine Bemühungen fortführten, ergänzten und berichtigten, zugute gekommen: z. B. den verschiedenen ausgezeichneten Abhandlungen von Rudolf Kautzch (zur Geschichte der deutschen Handschriftenillustration im späteren Mittelalter; über Diebold Lauber und seine Werkstatt in Hagenau; über die Holzschnitte der Kölner Bibel von 1479; über die Handschriften von Ulrich Richentals Chronik des Constanzer Concils) und den verdienstvollen Forschungen von Rudolf Sillib (Zur Geschichte der grossen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift und anderer Pfälzer Handschriften, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-hist. Klasse, 1921, 2. Abhandlung). Mein Versuch, in diesem Zusammenhang auch den Handschriftensammler Jakob Püterich von Reicherzhausen zu charakterisieren und seine rückwärts gewandten, die mittelhochdeutsche Versdichtung bevorzugenden literarischen Interessen den moderneren Tendenzen der westdeutschen Höfe gegenüberzustellen, die auf die neue, von Frankreich und Italien angeregte Gattung des Prosaromans und der Prosanovelle abzielten, ist dem Herausgeber wie dem Kommentator der neuen Facsimile-Edition von Püterichs Ehrenbrief, Behrend und Wolkan (Verlag der Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, Weimar 1920)

leider entgangen, obgleich auf meinen Aufsatz Edward Schroeder hingewiesen hatte in den Anmerkungen zu Scherers Deutscher Literaturgeschichte (zum 8. Kapitel, Abschnitt 4 "Prosa," Schluss).

Meine zweite Untersuchung zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung trat ans Licht im 8. Jahrgang des Centralblatts für Bibliothekswesen (Januar, April, Juli, Oktober 1891) unter dem Titel: "Zur Kenntnis altdeutscher Handschriften und zur Geschichte altdeutscher Literatur und Kunst."

Beiden Untersuchungen gemein ist das Ziel, die Schicksale der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung und ihrer kunstvollen Sprache zu verfolgen an ihrer handschriftlichen Verbreitung. Die Handschriften sind die Helden dieser Betrachtung. Sie sind gleich den Dichtungen und Schriften, die sie enthalten, selbst literarische Individualitäten. Denn sie sind, soweit man ihre Ursprungszeit, ihren Entstehungsort und ihr Verbreitungsgebiet, ihren Urheber oder Schreiber kennt, Dokumente eines bestimmten literarischen Geschmacks, eines bestimmten Kreises von Lesern. Besonders charakteristische Dokumente sind aber die Sammelhandschriften durch die Auswahl der in ihnen vereinigten Stücke.

Die neuhochdeutsche Schriftsprache—dies war mir klar geworden—geht aus von einem Sprachtypus, der anderswo seine Grundlage hat als in der mittelhochdeutschen Kunstsprache. Es ist ein neuer Anfang in einer neuen Sphäre des sprachlichen Ausdrucks. Die Prosa der Kanzlei—das Wort im weitesten Sinn genommen—ist die Wurzel des neuhochdeutschen schriftsprachlichen Typus. Aber diese deutsche Prosa der Kanzlei, also die Rede des geschäftlichen, amtlichen, brieflichen Verkehrs und auch der Publicistik, tritt uns von vornherein entgegen mit einem gewissen Schmuck, mit dem Streben nach einer gewissen glänzenden Fülle und rhetorischen Zuspitzung, in fest geregelter stilistischer und syntaktischer Form. Sie ist der Abdruck eines lateinischen Vorbildes: der lateinischen Kanzleiprosa, die eine lange Vorgeschichte hat. Aber die Gestalt, in der sie für den neuhochdeutschen Sprachtypus das Fundament hergibt, hat sie erlangt durch die seit der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts einen neuen Aufschwung nehmende *Ars dictandi* Frankreichs und Italiens, auf

die im 14. Jahrhundert dann auch die ersten Regungen der humanistischen Redekunst, die Briefe und Schriften Dantes, Rienzos, Petrarcas einwirkten.

Meine Untersuchungen strebten nun, durch genaue Einzelbeobachtung quellenmässig nachzuweisen und zur Anschauung zu bringen, wie allmählich in der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung die lebendige Fortwirkung der mittelhochdeutschen, im südwestlichen Deutschland wurzelnden Dichtersprache sowie der ebenda hervortretenden Ansätze zu einer literarischen Prosa und Gemeinsprache erlahmt und wie erst daneben als neue Macht sich durchsetzt, später, im Laufe des 16. 17. 18. Jahrhunderts das Uebergewicht und schliesslich die Alleinherrschaft erlangt der neuhochdeutsche Sprachtypus, der im Ostmitteldeutschen wurzelt und in der Kanzleisprache des kaiserlichen Hofes der Luxemburger, später in der kursächsischen Kanzleisprache, der Luther folgte, und in Luthers Bibelsprache ausgeprägt ist. Diesen neuhochdeutschen Sprachtypus charakterisiert aber nicht allein die Mischung des mitteldeutschen und bayrisch-österreichischen Vocalismus, wie die frühere Forschung annahm, sondern ebenso, ja mehr noch eine Reihe bestimmter stilistisch-syntaktischer Eigentümlichkeiten, namentlich eine vom Mittelhochdeutschen abweichende, mehr logische Wort- und Satzstellung, ferner die zur festen Manier erstarrte Verwendung zwei- und dreigliedriger sinnverwandter oder sinngleicher Ausdrücke (besonders stark hervortretend in der lateinischen und deutschen Prosa des Kanzlers Karls IV. Johann von Neumarkt und in dem aus seiner Schule stammenden Prosadialog "Der Ackermann aus Böhmen"), ferner die Vorliebe für Genitivumschreibungen einfacher Begriffe und für die Auslassung der Copula und der Formen des Hilfsverbs haben und sein neben dem Partizip Präteriti in Nebensätzen.

Die zweite meiner beiden Untersuchungen (von 1891) sollte den von Müllenhoff, Ernst Wülcker und Weinhold als Tatsache ohne weitere Begründung festgestellten Einfluss der kaiserlichen Kanzleisprache der Luxemburger auf den neuhochdeutschen Sprachtypus geschichtlich erklären. Ich sah darin die Wirkung der in Böhmen, Dank der grosszügigen zentralisierenden Staatspolitik Karls IV. erstehenden, wissenschaftlich-literarisch-künstlerischen Kulturblüte.

Zwei Jahre nach dem Erscheinen meiner zweiten Untersuchung gab ich sie als Sonderdruck heraus unter dem Titel: "Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Bildung. Erstes Heft," Halle a/S. Max Niemeyer 1893. Vermehrt war diese Buchausgabe, die den alten Satz benutzte (über geringe stilistisch-sachliche Aenderungen vgl. meine Bemerkungen in der Deutschen Literaturzeitung 1907, Spalte 802), durch einen halben Bogen Nachträge und eine ausführliche Vorrede, welche die innere Einheit meiner vielmaschigen Betrachtungen, ihre Gesichtspunkte, Wege und Ziele darlegte.

Die längst gewonnene Erkenntnis, dass der neuhochdeutsche Sprachtypus bei seinem ersten Auftreten einen aus bayrisch-österreichischen und ostmitteldeutschen Elementen gemischten Kunst-Vokalismus in Verbindung mit einem Konsonantismus der hochfränkischen Lautverschiebungsstufe aufweise, erschöpfte weder das Wesen dieses Sprachtypus noch beschrieb und erklärte sie das Werden einer neuen Gemeinsprache auf einer der mittelhochdeutschen Literatursprache fernen Grundlage. Lediglich ein wichtiges Sympton war damit festgestellt. Das Problem des Vorgangs selbst blieb aber ungelöst.

Von diesem ungelösten Problem nehmen die in meinem grossen Werk niedergelegten Forschungen ihren Ausgang.

Meine Vorrede von 1893 formulierte das (S. XII f.) in programmatischen Sätzen und bekannte zugleich eine sprachtheoretische Auffassung, die der damals herrschenden gegenübertrat. Ihr Kern ist etwa dies. Jedem einzelnen, sprachlichen Entwicklungsvorgang, auch dem lautlichen, liegt eine Kulturbewegung zu Grunde, die wir freilich nicht immer ermitteln und genau bezeichnen können. Jede Sprachwende vollends, d. h. jeder Komplex mit einander verketteter sprachlicher Umschwünge ist zugleich eine Kulturwende. Die—neben der Romanisierung des Altenglischen—grösste Sprachwende innerhalb der germanischen Sprachentwicklung historischer Zeit ist der Ausdruck einer Kulturwende, die nicht ihres Gleichen hat.

Auf dem empfundenen oder erkannten Kulturreiz oder Kulturvorrang, also auf einer sei es auch nur relativen, momentanen, subjectiv vorhandenen Kultur-Ueberlegenheit beruht die Aufnahme und die Verbreitung einer jeden sprachlichen Neuerung. In besonders hohem Grade gilt das von der schrift-

sprachlichen Veränderung. Sie ist immer und überall Folge und Ausdruck einer Kulturbeziehung, Teil also der Bildungsgeschichte, nicht bloß das physiologisch, anatomisch, klimatisch bedingte Naturereignis.

Woher kam nun und wie beschaffen war jene subjektiv empfundene Kultur-Ueberlegenheit, der das Auftreten und die Ausbreitung des neuhochdeutschen Sprachtypus entsprang? Weshalb hatte gerade die Prager Kanzleisprache der Luxemburger die Kraft, in die gemeinsprachliche Bewegung einen Anstoß zu tragen, der so lange fortwirkte? Die Antwort gab meine Vorrede mit folgendem Satz, der den Inhalt meines ganzen Werks umschreibt: "Es ist diese sprachliche Bewegung nur ein Glied in einer Kette von Erscheinungen: mit dem Einfluss, den die von Karl IV. in Prag geschaffene kirchliche, staatliche, wissenschaftliche, literarische Kultur, den die hier so imponierend hervortretende Zentralisation geistiger Mächte nach Norden hin, nach Schlesien, Meissen, Thüringen, ausstrahlte, verbreitet sich auch die böhmische Kanzleitechnik und Kanzleisprache."

Die grosse Zeitenwende des europäischen politischen und geistigen Lebens liegt zwischen dem Ausgang des 13. und der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Karls IV. Staat und dieses Staates geistige Kultur ist nicht das letzte Aufleuchten der mittelalterlichen Welt. Es ist vielmehr der Aufstieg einer neuen schöpferischen Kraft, der die Zukunft gehört. Karl IV. schüttelte den mittelalterlichen Traum des politischen Imperiums ab. Aber er stabilisierte für alle Zeiten die reale Macht des zentralisierten, organisierten königlichen Staates und das ideale Imperium der neuen geistigen Kultur. Wenn unter ihm die Kanzlei die Wiege der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache ward, so ist das kein Zufall. Vielmehr ist es der Ausdruck einer neuen Wende von ungeheurer Bedeutung: die deutsche Kultur betrat damals den langen Dornenweg zur nationalen Einheit.

Die Epoche von 1350-1450 ist für Deutschland die Brücke zwischen Mittelalter und Reformationszeit. Deshalb hatte mein Werk von Anfang an die doppelte Aufgabe: das Abwelken und Absterben mittelalterlicher Bildung und das Keimen und Wachsen neuer Zukunftssaat zu enthüllen. Dabei benutzte ich das Nachleben und allmähliche Verlöschen der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur und ihrer Kunstsprache in den Hand-

schriften des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts als Massstab für das Versinken der mittelalterlichen Kräfte, das den Aufstieg der neuen geistigen Bildung und ihres sprachlichen Ausdrucks, der neuhochdeutschen Gemeinsprache, Schrift- und Literatursprache, begleitet.

Die Untersuchung von 1893—als erstes Heft bezeichnet—war ein erster Wurf. Um ihm Ausführung und Vollendung des begonnenen Werkes folgen zu lassen, durchforschte ich auf einer zweijährigen Reise mit finanzieller Beihilfe der Berliner Akademie Bibliotheken und Archive von Schlesien, Böhmen, Mähren, Österreich und, da einerseits grosse Massen von Handschriften Böhmens und des ostdeutschen Koloniallandes in den Kriegen des 17. Jahrhunderts durch die Schweden nach Stockholm und Uppsala, von dort aber teilweise durch Schenkung der Königin Christine in die Vaticana gekommen waren, anderseits die böhmische Kultur des ausgehenden 14. Jahrhunderts Einflüsse der Literatur und Kunst Frankreichs und Italiens, der werdenden Renaissance und namentlich der neuartigen Gedankenwelt und Sprachkunst Dantes, Rienzos, Petrarcas in sich aufgenommen hatte, dehnte ich meinen Beutezug auch aus nach Rom, Siena, Pisa, Florenz sowie nach Stockholm, Uppsala, Lund, Paris.

In dem erwähnten, als Privatdruck erschienenen ersten Reisebericht vom Juni 1898 entwarf ich von Brünn aus einen genauen Plan für die Fortführung des Werks, der damals auch im "Euphorion" kurz besprochen worden ist.

Nach diesem Brünner Plan sollte sich die Neubearbeitung meines Werks folgendermassen gliedern.

I. Band. Die Cultur des deutschen Ostens im Zeitalter Karls IV.

Dieser Band bringt auf Grund der handschriftlichen Erträge meiner Forschungsreise in völliger Umgestaltung, vertieft und stark bereichert den wesentlichen Inhalt des im Jahre 1893 erschienen "ersten Heftes" der ersten Bearbeitung.

II. Band. Quellen und Forschungen zur Vorgeschichte des deutschen Humanismus.

Hier sollen in kritischen und kommentierten Ausgaben die Dokumente über die ersten Einwirkungen des werdenden Humanismus auf die deutsche Bildung vereinigt werden: der Briefwechsel des Tribunen Cola di Rienzo mit Karl IV., seinem



Kanzler Johann von Neumarkt, Erzbischof Ernst von Prag; der Briefwechsel Petrarcas mit Karl IV. und seinem Kreis. Rienzo verweilte nach seiner Abdankung zwei Jahre als Gefangener des deutschen Königs in Böhmen (1350-1352) und hat hier in abhandlungsartigen Briefen seine hochfliegenden Manifeste über die Reformation der christlichen Kirche und der Staatsverfassung des römischen Reichs und Italiens verfasst, die in Böhmen viel gelesen und bewundert, abgeschrieben und verbreitet wurden. Die vollständigste Sammlung aller seiner Briefe und Erlasse, auch der aus der Zeit seines Tribunats (1347), enthält ein Codex des Vatikanischen Archivs, der aus dem Besitz der erzbischöflichen Curie Prags stammt und, wie mir zu ermitteln gelang, eine Zeitlang Eigentum war des Dorpater Bischofs Dietrich von Damerow (1378-1400), eines Schülers und Freundes des königlichen Hofkanzlers Johann von Neumarkt, unter dem er 1372-1376 als Notar in der Prager Hofkanzlei tätig gewesen ist.<sup>4</sup> Zu Grunde liegt dieser Sammlung teilweise anscheinend eine Zusammenstellung der Briefe und Erlasse Rienzos, die für die Akten seines Exkommunikationsprozesses gemacht war, den Papst Clemens VI. eröffnet hatte und dessen Führung in den Händen des Erzbischofs Ernst von Prag ruhte. Eine kleinere Reihe von Briefen des Tribunen findet sich in einer Handschrift des böhmischen Cisterzienserstifts Ossegg, die gleichfalls auf die Umgebung Johanns von Neumarkt zurückweist.

Dieser II. Band enthält ferner frühhumanistische Reden und Briefe, die in Böhmen und Schlesien während des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts gelesen und vervielfältigt worden sind, endlich Scholarendichtungen Böhmens und Schlesiens und geistige Lyrik humanistischer Färbung.

III. Band. Die deutsche Prosaliteratur des Zeitalters der Luxemburger.

Hier werden neu oder zum ersten Mal herausgegeben Uebersetzungen, Dichtungen und Schriften Johanns von Neumarkt, des Reformators der böhmischen Kanzlei und ihrer lateinischen

<sup>4</sup> Näheres über ihn und seinen Freundeskreis von Prager Kanzleigenossen, der den leichtlebig fröhlichen Charakter humanistischer Literaten zeigt, in meiner Einleitung zum Schlesisch-böhmischen Formelbuch (Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation Band V, 1), S. 34 f. und in meinem Exkurs am Schluss dieser Einleitung.

wie deutschen Kanzleisprache, dessen prunkvoller Prosastil durch beredte Fülle und Wärme, durch den weitfaltigen kunstvollen Satzbau stark gewirkt hat auf die Gestaltung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache seiner engeren Heimat, aber auch weit darüber hinaus. Mahnt doch sein Deutsch durch Sprachgewalt und Eindringlichkeit zuweilen an Luther. Aus seiner sprachlich-stilistischen Schule ist das literarische Hauptwerk der ganzen Epoche, "der Ackermann aus Böhmen" von Johannes von Saaz hervorgegangen, das gleichfalls in diesem II. Band ediert, kommentiert und literar-historisch behandelt werden sollte.

IV. Band. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ostmitteldeutschen Schriftsprache von 1300 bis 1450.

Dieser Band soll ungedruckte urkundliche Texte zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kanzleisprache Böhmens, Schlesiens Meissens, der Lausitz mit begleitenden Untersuchungen bringen, worin der sprachliche Umwandlungsprozess vom Mittelhochdeutschen zum Neuhochdeutschen als ein bildungsgeschichtlicher im Einzelnen beleuchtet wird.

### III

Meine Wahl zum ordentlichen Mitglied der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften und meine Berufung in eine der drei bei dem 200 jährigen Jubiläum der Akademie (1900) gestifteten, vorzugsweise für deutsche Sprachwissenschaft bestimmten Stellen, die im Mai des Jahres 1902 stattfand und meine Uebersiedlung von Halle nach Berlin zur Folge hatte, versprach mir die Möglichkeit, dieses aus eigener Kraft nach eigenem Plan begonnene grosse Werk nunmehr im Auftrage der Akademie in meiner Stellung als freier Akademiker ohne Lehramt auf der neuen breiten Grundlage durchzuführen. Es geschah genau nach dem Plane, den ich in meinem ersten Reisebericht 1898 von Brünn aus der Akademie entwickelt hatte.

In den Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie vom Jahre 1903 gab ich unter dem Titel "Bericht über Forschungen zum Ursprung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache und des deutschen Humanismus" Rechenschaft über den Ertrag meiner Forschungsreisen, indem ich dem neu abgedruckten ersten Reisebericht und dem wiederholten Brünner Plan des ganzen

Werks die Veröffentlichung der beiden weiteren Reiseberichte folgen liess.

Bald darauf wurde nach dem Eintritt Gustav Roethes in die Akademie eine Deutsche Commission bei ihr errichtet,<sup>6</sup> der ausser Roethe, Erich Schmidt, und mir noch Dilthey, Wilhelm Schulze, Koser, Brunner und Diels, später auch Andreas Heusler angehörten. Eine Zeitlang war nach Brunners Tod auch der Historiker Otto Hintze ihr Mitglied. Als Nachfolger der verstorbenen Mitglieder Schmidt und Koser und des nach dem Welt-Krieg in seine Vaterstadt Basel heimgekehrten Heusler traten nachher ein Kehr, Petersen und Bolte.

Nach den Richtlinien, die im Jahre 1900, bei der Beratung über die neu zu errichtenden deutschen Fachstellen, für die künftige Pflege der deutschen Sprache im Schosse der Berliner Akademie ihre damaligen beiden Germanisten Weinhold und Erich Schmidt gezogen hatten (Stücke daraus sind in den Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akad. d. Wiss. 1905, S. 694-697 abgedruckt im Generalbericht der Deutschen Commission der Akademie) begründete eine von mir verfasste Denkschrift der Deutschen Commission im Juni 1904 ein Gesuch der Akademie an das vorgeordnete preussische Staatsministerium, worin zur Fortführung der aus eigenen Mitteln begonnenen Arbeiten der Deutschen Commission Erwirkung eines besonderen Fonds von jährlich 15000 Mark und dessen Einstellung in den preussischen Staatshaushaltsplan erbeten wurde.

“Die Unternehmungen der Deutschen Kommission”—heisst es in dieser Denkschrift—“finden ihre Einheit in dem ihnen allen gemeinsamen Ziel: die Entwicklung des sprachlich-literarischen Lebens in Deutschland seit dem Abwelken der mittelalterlichen Kultur sichtbar zu machen und zu begreifen. Zwei Grundmächte haben die neuere Bildung Deutschlands seit dem 14. Jahrhundert bestimmt: die Renaissance des klassischen Altertums und die Reformation der christlichen Kirche, diese gipfelnd in Luther, jene in Goethe. Und es ist kein Zufall, dass gerade diese beiden Gewaltigen auch die wahrhaft schöpferischen und die einflussvollsten Meister der deutschen Schrift-

<sup>6</sup> Eine ausführliche Darstellung über die Deutsche Commission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ihre Vorgeschichte ihre Arbeiten und Ziele gab Roethe in Ilbergs Neuen Jahrbüchern für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur 1913, 31. Band, S. 37-74.

sprache gewesen sind. Schriftsprache, Humanismus, Reformation haben sich neben, mit und aus einander entwickelt. Die weit verzweigte Bewegung, in der sie zusammen ihre Macht entfalten, klarzustellen, das ist der leitende Gesichtspunkt aller von der Deutschen Kommission begonnenen und vorbereiteten Arbeiten.“—

Im Einzelnen waren damals folgende Unternehmungen begonnen:

1. Inventarisierung der in Deutschland entstandenen literarischen Handschriften bis ins 16. Jahrhundert als Grundlage einer künftigen deutschen Handschriftenkunde der älteren Zeit. Die einlaufenden, nach demselben genauen und den Inhalt erschöpfenden Schema hergestellten Beschreibungen werden zu einem Archiv gesammelt und in diesem sofort derartig auf Zetteln registriert, dass jederzeit eine vollständige, allseitige Uebersicht über das vorhandene Material gesichert ist. Diese Unternehmung steht unter Leitung von Roethe und mir.<sup>6</sup> Das Handschriftenarchiv verwaltet, die Eingänge und Registerarbeiten beaufsichtigt und ordnet der Archivar der Deutschen Commission, Professor Dr. Fritz Behrend.

2. Publikation ungedruckter deutscher Werke des späteren Mittelalters und der frühneuhochdeutschen Zeit, nicht in Form kritischer Ausgaben, sondern durch Wiedergabe einzelner guter Handschriften, unter dem Titel: “Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters.” Leiter ist Roethe.

3. Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke Wielands unter Redaktion Bernhard Seufferts in Graz. Leiter war bis zu seinem Tode Erich Schmidt. Später Bernhard Seuffert selbst, der zunächst als ausserakademisches Mitglied der Deutschen Commission beitrug, nachher zum korrespondierenden Mitglied der Akademie gewählt wurde.

4. Idiotiken der lebenden deutschen Mundarten. Begonnen wurde mit einem Niederrheinischen Idiotikon, für dessen Herausgabe sich die Akademie mit der Gesellschaft für rheinische Gechichtsforschung verband, unter Redaktion von Johannes Franck, der zum ausserakademischen Mitglied der deutschen Commission berufen wurde. Nach seinem Tode ist

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. dazu auch meinen Aufsatz “Die Inventarisierung älterer deutscher Handschriften” Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Jahrgang 21 (1904), April, S. 183-187.

der frühere Hauptmitarbeiter Gymnasialprofessor Dr. Josef Müller auch Leiter des Unternehmens geworden. Später sind diesem Rheinischen Idiotikon weitere mundartliche Wörterbücher der Deutschen Commission gefolgt—ein Preussisches für die Dialekte der Provinzen Ost- und Westpreussen unter Redaktion von Professor Ziesemer in Königsberg, ein Hessen-Nassauisches unter Redaktion von Professor Wrede in Marburg.

5. Seit 1908 ist auf Wunsch des Preussischen Kultusministeriums und des deutschen Reichsamtes des Innern auch die Leitung des durch Moriz Heynes Tod (1906) verwaisten Deutschen Wörterbuchs an die Akademie übergegangen, die damit ihre durch Edward Schroeder (Göttingen) verstärkte Deutsche Commission beauftragte.

Alle diese Unternehmungen der Deutschen Kommission zielen ab auf Feststellung, Sammlung und Zubereitung eines reichen sprachlich-literarischen Materials. Ihre Durchführung beruht durchaus auf der organisierten akademischen Arbeit, d. h. auf dem Zusammenwirken einer grossen Zahl von Mitarbeitern nach einheitlichem Plan unter Leitung von Mitgliedern der Akademie, auf jener Arbeitsmethode also, die zuerst 1817 im *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* grossartig hervorgetreten war, später sich in der Aristotelesausgabe, in den Sternkarten, in Mommsens *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* als sogenannter "wissenschaftlicher Grossbetrieb" glänzend bewährt hatte. Ihnen zur Seite steht mein davon unabhängiges, aber in seinem wissenschaftlichen Ziel der Handschrifteninventarisation und Roethes Deutschen Texten nah verwandtes Werk "Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation." Ohne Textpublikationen auszuschliessen und ohne der Hilfe von Mitarbeitern zu entraten, soll es doch überwiegend in selbständiger individueller Forschung und Darstellung auf bildungsgeschichtlichem Wege einer künftigen Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache den Weg ebnen.

Von vornherein war es mir klar, und ich hatte es auch bereits 1903 am Schluss meines "Berichts über Forschungen zum Ursprung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache" (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften) ausgesprochen, dass die meinem Werk gestellte Aufgabe über eines Einzelnen Kraft hinausgehe, wenn sie auch nur von der persönlichen Auffassung eines Einzelnen klar geschaut und nur aus dem Geiste

einer einzelnen wissenschaftlichen Individualität gelöst werden kann. So wurde auf meinen Antrag mein Schüler Dr. Paul Piur, Verfasser wertvoller "Studien zur sprachlichen Würdigung Christian Wolffs" (Halle a/S. M. Niemeyer 1903), ein sowohl germanistisch als romanistisch und anglicistisch gut geschulter junger Gelehrter, von der Akademie als mein Assistent angestellt. Er hat nicht nur mühsame, sammelnde und textkritisch redigierende Vorarbeiten für eine Neuauflage ausgewählter lateinischer und deutscher Briefe Johanns von Neumarkt und seiner Zeitgenossen ausgeführt, sondern auch bei der Bearbeitung des Rienzo-Briefwechsels als mein Mitherausgeber gewaltet.

Die Vollendung und Publikation meiner alten Preisschrift über die Sprache des jungen Goethe musste aus dem oben angegebenen Grunde noch vertagt werden. Im Einverständnis mit mir hat sich mein Hallischer Schüler und Freund Gymnasialprofessor Dr. Heinrich Anz, Verfasser einer vortrefflichen Untersuchung über das mittelalterliche lateinische Magierspiel (Leipzig, F. C. Hinrichs, 1905) von 1905 bis 1912 der Aufgabe unterzogen, meine Materialsammlung aus der Weimarischen Goethe-Ausgabe aufzufüllen und zu ergänzen. Er tat dies rein aus sachlichem Interesse und freundschaftlicher Anhänglichkeit ohne jede Entschädigung und hat sich dadurch den bleibenden Dank der Akademie und der gesamten Goethe-Forschung erworben. Gelegentlich hat er auch bei meinem grossen Akademie-Werk Beistand geleistet. Durch seine Berufung als Gymnasialdirektor nach Gotha, wo ihn sehr ehrenvolle, aber unermessliche Amtspflichten, namentlich auch die Aufgabe, dem ganzen höheren Schulwesen des Landes als oberster Leiter verwaltungstechnisch und schulpolitisch vorzustehen, empfangen und seit der Revolution in äusserst schwierige und aufregende Verhältnisse brachten, ist mir auch dieser feinsinnige und gelehrte, hochbegabte Freund und Helfer entrückt.

#### IV

Im Jahre 1912 erschien nach jahrelanger schwieriger Vorbereitung der Briefwechsel Rienzos in zwei Bänden (Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, Band II, Teil 3 und 4, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung). Der erste Band bringt die

Correspondenz Rienzos, also nicht wie die früheren Ausgaben Papencordts und Gabriellis ausschliesslich oder überwiegend allein die Briefe Rienzos, sondern auch die Antworten seiner Correspondenten: des Papstes Clemens VI. und Innocenz VI., Petrarca, König Karls IV., Johanns von Neumarkt, des Erzbischofs Ernst von Prag. Der zweite Band enthält Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte Rienzos," darunter in Piurs erstmaliger kritischer Edition das abstruse, seiner Zeit aber hoch geschätzte und von vielen gläubig verehrte *Oraculum Cyrilli*, jenes nach Piurs Ermittlung 1298 oder unmittelbar darauf aus dem Kreise der dem Petrus Johannis Olivi nahe stehenden franziskanischen Spiritualen hervorgegangene prophetische Buch, das Rienzo nach seiner Abdankung bei den Eremiten im Apennin, zelotischen Anhängern des heiligen Franz und leidenschaftlichen Bekennern einer notwendigen und nahen Reformation der verweltlichten Kirche und einer baldigen Welt-Wiedergeburt, kennen gelernt hatte und auf das er in seinen Zuschriften an Karl IV. und Erzbischof Ernst seine politische-nationale und kirchliche Sendung als Staats- und Weltreformer gründete. Beigegeben hat Piur den wichtigen, fälschlich Joachim von Fiore beigelegten alten Kommentar.

Das wissenschaftliche Hauptgewicht dieser beiden Bände liegt auf textkritischem und exegetischem Gebiet. Unter Benutzung von 48 Handschriften sind alle abgedruckten Stücke in der nach Massgabe der zugänglichen Ueberlieferung erreichbar reinsten Gestalt wiedergegeben.

Die früheren Editionen von Papencordt und Gabrielli wimmeln von Fehlern und Versehen aller Art bis zur Sinnlosigkeit ganzer Sätze. Dieser Umstand, den die geschichtliche Wissenschaft unbegreiflicher Weise bisher, ohne Abhülfe zu schaffen, ertragen hatte, war es auch, der mich bewog, die ursprünglich geplante Auswahl des Rienzo-Briefwechsels zu erweitern zu einer vollständigen Edition des ganzen von mir und Dr. Piur zusammengebrachten Materials. Jetzt erst und nachdem aus der kritischen Ausgabe des *Oraculum Cyrilli* seines Kommentars viele bisher sonderbar erscheinende Stellen in Rienzos Briefen an Karl IV. und Erzbischof Ernst sich als einfache Citate aus jenem prophetischen Buch erweisen, zerrinnt die vielfach, namentlich auch von manchen neueren italienischen Forschern ausgesprochene Meinung, dass Rienzo geisteskrank gewesen sei,

in nichts. Die Zusammenhanglosigkeit und Verworrenheit seines Stils, das Wunderliche und Abstruse in manchen seiner Bilder beruht zum Teil allerdings auch nur auf den gräulichen Textentstellungen der genannten beiden Ausgaben und verschwindet, sobald man auf Grund der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung den echten Wortlaut herstellt. Zum andern Teil aber stammt es als Citat aus der absichtlich verhüllten, in geheimnisvollen Gleichnissen sich bewegenden Ausdrucksweise des Cyrillischen Orakels.

Im Jahr 1913 gab ich als zusammenfassende Einleitung eine kulturgeschichtliche Darstellung unter dem Titel "Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit" (Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation III. Band, I. Teil.) Erschienen ist davon bisher nur die erste Hälfte (368 Seiten), die zweite Hälfte, obgleich grösstenteils seit 1913 im Satz stehend, konnte ich aus verschiedenen bedauerlichen Ursachen, die sich aus dem Nachstehenden ersehen lassen, bis zu diesem Augenblick nicht veröffentlichen.

Mein Hallischer Schüler Paul Piur hatte seit dem 1. Oktober 1907, da er als Assistent meiner akademischen Unternehmung nur jahrweise, nicht fest angestellt war und es mir nicht gelang, für ihn eine pensionsfähige Stelle als wissenschaftlicher Beamter der Akademie zu erreichen, zur Sicherung seiner Existenz in den Schuldienst treten müssen. Seitdem ist er, als Lehrer des Deutschen, Französischen und Englischen an einer Charlottenburger städtischen Ober-Realschule mit überfüllten Klassen, belastet mit Korrekturen von dreierlei schriftlichen Aufsätzen, für die eigene wissenschaftliche Arbeit so gut wie verloren. Einen kurzen Lichtblick brachte es, dass er vom 1. Oktober 1912 auf ein Jahr einen ministeriellen Urlaub unter Genehmigung der städtischen Behörden erhielt zu wissenschaftlicher Arbeit am Kgl. Preussischen Historischen Institut in Rom, um dort für seine aus der Mitwirkung an meinem Akademiewerk herausgewachsene erstmalige kritische Edition der bisher wenig und nur in ungenügender Textgestalt bekannten Briefsammlung Petrarcas "Sine nomine," die durch ihre scharfe Satire gegen die päpstliche Kurie von Avignon ein persönliches und kirchengeschichtliches Dokument ersten Ranges ist, seine Durchforschung des in Betracht kommenden handschriftlichen Materials zu ergänzen und abzuschliessen, daneben aber auch die Beschreibung der von mir benutzten italienischen Handschriften



in Rom und ausserhalb Roms für die Rienzoedition wie für den seit Jahren vorbereiteten erwähnten Teil meines Werkes "Petrarcas Briefwechsel mit deutschen Zeitgenossen" durch Autopsie zu sichern und zu ergänzen, auch unser handschriftliches Material, so weit es erforderlich schien, tunlichst zu vermehren (vgl. meinen Bericht, Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad. d. Wiss. 1913, S. 137 f.). Der Leiter des Historischen Instituts, Geheimrat Professor Dr. Kehr, bewies den Forschungen Dr. Piurs ein wohlwollendes Interesse und erklärte sich bereit, die Edition der Briefe "*Sine nomine*" in die Publikationen des Instituts aufzunehmen. Der Krieg und seine Folgen haben das begreiflicherweise bisher unmöglich gemacht.<sup>7</sup>

Im Frühjahr des Jahres 1914 trat mir endlich wieder in der Person des Dr. Gustav Bebermeyer aus Göttingen, eines Schülers von Wilhelm Meyer und Edward Schroeder, ein akademischer Assistent an die Seite. Mit ihm zusammen wurde ein von mir seit den ersten Anfängen meiner Akademie-Tätigkeit vorbereiteter Teil meines Werks, für den erst Dr. Willy Scheel, später Dr. Piur und namentlich ein hervorragend begabter Schüler Roethes, Max Voigt, allerdings immer mit Unterbrechungen, Beistand geleistet hatten, und von dem zwei Bogen Text bereits gesetzt waren, kräftig gefördert: die Ausgabe und sprachlich-literarische Untersuchung eines von mir im Oktober 1898 im Prämonstratenserstift Schlägl (Oberösterreich) gefundenen Briefmusterbuchs in lateinischer und deutscher Fassung. Sie eröffnet unter dem Titel: "Ein schlesisch-böhmisches Briefmusterbuch aus der Wende des 14. Jahrhunderts" als erster Teil des V. Bandes meines Akademiewerks die "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ostmittel-deutschen Schriftsprache." Der hier publizierte Briefsteller ist darum wichtig und lehrreich, weil er für den praktischen Gebrauch der Kanzleien kleinerer schlesischer, meissnischer, böhmischer Städte bestimmt, in seinen lateinischen Texten und deren deutschen Uebersetzungen sowie in der als Glosse beigegebenen Abhandlung über den Briefstil die stärkste Abhängigkeit zeigt von dem grossen Kanzlei-Formularenbuch Johannis von Neumarkt, der *Summa Cancellariae Karoli IV.*, namentlich

<sup>7</sup> Seine Ausgabe, der eine reichhaltige religions- und literargeschichtliche Einleitung vorangeht, soll im Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle a/S. im Frühjahr 1925 erscheinen.

aber auch weil sich sowohl in den lateinischen wie in den deutschen Fassungen regelmässige Durchführung des rhythmischen Satzschlusses (des sogenannten *Cursus*) zeigt. Dem Spürer des Dr. Schillmann Berlin war es gelungen, eine der Schlägler Handschrift verwandte zweite Redaktion dieser Mustersammlung in einem Codex der Schneeberger Gymnasialbibliothek zu entdecken. Endlich fanden sich auch in einer dritten Handschrift, einem Schweidnitzer Formularienbuch, einige Stücke der Schlägl-Schneeberger Briefsteller wieder. Aus diesen Funden ergab sich die Beliebtheit und Verbreitung der Sammlung. Aber sie legten uns auch die Pflicht auf, den bereits gesetzten Teil der Texte umzugestalten, da der Schneeberger Codex im Ganzen eine bessere Ueberlieferung enthält als die unsäglich entstellte Schlägler Handschrift.

## V

Ich war mit Dr. Bebermeyer, der sich verhältnismässig rasch in die heikle Aufgabe eingelebt hatte, in voller, frisch vorwärts schreitender Arbeit, während ich gleichzeitig für die Ausgabe des "Ackermanns aus Böhmen" (= Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation Band III, 1), die ich zusammen mit Gymnasialprofessor Dr. Alois Bernt in Leitmeritz, später Gymnasialdirektor in Gablonz, besorgte, den Kommentar ausarbeitete. Da brach der Weltkrieg aus. Mein Gehilfe Dr. Bebermeyer verlies mich am 1. August 1914, und eilte als Freiwilliger zu den Fahnen. Auch Dr. Fritz Kühn, ein Schüler des Historikers Dietrich Schäfer, der mich und Dr. Piur bei den historischen Nachweisen und Untersuchungen zu dem für einen 5. Teil des Rienzobriefwechsels geplanten Kommentar unterstützt hatte, ebenso Dr. Artur Müller, ein Schüler Roethes, der seit mehreren Jahren an dem gleichfalls für den 5. Teil der Rienzo-Ausgabe bestimmten ausführlichen Glossar arbeitete, traten in den Heeresdienst.<sup>8</sup> Als Ersatzmann für Dr. Bebermeyer widmete mir nun zwar der längst zu einem selbständigen Gelehrten von gründlichstem Wissen und sicherer Methode gereifte Dr. Max Voigt seine sachkundige Treue, die er bereits seit 1907 durch manche treffliche Einzelleistung und selbständige Beiträge

<sup>8</sup> Seitdem ist Dr. Fritz Kühn am 12. November 1924 als Gymnasialdirektor im Alter von 41 Jahren gestorben.

(s. Sitzungsberichte 1910, S. 91, Absatz 2; S. 92, Absatz 2), namentlich auch im Jahr 1912 durch die einsichtige Abfassung der vom Verleger (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung) versandten "Ankündigung" meines Werks bewährt hatte, und wirkte förderlich mit bei der Weiterführung und Drucklegung der kritischen Ausgabe des schlesisch-böhmischen Formelbuchs der Handschriften aus Schlägl und Schneeberg. Aber im Februar 1915 schon schied auch er von mir, indem er als freiwilliger Krankenpfleger dem Heeresdienst sich zur Verfügung stellte, dann aber im Mai 1916 bei der Nachmusterung als Infanterist eingezogen wurde.

Der Verleger (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung) hatte mein grosses Werk bisher ohne Zuschuss aus Mitteln der Akademie opferwillig herausgegeben. Bei Kriegsausbruch aber hatte er die Drucklegung des Werks im Allgemeinen eingestellt. So blieben vorläufig Fragmente die im Satz befindlichen drei Teile: 1) "Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit", 2. Hälfte (= Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation II, 1, 2); 2) Ein schlesisch-böhmisches Formelbuch (= Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation V, 1); 3) Schriften, Gedichte des Kanzlers Johann von Neuemark hrsg. von Dr. Joseph Klapper (Breslau) 1 (= Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation VI). Einzig der Druck der Ausgabe des Ackermanns aus Böhmen wurde fortgeführt und erreichte, vielfach durch die Kriegsnöte, Postsperre u.a. behindert und verzögert, endlich 1916 seinen Abschluss. So konnte dann zu Anfang des Jahres 1917 der eigentlich editorische Teil aus Licht treten: die textkritische Einleitung Alois Bernts, die über die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Dialogs und das Verhältnis der Handschriften und Drucke eindringliche Forschungen mitteilt und namentlich das Hinüberwirken dieser ersten und schönsten literarischen Frucht des deutschen Humanismus auf den südwestdeutschen Humanismus des 15. Jahrhunderts sicher stellte; der auf Grund von 11 Handschriften und einer Reihe alter Drucke hergestellte und in der Sprachform des Dichters gebotene Text mit vollständigem Lesartenapparat, der das wandlungsreiche Fortleben des Werks vor Augen führt, ein Wortverzeichnis—alles dies im Wesentlichen von Bernt herührend, wenn auch unter meinem beständigen Beirat redigiert und durch Einzelbeiträge von mir bereichert; schliesslich ein umfassender Kommentar, dessen grammatisch-stilistische

Beiträge hauptsächlich von Bernt verfasst sind, während die literar- und kulturhistorischen Beiträge mein Eigentum sind. Meine biographische und zeitgeschichtliche Darstellung über die Person des Dichters und die künstlerische Bedeutung seiner Schöpfung blieb einem eigenen zweiten Teil aufgespart, dessen Druck begonnen hatte. Er führt den Titel: "Der Dichter des Ackermann und seine Zeit. Biographische und ideengeschichtliche Untersuchungen." Da sein Erscheinen damals bald erwartet werden durfte—zu Ende des Jahres 1917 stand sein Druck beim 18. Bogen—, wurde leider auch meine bereits vollständig ausgedruckte umfassende "Einführung in das Gesamtwerk" (vom August 1916!), die ursprünglich die Ausgabe des Textes eröffnen und unseren Vorreden sowie der textkritischen Einleitung Bernts vorangehn sollte, von dem ersten Teil abgetrennt, teilweise auf den Wunsch meines Mitherausgebers, der eine übermässige Belastung des schon umfänglichen Bandes gefürchtet hatte, und für den zweiten Teil zurückbehalten. Die traurige Folge davon ist, dass, nachdem der Fortgang des Druckes durch Papiernot und wachsende Storkungen im Druckereibetrieb wiederholt unterbrochen und gehemmt worden ist, bis heute, also nach sieben Jahren, von dieser "Einführung" immer noch die fertigen Druckbogen in der Leipziger Druckerei ruhen.

Seit März 1919 hatte der aus dem Krieg nach mehrfacher Verwundung heimgekehrte Dr. Bebermeyer seine Tätigkeit als mein Assistent wieder aufgenommen, aber aus Gesundheitsrücksichten und in Folge der schwierigen Lebensführung in Berlin seinen Wohnsitz erst in seine Vaterstadt Holzminden, dann nach Tübingen verlegt, wo er sich an der Universität als Privatdozent habilitierte. Dr. Max Voigt war im Lauf des Jahres 1919 gleichfalls, anscheinend von schwerer Verwundung genesen, wieder als Helfer erschienen. Aber seine neuen anstrengenden Amtspflichten im Schuldienst, dem auch er, nachdem er die seit so vielen Jahren hinausgeschobene Staatsprüfung glänzend bestanden, um seinen Lebensunterhalt zu sichern, sich hatte widmen müssen, liessen ihm wenig Zeit zu tätiger Mitarbeit. Am 9. April 1921 riss ihn ein tragischer Tod auf immer von meiner Seite. Er hatte von Mitte April 1915 in Polen, Ostpreussen, Russisch-Litauen, Kurland dem aufreißenden Kriegslazarettendienst bis zur Erschöpfung der letzten Kräfte

sich hingegen, dann im Winter 1916-17 als Füsilier an dem Bewegungskrieg in den rumänischen Grenzgebirgen, später an den Kämpfen im Westen teilgenommen. Hier wurde er bei der Offensive vor Arras am 29. März 1918 durch Gewehrdurchschuss des Halswirbels schwer verwundet. Die Wunde heilte schnell, Lähmungserscheinungen, die als besorgniserregende Folge auftraten, wichen spezialärztlicher Behandlung. Die Gesundheit schien zurückgekehrt. Der Unbemittelte erreichte endlich für sich und seine liebevoll sorgende Mutter, eine in dürftigen Verhältnissen lebende Witwe, die lang ersehnte Versorgung: er wurde Oberlehrer, dann Studienrat im Dienst der Stadt Berlin. Der Gehirnschlag, der ihn plötzlich aus scheinbarem Wohlbefinden hinwegraffte, darf wohl als Nachwirkung der im Felde erlittenen Verletzung gelten. Ich habe diesem trefflichen Mitarbeiter und treuen Freunde in den Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademie 1922, 26. Januar, Heft LXIV. LXV einen Nachruf gewidmet, der seine wissenschaftlichen Leistungen würdigt.

Ich habe in ihm, einer gebornen Forschernatur von hervorragender Begabung und idealem Pflichteifer, den Mitarbeiter verloren, auf den ich die Hoffnung setzte, er werde künftig, wenn es mir gelänge, ihm eine feste Stellung bei der Akademie zu verschaffen, immer selbständiger und umfassender bei der Fortführung und einstigen Vollendung meines weiträumigen Baues mitwirken.<sup>9</sup>

Den Druck der dem Abschluss nahen beiden Bände ("Der Dichter des Ackermann aus Böhmen und seine Zeit"= Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation III, 2; "Ein schlesisch-böhmisches Formelbuch aus der Wende des 14. Jahrhunderts"= Vom Mittelalt. z. Reformat. V, 1) haben sachliche und persönliche, namentlich aber finanzielle Hindernisse wider Erwarten erst unterbrochen, dann zum Stillstand gebracht. Der Verleger hatte natürlich bei aller Opferbereitschaft, sobald die wirtschaftlichen Folgen des Krieges und insbesondere nach Friedensschluss die verhängnisvolle Entwertung der deutschen Währung sich schrecklich auszuwirken begannen, für mein früher

<sup>9</sup> Inzwischen erschien, sein „gelehrtes, feinfühliges und gründliches Buch, das nun sein einziges bleiben wird“; Beiträge zur Geschichte der Visionenliteratur im Mittelalter. Leipzig, Mayer und Müller, 1924 (Palaestra 146) mit einem schönen und warmen Nachruf Gustav Roethes.

von ihm aus eigenen Mitteln gedrucktes Werk grosse und immer grössere Zuschüsse, in rascher riesiger Steigerung verlangen müssen. Dem waren die Mittel, über welche die Akademie verfügte und die sie vom Staate erreichen konnte, entfernt nicht gewachsen. Ein hochherzige Stiftung der Witwe Julius Rodenbergs, des Begründers und vieljährigen Herausgebers der Deutschen Rundschau, Frau Justine Rodenberg, die als "Julius Rodenberg-Stiftung für die Wissenschaft vom deutschen Leben" der Akademie gewidmet wurde, hatte im September 1922 und auch noch im Frühling 1923 beträchtliche Summen für die Zwecke der Deutschen Kommission, namentlich aber auch als Zuschuss für die Drucklegung meines Werks gespendet. Dadurch wurde es möglich, den Druck wieder aufzunehmen, und im Januar dieses Jahres glaubte ich, baldige Vollendung der drei Teile ("Der Dichter des Ackermann aus Böhmen und seine Zeit"; Ein schlesisch-böhmisches Formelbuch"; "Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit") erhoffen zu dürfen. Im Sommer griff dann, als die immer noch wachsenden Herstellungskosten alle vorhandenen Geldmittel verschlungen hatten, auf Antrag der Akademie die "Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft" ein, und ihre Zuwendung von 3 Millionen Mark im Juli 1923 sicherte für den Augenblick wohl die Fortführung des Drucks. Aber als dann eine von der Akademie beim Ministerium erbetene Zahlung von weiteren 3 Millionen Mark am 6. September einging, war deren Wert gleich Null, hatte vor allen Dingen bereits der Verleger seit geraumer Zeit; einer Gesamtentschliessung der deutschen Verlegerschaft folgend, in Folge der masslosen neuen Erhöhung des Druckertarifs und der Papierpreise alle Druckaufträge zurückgezogen und den Druck des Abschlusses von V, 1 (Ein schlesisch-böhmisches Formelbuch) eingestellt. Von den Anfang Juli in die Druckerei gesandten 6 Bogen meines Manuscripts der Einleitung ist kaum ein Bogen gesetzt, das übrige lagert in der Druckerei und harrt ebenso wie die in Fahnen gesetzten, aber noch nicht gedruckten übrigen Teile der Einleitung und die Revisions-Korrekturen der drei Schlussbogen des Textes auf die endliche Vollendung.<sup>10</sup>

Im Ganzen liegen von diesen drei halbfertigen Teilen meines Werks 20 Bogen in Reindruck vor, 28 Bogen in Revision,

<sup>10</sup> Im Laufe des Jahres 1924 sind wenigstens jene 6 Bogen doch noch gesetzt worden.

Korrektur oder als Fahnen, während noch ungefähr 24 Bogen Manuscript neu zu setzen sind. In normalen Verhältnissen wäre das eine Kleinigkeit. Bei der gegenwärtigen Notlage Deutschlands aber ist es eine unerfüllbare Forderung.

Noch unmöglicher natürlich scheint für absehbare Zeit die Drucklegung des im Wesentlichen druckfertigen Manuscripts des zweiten Teils der Rienzo-Ausgabe (= V. Mittelalt. z. Reform. II, 2), der eine ausführliche Beschreibung der benutzten 48 Handschriften, zugleich eine Uebersicht über die Verbreitung der Briefe und Schriften Rienzos und Petrarcas im östlichen Deutschland von Dr. Piur bringt und in den auch der ursprünglich für einen fünften Teil bestimmte Kommentar aufgenommen werden soll, während das gleichfalls dem Schlussteil zugewiesene handschriftlich in erster Redaktion vorliegende Glossar des aus dem Kriege als Invalide heimgekehrten Dr. Arthur Müller vorläufig unveröffentlicht bleiben muss. Auch die Fortführung und Vollendung des Drucks der von Dr. Joseph Klapper (Breslau) besorgten Ausgabe der Schriften Johanns von Neumarkt, die im Druck erst bis zum vierten Bogen vorgerückt ist, desgleichen die Veröffentlichung der von Professor Viktor Dollmayr (Lemberg) vorbereiteten Edition der Werke Heinrichs von Mügeln steht in weiter Ferne, selbst wenn der ursprüngliche Plan stark eingeschränkt wird. Eher liesse sich vielleicht die Drucklegung zweier anderer, wenig umfangreicher Teile verwirklichen: die im Manuscript fast vollendete Edition einer Olmützer Sammelhandschrift unter dem Titel "Aus Petrarcas ältestem deutschen Schülerkreise", woran ausser mir Willy Scheel, Dr. Heinrich Anz, Dr. Ludwig Bertalot und Dr. Max Voigt mitgearbeitet haben, und einer Auswahl charakteristischer Texte aus den Anfängen der schlesischen Kanzleisprache.

Als ich am 22. Januar 1920 in der öffentlichen Festsitzung der Akademie zum Jahrestag ihres Erneuerers Friedrichs des Grossen Bericht erstattete über meine Forschungen zur neu-hochdeutschen Sprach- und Bildungsgeschichte (Sitzungsberichte 1920, S. 71-86) und dadurch eine Art Ersatz gab für meine erwähnte, immer noch ungedruckte "Einführung in das Gesamtwerk," musste ich mit dem Ausdruck banger Sorge schliessen für die Zukunft meines Unternehmers. Schon damals sah ich, dass eine Zusammenziehung und Verengung des

frühern Plans unerlässlich sei. Seitdem aber haben sich die Schatten, die damals über meiner Arbeit lagen, zur Nacht der Hoffnungslosigkeit verdichtet.

Keinen aufmerksamen Leser jenes Berichts vom Januar 1920 konnte das überraschen, wenn er die furchtbare Verschlimmerung der wirtschaftlichen Lage Deutschlands und ihre vernichtenden Folgen für die Pflege der Wissenschaft, zumal der von wachsender Abneigung der grossen Masse verfolgten rein geschichtlichen Forschung, sich vergegenwärtigte.

## VI

Man hat mir mehrfach und zwar manchmal in verletzender Form das langsame Fortschreiten meines Werkes vorgeworfen. Dabei übersah man, dass ich wider Erwarten überwiegend auf die eigene Kraft angewiesen blieb. Denn alle Mitarbeiter, die, seitdem Dr. Piur seine Stellung als Assistent aufgeben musste, sich meinem Werk widmeten, konnten es nur mit Unterbrechungen und immer nur auf kurze Zeit neben ihren Berufspflichten. Und es war ein übler Trost, dass auch mein grösserer Vorgänger in einer freien deutschen Fachstelle der Akademie, Jacob Grimm zusammen mit seinem Bruder und dann allein ohne dauernde und regelmässige Hilfe von Mitarbeitern sein Deutsches Wörterbuch schaffen musste und sich an dieser Last voller Unmut müde rang. Eine schwere Hemmung bestand für mich von Anfang an darin, dass ich, der ich weder der Universität angehöre, noch etwa von mir als Mitglied der Akademie angekündigte Uebungen im Germanischen Seminar der Universität abhalten durfte, nur unter grossen Schwierigkeiten und mit zweifelhaftem Erfolge hätte versuchen können, mir selbst einen gelehrten Nachwuchs zur Mitwirkung an meinem Werke zu erziehen. Darauf hätte ich allenfalls hoffen dürfen nur bei beharrlichster und sehr energischer Ausübung einer umfassenden Lehrtätigkeit an der Universität, auch in regelmässigen und planmässig sich ergänzenden Vorlesungen. Standen doch die bekannten Mittel, die jeder Ordinarius der Fakultät durch seine Beteiligung an Promotionen und Habilitationen besitzt, um junge Gelehrte wissenschaftlich und persönlich sich eng zu verbinden, mir nicht zu Gebote. Die Berliner Verhältnisse mit ihren grossen Entfernungen bewirken es aber, dass eine ernstgenommene Lehrtätigkeit sehr viel Zeit



und Kraft erfordert, ja eigentlich die volle körperliche und geistige Leistungsfähigkeit aufzehrt. So glaubte ich, dass ich meiner Pflicht, als freier Akademiker lediglich schöpferisch der Forschung zu dienen, besser entspreche, wenn ich von der aufreibenden, in ihrer Wirkung, wenigstens zu dem von mir erstrebten Ziel, dennoch problematischen Lehrtätigkeit Abstand nehme und von dem mir als Akademiemitglied zustehenden Recht, an jeder preussischen Universität Vorlesungen zu halten, nicht Gebrauch mache.

Bei meiner Berufung in die Berliner Akademie hatte ich Grund gehabt, eine baldige Verwirklichung der Vorhersage zu erwarten, mit der Adolf von Harnack seine Geschichte der Berliner Akademie geschlossen hatte, dass nämlich die einzelnen wissenschaftlichen Commissionen der Akademie sich von selbst mit natürlicher Notwendigkeit zu selbständigen Forschungsinstituten auswachsen würden. Von einem "Deutschen Institut" als künftigem Ziel der Deutschen Commission war ja auch bei den Beratungen der Akademie über die deutschen Fachstellen und auch in ihren öffentlichen Aeusserungen darüber öfter die Rede gewesen. So hatte sie schon in ihrer Eingabe an das Kultusministerium vom 18. Juni 1900 und in dem Immediatgesuch an den König vom 22. Juni 1900 als ihre Ueberzeugung ausgesprochen: "der Weite und Dauer der Arbeiten, zu denen die einheitliche, gross angelegte Erforschung deutscher Sprache und Literatur hindrängt, entspräche befriedigend erst die Begründung eines der Akademie anzugliedernden Instituts für deutsche Sprache mit *bleibender* Organisation, mit planmässig und dauernd angestellten Hilfskräften." Ein solches Forschungsinstitut hatte schon Wilhelm Scherer als notwendige Ergänzung unserer Wissenschafts-Organisation gefordert. Ich selbst hatte bereits vor meinem Eintritt in die Akademie und später wiederholt ein solches Deutsches Institut gefordert, in dem ich mir allerdings die Einrichtung der Pariser *Ecole des Chartes* mit der Einrichtung des Wiener Instituts für österreichische Geschichte verbunden und auf eine wirklich allseitige Pflege der Deutschkunde durch Schulung, Forschung, Publikation im sprachlichen, literarischen, historischen, kunst- und rechts- und kirchengeschichtlichen Bereich angewendet dachte und denke. Aber leider ist in den seitdem verflossenen 23 Jahren

jenes Zukunftsbild Harnacks nicht Wirklichkeit geworden und ein von mir innerhalb der Akademie gemachter Versuch, ein solches Institut der Deutschkunde durch universales Zusammenwirken aller um die geschichtliche Erforschung der vaterländischen Kultur sich bemühenden Kollegen vorzubereiten, fand nicht die einhellige Billigung, die allein ein Gelingen verbürgen konnte. Anderseits, die von Harnack als Ersatz der nicht zu Stande gekommenen Forschungsinstitute der Akademie ins Leben gerufenen Forschungsinstitute der "Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften," die in einem gewissen Personal-Zusammenhang mit der Akademie stehn, widmen sich bisher überwiegend den Naturwissenschaften.

Im Sommer des Jahres 1920 schien sich mir ein lockender Weg zu öffnen, um doch noch durch ein Lehramt an der Berliner Universität die unmittelbare lebendige Föhlung mit dem gelehrten Nachwuchs zu gewinnen, die meinem Werke jöngere Helfer zuföhren konnte. Nachdem Erich Schmidts Professur für neuere deutsche Literatur sieben Jahr lang unbesetzt geblieben war, erwählte die philosophische Fakultät zu seinem Nachfolger Professor Petersen von der Universität Frankfurt und gleichzeitig berief der preussische Kultusminister als zweiten Vertreter des Fachs Professor Gundelfinger (Gundolf) von der Universität Heidelberg. Letzterer aber lehnte den Ruf ab, und nun bot mir der Kultusminister diese zweite Stelle und die Mitdirection des Germanischen Seminars unter sehr verlockenden Bedingungen an. Aber da die Fakultät zu meiner Berufung erst Stellung nehmen wollte nach dem —erst für Ostern 1921 zu erwartenden— Eintritt des Professor Petersen in ihren Kreis, anderseits der Minister von mir eine Entscheidung bis Anfang Oktober 1920 verlangte, so habe ich den Ruf, gegen dessen Annahme doch auch manche sonstige Bedenken sprachen, ablehnen müssen.

Damals hoffte ich noch, in Max Voigt einen der Akademie durch feste Anstellung als "Wissenschaftlicher Beamter" zu verbindenden Helfer, Fortföhrer und Vollender meines Werks zu gewinnen, hoffte auch, meinen älteren Schüler und Freund Dr. Piur auf irgend einem Wege wieder dem Dienst der Forschung zuföhren und unter die ständigen Mitarbeiter der Akademie einreihen zu können. Der Tod Voigts hat die erste

Hoffnung vernichtet, die trostlose finanzielle Lage Preussens entzieht auch der zweiten Hoffnung jeden Halt.

Das alte Wort, dass Genossenschaft im Unglück tröste, trifft auf meine Lage nicht zu. Wohl sind viele Leiter akademischer Unternehmungen hinsichtlich dieser und viele deutsche Forscher hinsichtlich ihrer eigenen Arbeiten in der gleichen Lage wie ich. Aber die meisten, ja fast alle anderen Akademie-Unternehmungen sind objektiveren Charakters, ruhen auf Collectivarbeit, auf dem organisierten Grossbetrieb: so die Handschrifteninventarisierung, die "Deutschen Texte des Mittelalters," die Wielandausgabe, die Idiotiken. Mein Werk aber ist ganz persönlich und steht auf meinen zwei Augen. Wenigstens so lange bis es durch eine abgeschlossene Reihe fertiger Bände seine Methode, seinen Sinn und sein Ziel als fortwirkendes Vorbild sichtbar und fasslich gemacht hat. Andere Forscher dagegen, deren eigenen Werken die Not der Zeit den Weg in die Öffentlichkeit sperrt, sind davon meist nur für eine oder die andere Arbeit betroffen. Auch können sie hoffen, durch breitere und stärkere Entfaltung ihrer Lehrtätigkeit an der Universität ihren wissenschaftlichen Ergebnissen in ihren Schülern Leben, Wirkung und Dauer zu verschaffen. Ich aber habe mein ganzes wissenschaftliches Vermögen, Wollen, Schaffen auf *eine* Karte gesetzt und diese versagt. Ich habe meines grossen Akademiewerkes halber ältere umfassende Arbeiten, den nahezu fertigen zweiten Band meines Buchs über Walther von der Vogelweide, ein Manuscript von gewaltigem Umfang, und mein gleichfalls bis auf das Schlusskapitel vollendetes Buch über "Longinus und Gral" seit meiner Uebersiedlung nach Berlin unberührt verschlossen und es vermieden, die letzte Hand daran zu legen, weil ich mich ungeteilt der neuen höheren Pflicht für die Akademie widmen wollte. Jetzt ist beides, das Geopferte wie alles das, zu dessen Sicherung und Förderung jenes Opfer gebracht wurde, mir in denselben Abgrund versunken, und die Erträge aller in vierzig Jahren durchwachten Nächte ruhn nun beisammen erstickt in der Verborgenheit. Wird Hilfe kommen, die sie ans Licht rettet und ihre Vollendung sichert, ehe meine Hand erlahmt und meine Augen sich schliessen?

*Berlin*

KONRAD BURDACH

## ECLOGUE TYPES IN ENGLISH POETRY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

One literary phenomenon of the eighteenth century that has received only the scantiest mention is revealed in the astonishingly wide use of the eclogue. Here and there investigators in the pastoral of this period have commented on the non-pastoral nature of some poems styled eclogues but without perceiving the significance of the fact, while some have considered as *bona-fide* pastorals poems that belong to a distinct and widely detached species of the class; still others have explained the peculiar nature of these pieces only as burlesques of the original type and not as an authentic type themselves.<sup>1</sup> As will be seen, this last problem presents the greatest difficulty encountered in interpretation and classification, for the spirit of mockery in Pope's age was so universal and all-inclusive that it sometimes is hard to ascertain exactly the object of ridicule. In spite of the numerous studies of the eighteenth-century pastoral, the significance of the varied uses of the eclogue has been overlooked, owing, I think, to the failure to realize what the term really meant to the poets of that age.

It was the observation of some widely different poems of the eighteenth century named eclogues that induced me to classify poems of this denomination and to attempt to find a common factor in all that might form the basis of a definition. The principle of classification and division that I have tried to maintain throughout relates to the life and setting described in the poem, though there are one or two kinds that cannot be so defined. The common factor I have discovered, after rather minute and comprehensive examination, to be structure and not content, and at the outset I wish to insist that, to the eighteenth century at least, the term eclogue soon divorced itself from any pastoral meaning and came to denote only the

<sup>1</sup> R. T. Kerlin, *Theocritus in English Literature*, p. 80; Elizabeth Nitchie, *Vergil and the English Poets*, p. 173; Martha H. Shackford, "A Definition of the Pastoral Idyll," *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, vol. XIX, p. 589.

form into which a poem was cast.<sup>2</sup> On this basis, and on this alone, can we account for the many varieties of poems bearing the term in the title.

Any discussion of the eclogue in English literature, especially of the eighteenth century, must necessarily draw more from Virgil than from Theocritus. Although the Roman himself followed closely in the footsteps of his predecessor, and although artistically his work is inferior to the idylls of the latter, the *Bucolics* have furnished the model for the type. The fact that eclogue rather than idyll has been the term most frequently applied to certain forms of the pastoral, together with the fact that those elements that appear most persistently in such poetry are all found in Virgil's poems, though for the most part derived by him from the Greek, indicates that the majority of pastoralists have relied mainly on Virgil. Furthermore, the substitution of Arcadia for Sicily as the conventional scene of pastoral literature, first introduced by Virgil, emphasizes the predominant influence of the latter's work. From Virgil the fitful pastoral tradition proceeded through Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus to Mantuanus who in turn imparted a powerful impetus to the Virgilian eclogue. The homogeneity of the Latin poems, both in form and content, in contrast to the

<sup>2</sup> The feeling that the eclogue possessed a character separable from any pastoral significance was evidenced many years before. Early in the sixteenth century Sannazaro felt free to put into eclogue form scenes of the seashore with fishermen as characters, and to call them piscatory eclogues. Though the idylls of Theocritus contain suggestions for such an innovation, the poems of Sannazaro are so closely patterned after Virgil that the idea must have been derived from that source. (Cf. Mustard's edition of Sannazaro, p. 26.) Furthermore, the eclogue invaded other fields, and we find naval eclogues, eclogues of hunters, of vine dressers, and the like. (Cf. Lilly, *The Georgic*, pp. 39-40). A certain Scotchman by the name of John Leech in *Musae Priores*, 1620, published twenty eclogues, which I have not seen, divided into four groups, bucolics, piscatory, nautical, and vinitoriae. (Cf. Mustard, p. 21.) The occurrence of such a title as "A Pastoral Eclogue" in Spenser and others would show evident tautology, had a distinction not been felt between the two words, whereby one referred to content and the other to form. In his *Art of Poetrie*, Puttenham lists the English poets conspicuous in "Eclogue and Pastorall," suggesting a distinction that must have been in his mind. In several instances we find "eclogue" used as equivalent to dialogue, i.e., in such titles as "Eclogue between young Willie and old Wernock," "Eclogue between Billie and Jockie," while as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century it was defined as a "talking together." (Cf. *N. E. D.* under Eclogue.)

heterogeneous nature of the idylls, was more conducive to the establishment of a definite poetic type. These poems are distinguished by three characteristics: pastoral mood and content, dramatic form, and literary motifs and devices.<sup>3</sup> In the Renaissance the pastoral content outgrew the narrow limits of its early expression, expanding into the pastoral romance and drama, and contracting into the pastoral song.<sup>4</sup> In spite of its frequent artificiality and much berated insincerity this element has clung tenaciously to English poetry finding expression in the works of some of the greatest poets. But if the pastoral content overflowed the mould into which it had been poured, the mould itself, especially in the eighteenth century, found uses far beyond its first purpose.

The use of the term "dramatic form" as applied to these poems requires definition and elucidation. In the Virgilian eclogue there is practically no action, but there is a clearly suggested scene in which soliloquy or dialogue is carried on—a kind of static dramatic scene. The core or substance of the eclogue—dialogue, contest, soliloquy—is localized and the characters are identified, while the scene is definitely, though often briefly, described either at the beginning or the end, and frequently in both places. Furthermore, within the body of the poem frequent allusions to the surroundings tend to keep in mind the stage upon which the characters are expressing their sentiments. For this reason the descriptive element has always been most pronounced. By its means the picture is framed, the jewel is set, the stage is arranged. An examination of Virgil's *Bucolics* shows that in each, with the exception of the fourth, which is in a class by itself, and which was the source of a definite type of eclogue in the eighteenth century, the setting is given, sometimes by the author, sometimes by one of the characters. The consistency of the poems in this respect could not fail to impress a strong connotation of form upon the term "eclogue" that is chiefly responsible for the varieties that arose in Pope's age.

<sup>3</sup> The more important of these are the lover's complaint, elegiac lament, conflictus, song contest, refrain, incantation, cumulative simile, and hyperbolic conceit. Though they appear frequently in the various types of eclogue to be mentioned, they are not so closely identified with the term as is the form, and therefore will be only incidentally mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> See W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 13 and Appendix I.

The first variety that comes to our notice may be styled the conventional, an unalloyed product of neo-classicism. One of the most characteristic features of Dryden's age was the penchant for constructing ideal literary forms and for using them as standards in literary appraisal, and, to a less extent, as models in literary creation. In the definition of such ideals classical theory and practice furnished only a broken arc; the circle was completed by reason and a peculiar sense of fitness. Thus the neo-classicist did not hesitate to criticize the classics themselves, although they furnished the basis for his critical dogma, for departing from the ideal form constructed upon them. The idea of a pastoral that grew to perfection during this period illustrates well the case in hand. (Rapin, in his *Reflections on Aristotle's Poesy*, Chap. 27, as translated by Rymer, 1674, was one of the first to promulgate what a pastoral should be. Starting out with a definition of an eclogue as an "Image of the life of shepherds," he added to his observations of Theocritus' and Virgil's poems the qualities he could deduce as necessarily following from his definition, especially simplicity and modesty. In his eyes the content of an eclogue should be the "little affairs" of a shepherd's life, the style should be sweet, natural, and pure, the meter flowing and easy, the narratives short and the descriptions little.

Fourteen years later Fontenelle published his *Discours sur la nature de l'eclogue*, to which he tacked his *Digression sur les anciens et les modernes*, a work which moved Sir William Temple to wrath, and which for that reason called attention to the prefixed study of the pastoral. In general Fontenelle agreed with Rapin, but he made two additions to the theory. In the first place, he pointed out the path which the pastoral should follow as lying between a too low or rustic treatment on one hand and a too lofty or artificial style on the other, thus paving the way for the distinction Pope later drew between simplicity and rusticity, and unfitting the pastoral for realistic description of country life.<sup>5</sup> His second contribution

<sup>5</sup> "Entre la grossièreté ordinaire des Bergers de Théocrite, et le trop d'esprit de la plupart de nos Bergers modernes, il y a un milieu à tenir; mais loin qu'il soit aisé à prendre dans l'exécution, il n'est seulement pas aisé à marquer dans la théorie. Il faut que les Bergers aient de l'esprit, et de l'esprit fin et galant; ils ne plairoient pas sans cela. Il faut qu'ils n'en aient que jusqu' à un certain

to the theory entirely removed the pastoral from any possible relation to actual life. As stated above, Rapin had defined the eclogue as an imitation of a shepherd's life, but he had failed to designate of what time the shepherd should be. This omission Fontenelle supplied by a bit of reasoning to the effect that since the first mode of man's life was pastoral, that poetry which treats of shepherds must be the most ancient composition of man, and therefore a pastoral must be an imitation of an ancient shepherd's life. Furthermore, he held that the life of a modern shepherd was much too gross for poetry.<sup>6</sup> Nine years later, William Walsh, in his preface to the *Bucolics* in Dryden's translation of Virgil, reasoned that since the most ancient times were the Golden Age, the pastoral must be an image of a shepherd at that time of peace and innocence, and thus the pastoral and the Age of Gold were firmly bound together. In ways such as this rationalism and neo-classicism conspired against true poetry.

Walsh expatiates at some length on the innocence, simplicity, health, and serenity of the Golden Age,<sup>7</sup> and deprecates the follies, diseases, and passions of civilization, which, he thinks, are responsible for the disuse into which the pastoral had fallen. He also points out the difference between the ancient shepherd and the modern who is poor, stupid, cowardly, and illiterate. He next proceeds to draw up some half dozen rules for the writing of pastorals, largely echoes of his two predecessors, with

point; autrement ce ne seroient plus des Bergers. Je vais tâcher de déterminer quel est ce point, et hasarder l'idée que j'ai la-dessus. . . . Il faut aussi que les sentimens dont on fait la matière des Eglogues, soient plus fins et plus délicats que ceux des vrais Bergers; mais il faut leur donner la forme la plus simple et la plus champêtre qu'il soit possible." *Oeuvres de Monsieur de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. 4, pp. 156, 165.

<sup>6</sup> "La Poésie pastorale est apparemment la plus ancienne de toutes les Poésies, parce que la condition de Berger est la plus ancienne de toutes les conditions. . . . Alors les Habitans de la campagne furent les esclaves de ceux des villes; et la vie pastorale étant devenue le partage des plus malheureux d'entre les hommes, n'inspira plus rien d'agréable." Fontenelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>7</sup> See also his preface to *A Collection of Letters and Poems, Amorous and Gallant*, 1692, where he says that truth, sincerity, innocence, humility, and modesty should characterize a pastoral, and criticizes Theocritus and Virgil for falling short of this standard.



emphasis upon innocence, naturalness, clearness, and elegance. The third rule is, however, very significant for us. It states that an eclogue should contain some "ordonnance", design, little plot, pastoral scene: "This is everywhere observed by Virgil, and particularly remarkable in the First Eclogue, *the Standard of all pastorals*. A beautiful landscape presents itself to view; a shepherd, with his flocks around him, resting securely under a spreading beech . . . ; another in quite different situation; the sun setting," etc.<sup>8</sup> [My italics.] Not only were the style and content determined for the eclogue, but the form itself had crystallized, and it was the latter that grew in importance until it came to be almost completely identified with the eclogue.

Though Walsh is really the founder of the conventional eclogue in England, it was his pupil in the pastoral, Pope, who first brought it into prominence. In his "Discourse on Pastoral Poetry" the latter gives us the theory underlying his eclogues, which was entirely taken from Rapin, Fontenelle, and Walsh, especially the latter, with the exception that Pope lays greater stress upon smoothness of versification. Insisting on the happy medium between manners too polite and too coarse, he makes a good deal of the distinction between rusticity and simplicity, a distinction really between reality and conventionality. Most of the criticisms that have been directed against Pope's poems are entirely beside the point, because the poems cannot be blamed for not being what they were not intended to be. Laying down the postulate that a pastoral should be a perfect image of the Golden Age, he did not intend to portray actual rustic life or setting, but only to describe the age of innocence. Since he could not possibly have secured any first-hand information of man and nature at that delectable time, he had to go to his classics for descriptive detail. Thus his descriptions are of the most general and conventional neo-classical nature, introducing no new images and showing no feeling for nature or country life. Furthermore, they make use of the conventional devices that had come down from Virgil—the wager, the lament, two shepherds' alternate praise of their sweethearts, and the stylistic

<sup>8</sup> Walsh wrote eclogues in conformity to his theory, entitled "Daphne," "Galatea," "Damon," and "Lycon," in each of which the setting is definitely described, and which undoubtedly influenced Pope's pastorals.

peculiarities such as the cumulative comparison and hyperbolic statement.

The poems also reveal an even closer conformity to the structure of the neo-classical pastoral than Walsh's. Taking the idea of a time cycle from Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, Pope conceived the plan of naming each poem after a season and of introducing descriptive details appropriate to the season. This plan necessitated the emphasizing of the setting as opposed to the soliloquy or dialogue put in the mouth of the shepherds. Not only was the season definitely determined by the description but even the time of day was suggested, and the poems so arranged that as the seasons came in proper order, the time of day moved from morning to noon, evening, and night. Even though the scene and time are obvious enough in the poems themselves, in the edition of his poems that appeared in 1736, Pope thought it necessary to call attention in footnotes to this important element in the same manner employed to designate scenes in a drama: (Spring) "The Scene of this Pastoral a Valley, the Time the Morning;" (Summer) "The Scene of this Pastoral by the River's side; suitable to the heat of the season; the Time, Noon;" (Autumn) "The Scene, a Hill; the Time, at Sun-set; (Winter) "The Scene of this Pastoral lies in a grove, the Time at Midnight." Thus Pope's *Pastorals* fixed this kind of dramatic form upon the eclogue so definitely that the eighteenth century never lost sight of it.

The conventional bucolic is obviously the least interesting of the numerous eclogue types of the eighteenth century; so much so that it is unnecessary to call attention to many individual examples. Few cling so closely to Virgil as Pope, but they are no more original with their conventional names and sentiments and pasteboard descriptions of nature. Among the criminals in this field might be mentioned Fenton, Duck, Lyttleton, William Thompson, Blacklock, Logan, and John Scott, and a host of anonymous poets. Lyttleton's *The Progress of Love. In Four Eclogues 1732*, furnishes an interesting example of the eclogue cutting across another poetic form, the progress poem, and reveals a simple narrative told in four scenes or eclogues. It is hardly fair to include John Scott in the conventional class without some modifications. He was genuinely interested in English rather than Arcadian landscapes, and used the

eclogue largely because of its conventional form, as he says in the advertisement to his "Amoebaeon Eclogues": "Much of the rural imagery which our country affords, has already been introduced in poetry; but many obvious and pleasing appearances seem to have totally escaped notice. To describe these is the business of the following Eclogues. The plan of the *Carmen Amoebaeum*, or responsive verse of the ancients, inconsistent as it may be deemed with modern manners, was preferred on this occasion, as admitting an arbitrary and desultory disposition of ideas, where it was found difficult to preserve a regular connection." The first eclogue, called "Rural Scenery" and devoted entirely to description, shows how the descriptive element had become very pronounced by the crystallization of the form, while the second, "Rural Business", reveals a georgic expressed in eclogue form and hence called by that name. Scott is not conventional in his landscapes; in fact, he is so technical in many of the terms he uses to describe English trees and flowers that he found explanatory footnotes necessary. In another set of eclogues, however, styled "Moral Eclogues" and written to exemplify Johnson's definition of a pastoral, "the representation of an action or passion by its effect on country life," he is entirely conventional in names, themes, situations, flocks, etc., though at times he brings his descriptions back to England.

There was, of course, during this century much conventional pastoral poetry that was not cast into the form, and the authors of such poems were careful not to call them by the name. In imitation of Lyttleton's *Progress of Love*. In *Four Eclogues* Shenstone wrote his *Pastoral Ballad*. In *Four Parts*, in which the divisions are differently named because they do not preserve the form, although the content in both poems is the same. Shenstone introduced the anapaestic meter into pastoral poetry, in which he was followed, among others, by Cunningham. The latter also followed Shenstone in not using the eclogue form nor does he call any of his rural poems eclogues. During this period there were pastoral ballads, pastoral songs, pastoral tales, and the like, but when so called they are not eclogues. The term pastoral when used as a noun was, owing to the influence of Pope, frequently an eclogue, but when used as an adjective had no such signification. There was a definite distinction

between the terms "eclogue" and "pastoral," and that distinction related to form.<sup>9</sup>

It was this feeling for form that produced the town eclogue, an innovation first introduced by Swift in a "A Town Eclogue. 1710. Scene, the Royal Exchange." After a description of the setting stated in the title, the characters, Phillis, a prostitute, and Corydon, her betrayer, are described. Phillis laments her betrayal, her coming confinement, and her fruitless solicitation of other men, in answer to which Corydon declares his faithfulness. In Browning's edition of Swift's poems, a note on this poem reads as follows: "Swift and Pope delighted to ridicule Philips' 'Pastorals' and wrote several parodies upon them, the fame of which has been eclipsed by Gay's *Shepherd's Week*." Following this suggestion all scholars who have noticed this form of the eclogue have pronounced it a burlesque, failing to see that if it is such, it is much more a burlesque upon Pope's poems than upon Philips'. The conventional and not the native eclogue is reflected in this poem. Furthermore, it is hard to believe that Pope would satirize a form which he had employed with a good deal of self-satisfaction.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The influence of the conventional pastoral on other kinds of poetry in the century was much greater than has been recognized. Pope's poems, which suggested the plan of the *Seasons* to Thomson, established the time cycle in descriptive verse, a device that permeates the century. Later the melancholy motif cut across the cycle and singled out evening, while at other times single seasons or times of day were described. Shelley's *Night* and Keats' *Autumn* are lineal descendants of Pope's eclogues. From the idea of the Golden Age in the conventional eclogue also was derived the country versus town motif best expressed by Thomson, Goldsmith, and Cowper. The idea of innocence and health was transferred from the Golden Age to a sentimentalized view of contemporary country life. See Parnell's "Health. An Eclogue"; "On Rural Felicity" (ascribed to Ambrose Philips); "A Pastoral Ode on Retirement, or the Pleasures of a Country Life" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1776); John Scott's "Theron; or the Praise of Rural Life", and Mrs. Leapor's "The Month of August. A Pastoral." See also the many eclogue elements in Thomson's *Seasons*, especially "Summer," in which the Golden Age is described, and the desire for the Golden Age in Cowper's *Task*, Bk. IV, ll. 513-525.

<sup>10</sup> There is a passage in one of Swift's letters to Pope, Aug. 30, 1716, that has been subject to misconstruction: "There is a young ingenious Quaker in this town who writes verses to his mistress, not very correct, but in a strain purely what a poetical Quaker should do, commending her look and habit, etc. It gave me a hint that a set of Quaker pastorals might succeed, if our friend Gay could fancy it, and I think it a fruitful subject; pray hear what he says.

It is very necessary to emphasize the fact that the town eclogue is not a burlesque, for if it is such, it does not, of course, represent an authentic extension of the use of the form. Since I believe that in its first appearance the town pastoral is a mock poem, a careful definition of the terms "burlesque" and "mock" is essential. In a burlesque poem a literary type or form is the object of ridicule. Absurd or ridiculous subject-matter is introduced, contrasting as widely as possible with the usual content of the type, in order to cast ridicule on the latter. The author is not at all interested in the subject-matter except in so far as it ridicules the form. A splendid example of burlesque is Chaucer's *Rime of Sir Thopas*, in which the poet has no desire to satirize Sir Thopas or anything else in the content, but is ridiculing the medieval romance, the literary type that his poem apes. The mock poem, on the other hand, introduces a form, the associations of which are utterly incongruous with the subject-matter of the poem, in order to ridicule this subject-matter. The content is the object of the satire; in that the poet is interested. In his mock-heroic poem *The Rape of the Lock*, Pope certainly reveals no intent of ridiculing the epic form, but is obviously desirous of satirizing the content, the trivial quarrel in high life.<sup>11</sup>

With this distinction in mind it is not hard to ascertain the true nature of Swift's poem. It reveals that savage heartless

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I believe farther, the pastoral ridicule is not exhausted, and that a porter, footman, or chairman's pastoral might do well. Or what think you of a Newgate pastoral among the whores and thieves there." (F. E. Ball's edition of Swift's letters, vol. 2, p. 330.) The expression "pastoral ridicule" here does not mean ridicule of the pastoral, but the ridicule that the pastoral form imposes on the content. Thus in the one Quaker pastoral that Gay wrote in answer to Swift's hint, the satire is evidently leveled against the Quakers. Furthermore, Swift considered the *Beggars Opera*, the "Newgate pastoral," "a very severe satire upon the most pernicious villainies of mankind." (Ball, *op. cit.* vol. 4, p. 330). Pope, Swift, and Gay were gunning for bigger game than a literary type.

<sup>11</sup> In the preface to *The Scribleriad*, Owen Cambridge says that a true mock epic laughs at the form, imitating it as closely as possible. But he observes that Swift's and Pope's poems are not true mock poems, because they are interested in content for a purpose other than burlesquing the epic form. He says that although he set out to write a mock-heroic, that is a burlesque, he would think his time most triflingly employed had he not had the intention of satirizing the vanity of many useless studies. Cambridge's idea of the mock poem was evidently spun out of his head, and was not based upon actual literary practice.

satire, that apparent delight in dwelling upon the physical nastiness and moral degradation of mankind which is so evident in much of Swift's work. He saw the possibilities inherent in the eclogue form as a form, and further perceived the heightened effect his satire would receive when embodied in a form, to which clung the associations of Golden-Age simplicity and innocence. Swift is interested in content; his poem is a mock eclogue. It is one of a piece with much of his other poetry, as is readily seen in such productions as "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed. Written for the honor of the fair Sex," a loathsome description of a harlot, and "Strephon and Chloe." The mock pastoral effect is revealed in the use of conventional names and in such lines as

"Corinna, pride of Drury-Lane,  
For whom no Shepherd sighs in vain."

When this eclogue type was first put forth, it was soon seized upon with avidity by the leading poets of the day, for it afforded them an excellent vehicle for social satire, one of the chief themes of the day. John Gay was the next to employ the form in a poem called "A Town Eclogue" published in Steele's *Poetical Miscellanies*, 1713, and later republished under the title "Araminta, an Elegy." In 1716 another appeared in *Court Poems*, called "The Toilette, a Town Eclogue," while a few years later appeared "The Tea Table," "The Funeral," and "The Espousal, A Sober Eclogue Between two of the People called Quakers." The scenes of these poems are laid in such places as before a mirror in a dressing room, at the tea table, on a couch, and the like, while the contents deal with a maiden bemoaning her social eclipse, a contest in scandal, and a wife's hypocritical lament for a dead husband, which is interrupted by a letter from her gallant. Pope himself joined in the game with "The Basset Table," published in *Court Poems*, and about this same time Lady Mary Wortley Montague, then a close friend of Pope's, wrote four eclogues, which, together with Gay's "Toilette" and Pope's poem, were published in 1747 under the title *Six Town Eclogues*. Lady Mary got the plan of her poems from Gay's *Shepherd's Week*, assigning one poem to each day of the week, the titles being: "Monday. Roxana, or the Drawing-Room"; "Tuesday. St. James's Coffee-House. Silliander and Patch"; "Wednesday. The Tête à Tête. Dacinda"; "Thursday. The Bassette-Table.

Smilinda and Cardelia;" "Friday. The Toilette. Lydia;" "Saturday. The Small-Pox. Flavia." The scene of these eclogues can easily be inferred from the titles, and the subject-matter is concerned with that kind of social satire made prominent by *The Rape of the Lock* and expressed in much poetry of the day.

The town eclogue is a short dramatic scene, modeled upon Virgil's *Bucolics* and depicting city life and manners in a greater or less satirical manner. This age, with its keen sense of form and love of the classics, saw the possibilities in the structure of the eclogue, itself in large part individualized by this structure, and poured into the mould the material in which they were truly interested. To my mind it represents a definite extension in the use of the pastoral, made possible by the looseness of union between the content and structure of the Latin poems, and thus should be considered a genuine poetic type. Many of these poems preserve some of the motifs and devices of the *Bucolics*, but the one constant factor in them all is the form described early in this article. Although with its first appearance the town eclogue was a mock poem, it soon lost even this feature, and became a *bona fide* medium of satirical expression.<sup>12</sup>

During the eighteenth century there were of course some burlesques. Any form as popular as the eclogue was sure to be ridiculed at some time.<sup>13</sup> Shenstone's "Colemira, a Culinary Eclogue," in which the scene is a kitchen and the soliloquizer a scullion, and Jago's "The Scavengers. A Town Eclogue," the title of which speaks for itself, are certainly pure burlesques. So also are the four poems of Andrew Erskine, which appeared in one volume called *Town Eclogues* with the subtitles, "The

<sup>12</sup> Striking evidence of this fact is seen in what Goldsmith says about the "Saturday" eclogue of Lady Mary: "To these we shall subjoin the following eclogue, or soliloquy, written by a lady, which contains a proper lesson to those of her own sex, who are so weak as to value themselves on that fading flower, beauty; and seems intended to recommend something more extimable to their culture and consideration." *Art of Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 108. Certainly Goldsmith perceives neither a burlesque nor mock element in this poem, but only satire with a definite purpose.

<sup>13</sup> In the *Annual Register* for 1767 appeared a burlesque called "A Pastoral. In the Modern Stile," the nature of which may easily be gathered from the closing lines:

"But see, Aquarius fills his ample vase  
And Taurus warbles to Vitruvian laws."

Hangmen," "The Harlequins," "The Street Walkers," and "The Undertakers." Erskine was inspired to his undertaking by a misconstruction placed upon a passage in one of Swift's letters, quoted in a former footnote, in which the latter advises Gay to write some Quaker pastorals with the assurance that the pastoral ridicule had not been exhausted. This expression Erskine interpreted as meaning ridicule of the pastoral, whereas Swift meant the ridicule obtained by means of the eclogue. Thus Erskine was led to write the poems, as he says, "to expose the false Taste for florid Description, which prevails so universally in modern poetry."<sup>14</sup>

But certainly no burlesque was intended in "A Town Eclogue. In Allusion to Part of the Fifth Eclogue of Virgil: On the Death of the celebrated Matthew Prior," 1721, in which one of the characters reads at a coffee house a lament for the late poet.<sup>15</sup> The possibility of serious treatment of the form is also emphasized in Charles Jenner's *Town Eclogues*, 1772, the separate titles being "The Court Chaplain," "Time Was," "The Modern Couple," "The Poet," "Domestic Happiness," "The Visionary." The author denies that spleen dictated any of the poems with the assurance that "the little general satire they contain is such as can affect no private person, and the sentiments may probably not be without their use." An examination of the poems bears him out, for their most prominent characteristic is the serious description of town life and somewhat somber moralizing. All are cast into the dramatic form of the eclogue, although there are modifications in one or two. Yet usually the type was employed for satire. Though here and there it serves only the purpose of presenting a serious picture of city life, the spirit of the age was too keenly satirical to desist from ridicule, so that the town eclogue is primarily satiric.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Other obvious burlesques are "Warbletta: A Suburban Eclogue," "A Pastoral after the guise of Master Philips," and "A Pastoral by a Quaker," found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1733, Sept., 1737, Aug. 1753.

<sup>15</sup> This eclogue has been attributed to both Swift and Gay.

<sup>16</sup> The serious as well as the satiric note is heard in a collection of poems ascribed to George Daniel and entitled *Virgil in London; or Town Eclogues*, London, 1814. These are eight in number with the following titles: "The Retired Citizen to his Friend in Town"; "Alexis"; "The Discarded Minister"; "Crambo"; "The Field Preacher"; "Lord Mayor's Day"; "The Trial"; "The



One interesting form of the town pastoral that enjoyed a vogue sufficiently great to merit separate treatment is the political eclogue.<sup>17</sup> Like most of the types in this century its origin can be traced to one man, in this case Soame Jenyns an incorrigible Tory, who in 1748 composed "The Squire and the Parson. An Eclogue," in praise of the peace just then concluded with France. A third of a century later, William Mason, of a different political faith and provoked to utterance by a book of Jenyns' on government and civil liberty, retaliated with "The Dean and the Squire: a Political Eclogue. Humbly dedicated to Soame Jenyns," 1782, the first naming of the type.<sup>18</sup> Having read Jenyns' poem years before, he was led "to think of giving my present performance a *dramatic cast*, [italics mine] so far as an eclogue can possess that title." The only respect in which these two poems in any way resemble Virgil is in form, but this is strictly followed for in the first the scene is definitely laid by the hall chimney in the squire's house, and in the second in a coffee house. No other eclogue element appears, and the conversation is devoted to argument and debate intended for personal and political satire. The dialogue is conducted entirely

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Parting." In the introductory verses the author tells us that the poems contain "All sober morality, good-humoured satire," and that the grave and the gay are artfully blended. In general, however, they are concerned with social, religious, literary, dramatic, and political satire.

<sup>17</sup> Other eclogues, which do not fall into easily defined groups but which from their social rather than rural associations are allied to the town eclogue can only be mentioned here. Burlesque seems to be intended in Mrs. Barbauld's "A School Eclogue." A serious note, however, is maintained in "Damon: A City Eclogue" (found in *The Flower-Piece: a Collection of Miscellany Poems*, London, 1731) and in "The Parsons, An Eclogue" (*Gent. Mag.* July, 1750). Personal satire is revealed in "Love in the Suds; a town Eclogue. Being the lamentation of Roscius for the loss of his Nyky," 1772; "Bozzy and Piozzi, or the British Biographers, a Town Eclogue. By Peter Pindar," 1786, an attack on Johnson's biographers; and "Peter and Aesop, A St. Giles Eclogue," 1800, a satire on Peter Pindar and Clifford. Social satire is foremost in "Shock. An Eclogue on the much lamented Death of Miss ——'s favorite Lap-Dog." (*Gent. Mag.*, Jan., 1750.)

<sup>18</sup> Earlier than either of these two poems, political satire is revealed in "The Tryal of Skill between 'Squire Walsingham and Mother Osborne. An Eclogue," 1734, and in "The Fire Side: A Pastoral Soliloquy. On the E—— of G—— taking the S———ls N. D." However, they had nothing to do with the establishment of the type.

in a dramatic manner without the conventional devices characteristic of the *Bucolics*.

Two years later a group of brilliant followers of Fox formed a club to ridicule the Tories who had swept into power with the aid of King George. Perceiving the satiric possibilities of the political pastoral they composed a number, published originally in *The Morning Herald* and *Daily Advertiser* for 1784 and the following years, and reprinted in *Criticisms on the Rolliad* under the heading "Political Eclogues." They are five in number and bear the following titles: "The Rose," "The Lyars," "Margaret Nicholson," "Charles Jenkinson," and "Jekyll," while under the section called "Political Miscellanies" there is another styled "The Statesmen, an Eclogue." On the whole these poems imitate the devices as well as the form of the *Bucolics*. The scenes, definitely described, are a chamber in the treasury, breakfast in Downing Street, lobby of Parliament building, Temple Square, and the like. Soliloquy and dialogue are employed for satiric effect, and a good deal of cleverness is revealed in "The Lyars" in which Prettyman and Banks strive to outdo each other in lying, with Pitt as the umpire. The latter in recognition of their splendid efforts gives a mitre to Prettyman and a coronet to Banks.<sup>19</sup> In general, however, the political eclogue is pretty poor stuff; purely ephemeral in nature and deriving its entire interest from local and contemporary allusions, it represents the dying gasps of neo-classicism. Yet the type is interesting in showing how eagerly the eighteenth century seized upon the form as a vehicle for satire, seemingly oblivious that "eclogue" meant anything more than form.

The line of development that we have been tracing throughout the eighteenth century lies wholly within the neo-classical tradition. But there is another evolution of the eclogue in this century that moves steadily in the direction of romanticism. Its beginning is first revealed in the Pope-Philip's controversy,

<sup>19</sup> Other political eclogues are: "Cindarella. A Mock Pastoral Poem" (found in *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, 1771); "The Angry Boy and the Calm Veteran; a Parliamentary Eclogue" (found in *An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces*, vol. 1, p.79.); "The Lamentation Parliamentary; a Bath-Easton Eclogue (in *The World*, Feb. 4, 1788); "The Priest and Doctor. An Eclogue" (*Asylum for Fugitive Pieces*, vol. 2, p.182.); and a peculiar version of the type by Robert Ferguson called "The Ghaists. A Kirk-Yard Eclogue," in which two ghosts at midnight satirize a certain bill that was being discussed at that time.

the details of which are too well known to need recounting here. This controversy was occasioned by a clash of theories regarding the pastoral. Philips, believing that Theocritus portrayed the actual life of Sicilian rustics, and perceiving in *The Shepherdes Calender* Spenser's attempt to get local color and atmosphere, composed his poems on the theory that the rural life of a country should be faithfully portrayed in its pastorals. Pope, on the other hand, accepted Virgil as his model, and embraced the neo-classical idea of the Golden Age. Thus in the line-up Theocritus, Spenser, and Philips represented what may be called the native eclogue; Virgil, Pope, and the neo-classical critics represented the conventional. An examination of Philip's pastorals,<sup>20</sup> however, is disappointing, for in spite of some rustic names borrowed for the most part from Spenser, a few touches of true nature description, and the substitution of fairies for Pan and the nymphs, there is little that is original or descriptive of actual country life in them. They are all cast in the strict eclogue form taken from Virgil and Spenser, the latter of whom Philips imitated in some of his dialogues. To Theocritus he owes practically nothing. The fifth pastoral, which is probably the best, is allegorical of the division in theory described above. Cuddy tells Colin Clout how he was at first overcome in a musical contest by a nightingale, but later, with an old harp newly strung, so outplayed the bird that it died with chagrin. The old harp is, of course, the eclogue form, and the new strings represent the native element Philips was attempting to introduce, while the nightingale suggests the conventional eclogists. In short, the native eclogue was an attempt to pour native metal in the Virgilian mould, to describe actual country scenes and life in formal eclogues.

If Philips was unsuccessful in his purpose, the next exponent of this type was unintentionally successful. Pope, writhing with pain at the praise which Philips' poems had received while his own passed unnoticed, incited Gay to write a series of pastorals to burlesque those of his rival. The result was a group of six eclogues, arranged in a time cycle after the manner of Spenser and Pope, and called *The Shepherd's Week*, the individual poems bearing the following titles: "Monday or the

<sup>20</sup> These, six in number, were published in Tonson's sixth *Miscellany*, the same volume in which Pope's pastorals first appeared.

Squabble," "Tuesday or the Ditty," "Wednesday or the Dumps," "Thursday or the Spell," "Friday or the Dirge," "Saturday or the Flights." Fortunately Gay labored under the neo-classical impression that a true picture of rustic manners would be more than enough to burlesque any form that contained it. Furthermore, he had retained clear memories of his youth in the country, and he possessed a gentler heart than most of his contemporaries. From this combination of facts resulted poems which describe with so many realistic details the dress, customs, manners, cares, joys, and superstitions of rustics and little scenes of farm life that, in spite of some coarse and exaggerated lines, they are convincing in their realism and charming with the simplicity and naturalness of country life.<sup>21</sup> In the "Proeme" to the poems Gay says that Theocritus was his model, and Goldsmith tells us that the author resembles Theocritus more than any other English writer,<sup>22</sup> but a cursory examination reveals the fact that they are very close imitations of Virgil.<sup>23</sup> In fact, it is remarkable how Gay succeeds in using the rigid forms and devices of the eclogue for his accurate portrayal of rustic scenes. Especially interesting is the last eclogue, imitating the sixth of Virgil, in which the part of Silenus is taken by the village vagabond, who tells stories and sings ballads to an admiring group of farm hands and milk maids. The strictness with which the poems adhere to the Virgilian type without any apparent artificiality makes them one of the most successful attempts at putting new wine into old bottles offered by the eighteenth century.

One of the most interesting collections of native eclogues is to be found in the fifth volume of Nichol's *Select Collection of*

<sup>21</sup> The eighteenth century persisted in ignoring the intention of these poems and in according them enthusiastic praise. Goldsmith, praising them to the disadvantage of the conventional eclogue, calls them "a beautiful and lively representation of the manners, customs, and notions of our rusticks." *Art of Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 104.

<sup>22</sup> *The Beauties of English Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 133.

<sup>23</sup> "Monday" is modeled upon Virgil's third eclogue, with some details from the seventh eclogue; "Tuesday" is a distant imitation of the second eclogue; "Wednesday" follows the first song and "Thursday" the second song of the eighth eclogue; "Friday" imitates the fifth eclogue; and "Saturday" begins as an imitation of the fourth eclogue, and continues as a close imitation of the sixth.

*Poems.* They were printed from a manuscript given to Nichol by a Mr. Reed and labeled "Extracts from an original manuscript volume of Pastorals by A. Evans."<sup>24</sup> which contained six out of the original thirteen pastorals.<sup>25</sup> The dates of the poems, which range from 1707 to 1719, are significant in that they show that before Philips and Gay there must have been a distinct feeling that the eclogue form should be devoted to local material and should not be made to serve the purpose of a fictitious Golden Age. Evans writes with a consciousness of his departure from the current literary standards, which is revealed in his repeated defense of his "humble muse" and "modest strain," but in no case does he adopt an apologetic tone. Though there are a few conventional elements, as "My pipe shall warble through the grove," in general native scenes are described, rustic characters such as plough-boy, farmer, mountaineer, are portrayed, rustic manners and customs are frequently made use of, and the language attempts to be the dialect of the country. While the collection by no means represents great poetry, there is a certain charm in this sympathetic portrayal of the sorrows and joys of authentic rustics. The titles of the poems, however, possess a characteristic that is germane to our discussion, for in them is revealed a very definite distinction between pastoral and eclogue, whereby the former means the entire story and the latter the individual scenes. Thus the entire titles of some of the poems read "Dicky, or the Plowboy. Pastoral VIII. In Two Eclogues," "Lucy, or the Maids. Pastoral IX. In Three Eclogues," "Fanny, or the Rural Rivals. Pastoral XII. In Four Eclogues." Certainly the term eclogue is here used as an exact equivalent to dramatic scene.

With the possible exception of Gay, the most successful exponent of the native eclogue was Allan Ramsay, who derived his inspiration from Gay. Only two of his pastorals need be mentioned here, "Patie and Roger" and "Jenny and Meggie,"

<sup>24</sup> Nichol, *Select Collection*, vol. 3, p. 118, styles Dr. Evans a man of genius and a friend of the first poets of his time, by whom he was applauded. He was intimate with and a correspondent of Pope, by whom he was mentioned favorably in the *Dunciad*, Bk. II, v. 116. He was an A.M. of Oxford, Bursar to his college, St. John the Baptist, and vicar of St. Gyles, Oxford.

<sup>25</sup> These are "Alen, or the Tale," "Roger, or the Wag," "Dicky, or the Plowboy," "Lucy, or the Maids," "Fanny, or the Rural Rivals," and "The Farewell."

published respectively in 1721 and 1723. By pleasing description of Scotch landscapes, by skillful use of Scotch dialect, and by the introduction of artless but not crude characters Ramsay won an immediate success. Though following the form and utilizing some of the devices of the Latin *Bucolics*, the author is so convincing that by some he has been proclaimed the greatest of modern pastoralists. But to our purpose the most interesting thing about these eclogues is their expansion in 1724 into the pastoral drama *The Gentle Shepherd* of which they form the first and second scenes.<sup>26</sup> This furnishes convincing truth of the essentially dramatic character of the eclogues, revealed especially in the use made of the opening descriptive lines of the eclogues, which must have been omitted, had not Ramsay reduced them to smaller type and placed them at the beginning of the scene where they exactly perform the service of stage directions in the drama.<sup>27</sup>

To the people in England, Scotch shepherds and shepherdesses conversing in the dialect of their country would naturally appear more convincing than the pipings of their own shepherds who were not so numerous and probably not so poetic. In fact, they might almost be listed under our next type—the foreign eclogue. This type represented the last resort of those who, though inappreciative of the rustic life of their own country, wished to get away from the trite and frayed descriptions of the conventional eclogue, and thus were forced to lay the scenes of their poems in foreign lands.<sup>28</sup> Like most of the other varieties

<sup>26</sup> In attempting to explain some physical phenomenon of the distant past, scientists try to find or to produce a similar phenomenon susceptible of examination. If this kind of proof may be applied to literary problems, Rossi's theory that the pastoral drama grew out of the eclogue in the Italian Renaissance receives remarkable confirmation from this ascertained literary phenomenon of a drama springing from two eclogues. (See Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, Appendix I.)

<sup>27</sup> Though occasionally native eclogues are found scattered through the miscellanies and periodicals of the century, the native material found expression in forms different from that of the pastoral, in Thomson, Gray, Cowper, Burns, and others. One interesting development of this type is revealed in the eclogue of locality, in which dialect is used, among other means, to produce reality. See "A Western Eclogue," and "A Yorkshire Pastoral," *Gent. Mag.* Mar. 1754, June, 1762.

<sup>28</sup> Collins says, in regard to his *Persian Eclogues*, that, thinking the possibilities of pastoral descriptions exhausted, he sought other fields.

this one can be traced directly back to one source, William Collins, whose *Persian Eclogues*, 1742, won instant popularity. These poems, four in number, are cast in the strict dramatic form with phrases at the beginning giving the time and place of each.<sup>29</sup> "Selim; or The Shepherd's Moral. Scene, A Valley near Bagdat. Time. The Morning"; "Hassan; or, The Camel Driver. Scene, The Desert. Time. Mid-day"; "Abra, or, The Georgian Sultana. Scene, A Forest. Time, The evening"; "Agib and Secander; or, The Fugitives. Scene, A mountain in Circassia. Time, Midnight." The first and third of these poems, being purely conventional, require no comment except to note their obvious moral purpose.<sup>30</sup> Since the last established a distinct variety of the foreign eclogue, it will be treated later. The second eclogue, however, reveals the peculiar nature of the type and emphasizes how far it departed from the authentic pastoral. It gives us a picture of a camel-driver, suffering hardships in the desert and lamenting his departure from Bagdad. Certainly this is so far removed in content and mood from the genuine bucolic that unless we identify pastoral with descriptive poetry, it can in no way be considered a pastoral. As soon as the scene of an eclogue was transferred to a foreign country, the characteristic details of that country were naturally suggested, even though it was with the haziness with which the romantic imagination invests the remote.

Although Collins' poems are the true progenitor of the type,<sup>31</sup> it is not until 1770 that the foreign eclogue becomes important,

<sup>29</sup> Collins may have received the hint for this scheme from the notes to Pope's *Pastorals* in the 1736 edition of his poems, whence he derived the idea of the time cycle. Eyles Irwin, to be discussed later, follows Collins in both respects.

<sup>30</sup> For the moral element in these and other eclogues see an article by H. E. Manz, "Non-Dramatic Pastoral in Europe in the Eighteenth Century," *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, vol. 31, p. 421.

<sup>31</sup> *The Persian Eclogues* made such a stir that, according to J. Warton (*Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, 1756, p. 11), Pope intended to write some American Eclogues, in which, we may be sure, the "poor Indian" of the "untutored mind" would have made his appearance. As will be shown later, the German eclogues entitled *Five Pastoral Eclogues* and one of Chatterton's are derived directly from Collins, while for his poems John Scott takes the title "Oriental Eclogues" formerly applied to the verses of Collins who is mentioned in the "Advertisement." Eyles Irwin also imitates Collins in his *Eastern Eclogues*.

and the fifteen subsequent years represent the rich period of the variety.<sup>22</sup> At various times during the first six months of the above year, Chatterton published his *African Eclogues*, three in number, in which the eighteenth century eclogue rises for the only time to the suggestion of great poetry. To him Africa was *terra incognita*—he places the Tiber there—but his romantic imagination created its own marvelous world. There are lines in them suggestive of the same strange appeal that *Kubla Khan* makes to the imagination, the same dark and tumultuous aspects of distorted nature, haunting fears, and proper nouns with mysterious associations.<sup>23</sup> Although their

<sup>22</sup> This date coincides with that given by Professor Tinker in his recent study of the belief in primitivism, *Nature's Simple Plan*, as marking the height of the craze. In fact, the foreign eclogue might furnish a suitable footnote to that delightful volume.

<sup>23</sup> Some of the lines so clearly prophesy *Kubla Khan* as almost to force the conviction that Coleridge was indebted to more than opium and "Purchas's Pilgrimage".

"Three times the virgin, swimming on the breeze,  
Danced in the shadow of the mystic trees."

and

"Sudden beneath Toddida's whistling brink  
The circling billows in wild eddies sink,  
Whirl furious round, and the loud bursting wave  
Sinks down to Chalda's sacerdotal cave,"

and the description of the Tiber, which

" circling all the horrid mountain round,  
Rushes impetuous to the deep profound;  
Rolls o'er the ragged rocks with hideous yell;  
Collects its waves beneath the earth's vast shell:  
There for a while in loud confusion hurled,  
It crumbles mountains down, and shakes the world,  
Till borne upon the pinions of the air,  
Through the rent earth the bursting waves appear."

If it is at all possible to classify Coleridge's unique poem, we would not go far astray in considering it a foreign eclogue. While there are apparent in it the disorder and abrupt transitions characteristic of a dream, still the various elements of the eclogue are distinguishable. The first thirty-six lines give the setting in the manner of Chatterton's "Narva and Mored"; the "Abyssinian Maid," who is equivalent to Chatterton's priestess, and whose song Coleridge could not remember, in the original dream probably told a story; and in the last lines Coleridge has merely transferred the description of the maid to himself. At any rate, there is a very definite affinity between this poem and the type under discussion, even when allowance is made for any possible influence of Ossian.



inequalities force one to admit that these poems are marred by many conventional echoes of neo-classical verse, including the heroic couplet, there are many lines that are the sheer product of the imagination as much as anything in Coleridge.<sup>34</sup> To those who are interested in the "might-have-beens" of literature, the poetic value of these poems is very significant in showing that Chatterton's genius was by no necessity confined to pseudo-medievalism, and his own comment upon two of them, that they were "the only two pieces I have the vanity to call poetry,"<sup>35</sup> reveals a judgment uncorrupted by his own practice and the literary fashions of his day.

All these poems are cast in the dramatic mould. In "The Death of Nicou" the setting is a gorgeous description of the banks of the Tiber, on which the priest tells a tale to the tribe of Alra, a tale of Nicou "Who lived coeval with the morning star," a strange mythological story. In "Narva and Mored," the black warriors after certain mystic dances gather about the "mysterious tree," while the priestess tells the story of a priest's fatal love for a maiden. In "Heccar and Gaira" a desert, described in a manner reminiscent of Collins, furnishes the setting, in which two black warriors, exhausted from their battle with the slave traders, converse. Then one tells how the maiden Cawna was stolen from him by

"The children of the wave whose pallid race  
Views the faint sun display a languid face."

All three poems contain the idealized pictures of primitive man that were becoming popular, and the last discloses the humanitarian element in its opposition to slavery, an element that became more pronounced in the next decade. In this period we find American and African eclogues voicing an indignant if not very

<sup>34</sup> The slave traders are

"The pallid shadows of the azure waves"

and compare the following lines with the opening of Keats' *Endymion*, in which the imagination is stretched to the same almost painful intensity:

"Far from the burning sands of Calabar;  
Far from the lustre of the morning star;  
Far from pleasure of the holy morn;  
Far from the blessedness of Chalma's horn;  
Now rest the souls of Narva and Mored."

<sup>35</sup> *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton*, ed. W. W. Skeat, vol. 1, p. 179.

poetical protest against the pernicious institution. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*<sup>36</sup> appeared two *American Eclogues*, with the subtitles, "Morning; or the Complaint" and "Evening; or the Fugitive," in the first of which, after a very romantic description of cataracts, murky dales, and dismal tempests in Pennsylvania, Adala, the slave, describes the bliss of his primitive home in Africa and heaps imprecations upon the cruelty of the slave master. The second poem, likewise, by means of a conversation between a slave man and a slave woman recounts the evils of slavery and praises the joys of an ideal Africa. In another issue of the magazine<sup>37</sup> is to be found "The Lovers, An African Eclogue," the scene of which is laid at midnight on the banks of the Volta river, where two black lovers, just escaped from the British slave ship that rides at anchor in the river, tell how their happy land, one that would have made Rousseau's heart glad, was invaded and they taken captive by ruffians, to whom the question is put,

"Say, what are all your treasures, brought from far,  
But vice, intemperance, and a rage for war."<sup>38</sup>

The humanitarian element appears in other eclogues of this period, Sir William Jones' "Solima, an Arabian Eclogue" written in 1768, and John Scott's *Oriental Eclogues*, 1782, the latter inspired by Collins and consisting of "An Arabian Eclogue," "A Chinese Eclogue," and "An East-Indian Eclogue." In 1780 appeared an interesting collection entitled *Eastern Eclogues; Written during a Tour Through Arabia, Egypt, and other Parts of Asia and Africa, in the Year 1777*.<sup>39</sup> Eyles Irwin, the author, was in the employ of the East India Company and had visited the scenes he describes, so that his poems are richer in authentic detail than most foreign eclogues, though his verse

<sup>36</sup> Dec., 1783, and Jan., 1784.

<sup>37</sup> Mar., 1784.

<sup>38</sup> In *Gent. Mag.* Oct., 1787, appeared an advertisement of *Four West Indian Eclogues*, which I have not been able to find, but which, I conjecture, follow the time cycle of the day, and contain humanitarian and Rousseauistic elements.

<sup>39</sup> The separate titles are "Alexis; or, the Traveller. Scene: The Ruins of Alexandria. Time: Morning"; "Selima: or, the Fair Greek. Scene: a Seraglio in Arabia Felix. Time: Noon"; "Ramah: or, the Bramin. Scene: The Pagoda of Conjeveram. Time: Evening"; "The Escape: or, The Captives. Scene: The Suburbs of Tunis. Time: Night." The influence of Collins is obvious.

is marred by the conventionalities of the dying neo-classical tradition. In the first poem, especially, is the romantic spirit revealed in a kind of Byronic sentimentalizing among ruins, which is pervaded by the atmosphere of the remote in time and space. Irwin is very closely associated with the growing interest in the Orient, and in the tales and situations contained in the eclogues definitely prophesies Byron's *Oriental Tales*.<sup>40</sup>

An interesting variation of this type is revealed in the war eclogue, originally derived from the last of Collins' *Persian Eclogues*, in which two shepherds are pictured resting at midnight on a barren mountain in Circassia, and lamenting the ravages of the war, from which they are fleeing. In the introduction of tumult and disaster into the pastoral, Collins, of course, is departing from all the conventional ideas of the peace, quiet, and simplicity of pastoralism. Three years later appeared *Five Pastoral Eclogues: The Scenes of which are suppos'd to lie among the Shepherds, oppress'd by the War in Germany*.<sup>41</sup> In the preface the author says, "The opposing interests of a peaceful and rural life, and the tumultuous scenes of war, together with the various struggles and passions arising from thence, seem by no means an improper field for the most elegant writer to exercise his genius in." This plan, he says, is entirely new, unless the first and ninth eclogue of Virgil are of the same nature. Needless to say, the true model of the poems had appeared only three years before. Beyond the plan the poems contain little of interest except as representatives of the twilight school of poetry before Gray's "Elegy," of which,

<sup>40</sup> Other foreign eclogues are Southey's *Botany Bay Eclogues*, and Joseph Cottle's "Markoff, A Siberian Eclogue," and "Exaltation, An Eclogue; Translated from the Original Babylonian," found in *The Poetry of the World*, 1791, vol. 3, p. 274.

<sup>41</sup> Of the authorship of these Dr. Clarissa Rinaker says, "A small collection of poems, *Five Pastoral Eclogues*, which was published anonymously in 1745 and subsequently in Pearch's continuation of Dodsley's Collection, has been attributed to Warton, but probably erroneously. At least he never acknowledged them, and his sister assured Bishop Mant that he positively disclaimed them." *Thomas Warton*. Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., vol. 2, no. 1, p. 25. In the catalogue of the Wrenn Library at the Univ. of Texas, the poems are attributed to Henry Baker. They certainly are in Warton's vein, show the influence of Collins, Warton's friend, and were praised by Warton's brother with over-emphasis upon his ignorance of the author. See *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, 1756, p. 9.

indeed, they contain many prophecies, especially in the contest of the shepherds over the relative beauties of morning and evening. Nearly a quarter of a century later, Chatterton composed in the Rowley dialect three eclogues, two of which are war eclogues, and the first of which was evidently modeled upon Collins' poem.<sup>42</sup> The scene of this last is laid in the time of "the Barons war" and contains an account of the evils wrought in rural England by that internecine conflict.<sup>43</sup> The second praises the exploits of Richard I against the Saracen in verses recited by his son Nigel. In most of the war eclogues, the main motif is the sorrow and desolation that hostile armies bring to a peaceful country. This romantic hatred of war receives frantic expression in Coleridge's "Fire, Famine, and Slaughter. A War Eclogue," an allegorical poem drawing its inspiration from Chatterton and the witches in Macbeth. Immediately following the title are stage directions: "The Scene, a desolated Tract in La Vendee. Famine is discovered lying on the ground: to her enter Fire and Slaughter." Certainly here the eclogue is exactly equivalent to a dramatic scene.<sup>44</sup>

For the most part, the eclogue was an instrument of neo-classicism, but in the foreign eclogue the evidences of a new spirit in literature are unmistakable. The imaginative interest in the remote and the effective use of proper names, the humanitarian hostility to war, oppression, and slavery, and the idealization of primitive man disclose the fact that the early ro-

<sup>42</sup> In both the scene is laid at night, and the characters are two shepherds fleeing from the devastation of war, who, being exhausted, sink down to rest, and lament the devastation of their pastoral abodes, their flocks, etc. There are also verbal similarities in such lines as Collins'

"O stay thee, Agib, for my feel deny,  
No longer friendly to my life, to fly."

and Chatterton's

"If thus we fly in chase of further wo,  
Our feet will fail, albeit we be strong."

Furthermore, Chatterton's African eclogue "Heccar and Gaira" is indebted to the second of Collins' poems.

<sup>43</sup> The scene of "Elinoure and Jura," a true eclogue though not so named, is also laid at this time, and reveals two maidens on a river's bank lamenting the death of their lovers in the war and ending their conversation by plunging into the river.

<sup>44</sup> The disturbing element of war enters into many of the foreign eclogues considered above, especially in the African and American poems.

manticists found the variety, as established by Collins,<sup>45</sup> a convenient form in which to express new ideas and emotions. Yet in a curious way the eclogue seems almost to end as it began. The eighteenth century opened with the eclogue describing the felicities of a classical Golden Age; it ended with the same form expressing the joys and virtues of a Rousseauistic Golden Age. The difference between the two conceptions, however, is great. The neo-classicist looked upon his picture as frankly false to life and as having existed only in an irrecoverable past; the romanticist considered his dream as actually realized in "Some unsuspected isle in far-off seas," or at least as a near goal toward which man could immediately move.<sup>46</sup>

The most plausible explanation for the many kinds of eclogues discussed in this article is, as has been stated, that the word came to suggest form only to the poets of the eighteenth century. The use of the term in Lyttleton's *Progress of Love. In Four Eclogues*, not appearing in the title of Shenstone's imitation which does not preserve the eclogue structure, and its use in Evan's *Pastorals* to denote individual scenes can bear only one interpretation. Furthermore, the fact that during this age there are almost invariably other words in the title besides "eclogue" that furnish a clue to the content justifies

<sup>45</sup> Collins' relation to the romantic movement has generally been limited to his odes, but the *Eclogues* ally him just as definitely with romanticism.

<sup>46</sup> Two more eclogue types of this century need only be mentioned here. The sea eclogue, initiated by Sannazaro, finds expression in John Draper's *Nercedes or Sea Eclogues*, 1712, in which mermaids and mermen discourse in a very philosophic manner, and in Moses Browne's *Piscatory Eclogues*, 1729. Cf. H. M. Hall, *Idylls of Fishermen*. The sacred eclogue, established by Pope's "Messiah, A Sacred Eclogue; in Imitation of Virgil's Pollio," drew its inspiration from the pastoral setting of the announcement of the Nativity, and from Virgil's fourth eclogue. It is represented by Mathew Green's "A Pastoral Between Menalcas and Damon, On the Appearance of the Angels to the Shepherds, Upon our Saviour's Birth Day"; "On the Holy Nativity. An Eclogue," *Gent. Mag.*, Dec., 1731; William Thompson's "The Magi. A Sacred Eclogue"; "The Nativity of Messiah: A Sacred Eclogue," *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1750; Mr. Barford's "The Great Shepherd. A Sacred Pastoral"; and "The Shechinah, a Sacred Poem after the manner of Pope's Messiah," *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1790. Burlesque or satire is revealed in Walsh's "The Golden Age Restored. An Imitation of the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil," 1703; Gay's "The Birth of the Squire. An Eclogue in Imitation of the 'Pollio' of Virgil"; and "The Minister. An Eclogue. In Imitation of Pope's Messiah," a satire on Pitt, *An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces*, vol. 2, p. 165.

the inference that "eclogue" meant nothing more than structure. How uppermost in the minds of eighteenth-century writers this significance was is revealed in footnotes to Beattie's translation of Virgil's *Bucolics*, in which the translator says, "It has been observed by some critics, who have treated of pastoral poetry, that, in every poem of this kind, it is proper that the scene or landscape, connected with the little plot or fable on which the poem is founded, be delineated with at least as much accuracy, as is sufficient to render the description particular and picturesque. How far Virgil has thought fit to attend to such a rule may appear from the remarks which the translator has subjoined to every Pastoral." The time and place of each eclogue are then carefully given in footnotes. Virgil furnished the mould into which could be cast the various poetic conceptions of the century. Nothing could be more foreign to the pastoral than the somber melancholy of Young's midnight mood; yet in "Damon or the Complaint" we discover by the light of a pale moon a melancholy lover, while in "Will the Ferryman, a Water Eclogue" we see a repentant man drawn at midnight into the waters of the Mersey<sup>47</sup> by the ghost of the girl whom he had seduced and ruined. Virgil has furnished the form and Young the mood of these poems.

In an interesting article entitled "A Definition of the Pastoral Idyll" Professor Martha H. Shackford gives her reasons for using the term "idyll" instead of "eclogue" to describe what would better be called a pastoral eclogue. "Eclogue has been identified with pastoral even more persistently than idyll has been identified with pastoral, it has been the favorite and constant term down to the twentieth century for any sort of rustic dialogue. It may be asked then, why not use the term eclogue instead of the circumlocution, pastoral idyll? . . . In English literature, especially in the age of Pope, there are many eclogues that have no relation to the pastoral, yet are, however, always dialogues. . . . Eclogue has always the significance of

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Gent. Mag.*, June, 1758 and Nov., 1759. The clearest example of the way in which the eclogue was used as equivalent to a dramatic scene is revealed in the next century in Byron's *The Blues: a Literary Eclogue*, in which scenes are designated and entrances and exits given in a manner exactly like that of the drama. In fact, here the eclogue has lost even its static nature, and has become actual drama by virtue of a progressive story.

dialogue, but not necessarily that of pastoral. The eclogue, then, is often vitiated by the presence of ulterior meanings, and as an art form is inferior to the idyll, which never seeks to be didactic nor satirical, but is always a genuine artistic creation."<sup>48</sup> In view of the many instances given in this article of eclogues that have but one speaker, it is a grave mistake to identify "eclogue" with "dialogue." It is not dialogue but dramatic form, which in another passage Professor Shackford describes well, that characterizes the type. Furthermore, inasmuch as the eclogue denoted form only, the term certainly did not gather inferior associations any more than the term "drama." *Hamlet* suffers nothing from being called a play, because *The Rehearsal* is called one. The nature and content of an eclogue are indicated in the qualifying or additional words in the title, never in the term itself which identifies structure only. The chief objection to the term "pastoral idyll" used to denote a pastoral poem cast in the form which we have been describing is that it has been manufactured and is not based upon literary practice. Although Professor Shackford emphasizes the form, her term indicates nothing in regard to it. "Pastoral" refers to content, but "idyll" neither means nor suggests the dramatic nature of the structure. One has only to consider the use of the term in the *Idylls of the King*, to see how far the word is removed from what she means. Browning would hardly have used the title *Dramatic Idylls*, had the second word contained the slightest suggestion of the first. Thus the term Professor Shackford should have used to express her idea is "pastoral eclogue," in which the first word denotes content, and the second form. To most of us certainly "pastoral idyll" suggests only a tale, the scene of which is laid in the country.

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<sup>48</sup> *Publications of Modern Language Association*, vol. XIX, pp. 588-9.

## THE IAMBIC-TROCHAIC THEORY IN RELATION TO MUSICAL NOTATION OF VERSE

One of the most marked trends of present-day metrical study is a tendency to explain the structure of verse by emphasizing its analogy with music. In particular, there is an attempt to transfer to metrics the use of musical notation. In this connection is involved the old iambic-trochaic problem; for music neither in theory nor in notation recognizes any distinction between bars corresponding to that of iambic and trochaic feet in verse. In music, measures are distinguished only by the number and kind of notes composing them; there are bars of three-four and of six-eight time, but not bars of rising three-four and of falling three-four time. Thorough-going advocates of the musical analogy of verse apply this explanation to meter as well as to music; to them feet are merely dissyllabic or trisyllabic. In this, however, they fall foul of another school which recognizes two kinds of dissyllabic feet (iambic and trochaic) and two kinds of trisyllabic feet (anapestic and dactylic), to say nothing of the possibility of pyrrhics, amphibrachs, and others. If there are indeed these different kinds of dissyllabic, and trisyllabic feet, the musical analogy in notation of verse is unsound.

The purpose of this paper is a reexamination of the iambic-trochaic problem with special reference to its analogy with music. Previous discussions of the question have tended to be either dogmatic, or based upon the evidence of experimental phonetics. There are many, however, who are not easily influenced by either of these methods of argument. The present discussion therefore will approach the subject from a different point of view. On the one hand, it will shun the extreme technicality of the experimental method which is usually unintelligible and therefore unconvincing to any except the advanced specialist. On the other hand, the presentation will not be dogmatic, nor appeal simply to that inconclusive subjective instrument—"the reader's ear." The method, it is hoped, will be simple enough to be understood by more than an inner circle, and yet not fail seriously in being objective and scientific. To



avoid unnecessary complication only dissyllabic feet will be considered, and at the same time the discussion will be carried on mainly in terms of the trochee, since the iamb can here be considered merely as its opposite.

The first of our problems is to determine just what conception lies behind the term "trochee" as used by different metrists. Examination of authorities brings out conflicting and often hazy usages. Some writers avoid the use of the term altogether—a very safe procedure under the circumstances. Others spend so much time explaining how little the word really means that one is left with the feeling that they would gladly be rid of it, bag and baggage. I believe, however, that both traditionally and practically the possible conceptions represented by the term "trochee" are basically three.

First, and least important at the present day, is the conception of the trochee as a unit of one long and one short syllable upon some mystical and misty analogy with classical verse. It is one question whether this kind of a trochee was ever concrete enough to be of any value in explanation of English verse. At any rate I do not believe that it is now seriously considered, and so shall leave it forthwith.

In the second place, there is a tendency at present to limit the application of the trochee merely to the beginning and ending, or even to the beginning only, of the line. That is, a line is trochaic if it begins with a stressed and ends with an unstressed syllable, or even if it merely begins with the stressed.<sup>1</sup> Here we have indeed a deposed monarch ruling a little Elba in place of half Europe! In this case we would be justified in speaking of trochaic lines, perhaps of trochaic meter, but certainly not of trochaic feet, or of trochees. This usage of the term is undoubtedly helpful as far as it goes, but it is not the trochee that we once knew. Moreover, one can easily see that this conception of the matter (since it does not concern the feet) offers no difficulty for musical analogy or notation of verse. In any case therefore we are justified in passing it by to grapple with the real problem.

<sup>1</sup> A good expression of this latter position is in C. E. Andrews *Writing and Reading of Verse* (pp. 71-73). Metrical study owes a debt to Professor Andrews for one of the few really logical statements of position in regard to trochaic verse.

The most general conception of trochaic meter is that which considers it at bottom involved in some way with so-called "falling" rhythm; here I believe is to be found the real crux of the difficulty, and the real meaning of the word "trochee" (or trochaic foot), if indeed it has any. A trochee may be considered then, for the time being at least, a dissyllabic foot of falling rhythm. This is in itself not a charmingly lucid statement, even if with metrist's license we dodge the major issue of what constitutes a foot. Even so, what is falling rhythm? In general, I believe, we consider the term to apply to phrases (breath-units centroids), and phrases in which the stressed element comes first, followed by the unstressed. Thus the lines:

Honor, riches, marriage-blessing. . . .  
Willows whiten, aspens quiver.

would be composed of series of falling rhythms, and would be virtually perfect specimens of trochaic verse. Trochees may therefore be considered metrical feet corresponding to this structure, and trochaic meter any verse composed exclusively or even predominatingly of feet which coincide with this rhythmical arrangement.

That this predominance is an actual fact is the basic assumption upon which rests the traditional conception of trochaic verse. Such a belief is that which we remember to have been held by our secondary-school teachers in the days when most of us were making our first acquaintance with formal metrics. Thus having decided that *Hiawatha* was a trochaic poem, we could scan:

/Should you /ask me /whence these /stories?  
/Whence these /legends /and tra-/ditions?

There was still, let us be thankful, enough sense of rhythm in the world to have put us in danger of the judgment, if we had actually *read* in that fashion. Nevertheless this conception of trochaic verse will be found to rest somewhere upon the belief that these units of falling rhythm predominate, that, if not universal, they are at least numerous enough to determine a psychological norm in the mind of the reader so that he will tend to feel the rhythm proceeding regularly in such a manner. If verse of this kind is an actual factor in English poetry, we

must admit a distinction between falling and rising feet (or bars), and therefore break with the analogy of music, particularly as regards notation, at a rather critical point. Let us then look at the work of the poets, and determine whether and to what extent we must allow for such verse in our metrical theory.

The method which I have employed in the investigation of such verse is that of direct attack—actual count in various pieces of verse of the number and kinds of phrases which occur. This is in itself a complicated problem. We must first determine, at least for working purposes, what constitutes a phrase. For present ends, however, I think that we may rest content with a rather mechanical, syntactical establishment of the phrase unit. While this can undoubtedly be criticized, yet it has the inestimable advantage of being applied with entire objectivity, and at the same time is probably not far enough wrong in theory to affect seriously the particular practical end at present in view. For working purposes then, I count as a phrase each word together with its proclitic and enclitic words. Under what conditions a word is to be considered proclitic or enclitic I have determined both by study of the grammatical structure of the language, and by observation of poetic usage. Once established, however, these classes have been followed objectively and consistently throughout all the countings.<sup>3</sup>

In the class of proclitics the following have been counted; it will be noticed that except under the conditions noted these words form, for purposes of pronunciation, nothing more than unaccented syllables of the more important words to which they are grammatically attached:

1. Articles.
2. Prepositions, monosyllabic and dissyllabic, when preceding their object, unless the object is a pronoun and metrically unstressed, and the preposition is metrically stressed.
3. Conjunctions and relative pronouns, unless both followed by a mark of punctuation and metrically stressed.

<sup>3</sup> This conception of the phrase, it will be noted, is principally open to criticism in that it assumes a very short unit. Only thus, however, can trochaic verse have basis at all. If the phrases are conceived as running through half a dozen or more syllables the trochee as an entity would necessarily disappear, and even falling rhythm would lack any good basis.

4. Monosyllabic exclamations and the adverb "not", unless followed by a mark of punctuation or metrically stressed.
5. Demonstrative and interrogative adjectives.
6. Pronouns in the subject position (except relatives), unless metrically stressed.
7. Introductory adverbs (there, well, etc.), unless metrically stressed.
8. Auxiliary verbs, unless metrically stressed.
9. Monosyllabic verbs immediately before a strongly stressed adverb (e.g. "Hold off!").

The enclitics are:

1. Pronouns in the object position, unless metrically stressed.
2. Explanatory adverbs (e.g. Come now!), unless metrically stressed.

Observation will show that these classes correspond to ordinary usage in reading.<sup>3</sup>

Little explanation will be required, I believe, to show how by a numerical test we may with considerable accuracy determine the extent to which a poem may be called of rising, or of falling rhythm. If the metrical structure of the verse is actually the latter, the phrase structure should also be predominately falling,

<sup>3</sup> The practical working of this system may be seen by the division of a few lines of verse into phrases:

The curfew / tolls / the knell / of parting / day,  
The lowing / herd / wind / slowly / o'er the lea.

Difference of opinion might arise here only perhaps as to whether the metrically unstressed syllable "wind" should be counted as a phrase. I believe, however, that such an interpretation is in harmony with the manner in which most people would read the line. In any case there is less danger in admitting an occasional possible error than in breaking with the already established system, and so falling back to a hopelessly subjective basis. The influence of punctuation can also be illustrated. In the stanza opening:

When, around thee dying,

Autumn leaves are lying (*Go where glory waits*—Moore).

it would be ridiculous to join "when" to the following word, since the author, by a comma of little value except for phrasing purposes, emphasizes the fact that it stands alone. The importance of metrical stress is of course merely a reflection of change of logical value which affects the emphasis of certain parts of speech. It is well illustrated by the personal pronouns. Although these are usually unemphatic, combined metrical and logical stress in the following couplet makes them stand out as independent words:

I've a Friend, over the sea;

I like him, but he loves me. (*Browning—Time's Revenges*).

that is, there should be a large proportion of phrases such as the following:<sup>4</sup>

Ss  
 Sss  
 Ssr  
 Ssss  
 Ssss  
 sSss  
 ssSs

The commonest rising phrases on the other hand will be found to be:

sS  
 ssS  
 ssS  
 sssS  
 sssS  
 ssSs  
 sSss

In all English verse will be found also a large proportion of phrases which cannot be called either falling or rising. These yield neither effect to the ear, and must accordingly be counted as a neutral group. Those occurring more or less frequently are:<sup>5</sup>

S  
 sSs  
 ssSss  
 ssSss

There are also a few more complicated phrases, but these do not occur frequently enough to be considered in a quantitative computation.

The first group of poems upon which to apply this test, I have selected with some care; they are in general poems which

<sup>4</sup> The accented syllable is represented by S and the unaccented by s, while s stands for syllables in position of metrical stress but falling into one of the classes of proclitics or enclitics. The phrases sSss and ssSs I have considered respectively as falling and rising; their "center of gravity", so to speak, seems to indicate this. In any case both are so rare as not to affect appreciably the statistical results.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase of one syllable is to be compared to a *staccato* note in music. Milton's famous

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shadows of death  
 is an extreme example; it might in fact be called even *pizzicato*.

will be easily recognized as "trochaic," and which are offered in standard works upon metrics as the best examples of that meter. The results obtained are as follows:<sup>4</sup>

Poem	Type of Phrase		
	Falling	Rising	Neutral
Song from <i>The Tempest</i> (IV, 1).....	57%	5%	38%
<i>Hunting Song</i> (Scott).....	16	34	50
Song: "Rarely, rarely" (Shelley).....	22	37	41
<i>The Skylark</i> (Shelley).....	14	44	42
"Go where glory waits" (Moore).....	13	27	60
<i>A Psalm of Life</i> (Longfellow).....	19	34	47
<i>Hiawatha</i> -Section I (Longfellow).....	34	24	42
<i>Lines on the Mermaid Tavern</i> (Keats).....	29	24	47
"Fair thee well" (Byron).....	22	39	39
<i>The Captain</i> (Tennyson).....	23	23	54
<i>Marian</i> (George Meredith).....	19	35	46
<i>The Armada</i> I, 1; II, 1 (Swinburne).....	16	35	48

For comparison with the "trochaic" group I have also counted a number of poems which would ordinarily be classed as iambic. These have been selected rather at random except that to avoid personal differences as far as possible, several have been chosen from the same poets as are represented in the other group. The first two were selected as representative of eighteenth century usage. The results are:<sup>4</sup>

Poem	Type of Phrase		
	Falling	Rising	Neutral
<i>The Universal Prayer</i> (Pope).....	6%	52%	42%
<i>Resignation</i> (Young).....	13	50	37
<i>The Ancient Mariner</i> (Coleridge).....	9	47	44
<i>Hyperion</i> (Keats).....	13	33	54
"She walks in beauty" (Byron).....	5	57	37
<i>Prometheus Unbound</i> (Shelley).....	10	50	40
<i>The Light of Stars</i> (Longfellow).....	8	56	36
<i>Sir Galahad</i> (Tennyson).....	12	40	47

We are now in a position to attempt to draw from the tables whatever conclusions may be justified with regard to the relation of phrase structure to "trochaic" and "iambic" meter. In the first place it is to be noted that the poems listed by the metrists

<sup>4</sup> In the longer poems of both groups the first ten or twenty-five lines only have been counted.

as trochaic do show a higher average percentage of phrases of falling rhythm. At the same time, however, it must appear with equal strength that this difference is not marked enough to permit upon this basis a qualitative distinction between the two groups of poems. On the contrary they shade into each other; thus, certain stanzas of Swinburne's *Armada* (listed as trochaic by Schipper) have actually a larger proportion of rising phrases and a proportion of falling phrases but slightly greater than that of the opening passage of the blank verse of *Hyperion*. Moreover even in the so-called trochaic poems there are only three cases in which the proportion of falling phrases actually exceeds that of the rising phrases, and only in one of these (the song from *The Tempest*) is the excess marked. In this case also we must note that the poem consists of only sixteen short lines, was presumably written for music and dance accompaniment, and has the distinct suggestion of a metrical *tour de force*. Finally, the proportion of falling phrases in the trochaic group is in most cases mathematically fairly low; only in one case does it exceed a half, and only in two other cases a fourth.

In general therefore we may conclude that rising and falling phrases, (that is, rising and falling rhythm) are in all cases mingling in English verse. One or the other, in almost all cases the rising, may exceed the other, and there is always present in considerable proportion the neutral class of phrase. Accordingly it is difficult to see upon the basis of phrase structure any valid reason for continuing the distinction between trochaic and iambic verse. The differences between the two, as shown by actual count, are merely quantitative, and generally slight. From this point of view, therefore, the scansion and notation of any poem either upon a trochaic base or an iambic base attempts too great accuracy and is accordingly fallacious. Even in what are presumably the best examples of trochaic verse the reduction to a trochaic base would in most cases represent the tyranny of a rather small minority; in iambic poems also about half the phrases usually fail to correspond to an iambic structure.

A comparison with music will make the situation more clear. In music it is quite possible to represent and to execute passages entirely in rising or in falling rhythm. Dvorak's *Humoresque*

in its most popular movement is a practically perfect example of rising rhythm. The following passage is entirely falling:



Such monotonous phrasing may not produce pleasing music, but it is at least correct. In verse, on the other hand, such perfection of phrasing would be not only monotonous, but also impossible. Except in very brief passages idiomatic English cannot be written either entirely as falling or entirely as rising rhythm.<sup>7</sup> The former could be attained only by dispensing with articles, conjunctions, and most prepositions. The latter would banish nearly all dissyllabic words. To return to musical illustration, what happens in verse is what happens also in all ordinary movements of music, that is, "ties" are equally likely to extend across a bar, and to correspond with it. Even when there is a strong tendency toward one rhythm, this monotony is usually produced seemingly that it may be refreshingly varied by an eventual change. In verse, however, two factors work to prevent either rhythm from becoming unusually predominant. First, the desire of the poet to avoid displeasing monotony leads him to metrical variety. Second, the structure of the language itself with iron hand tends to reduce to a fairly regular average the mingling of rhythm.

Illustration of the working of these factors may be seen in the fact that "trochaic" poems frequently open in a much more marked falling rhythm than will be found in their later stanzas. Even in the song from *The Tempest* the first line is the most strongly falling in the rhythm. Shelley's "Rarely, rarely" is much more markedly falling in the first lines than throughout the greater part of the poem. Perhaps the poet found the move-

<sup>1</sup> Pope in *The Universal Prayer* has a quatrain entirely in rising phrases; the monotony is marked:

**This day, be Bread and Peace my Lot;  
All else beneath the Sun,  
Thou know'st if best bestow'd or not,  
And let Thy Will be done.**

**This is as long a passage as I have found in unvarying phrase structure.**



ment monotonous; more likely the difficulty of maintaining the unstable equilibrium was too great, and he unconsciously slipped into a more normal rhythmic mode. In either case the result is the same.

How then is there justification for using the terms "iambic" and "trochaic" in an absolute sense? To say that a poem is trochaic can mean at most that it has a somewhat higher proportion of falling phrases than is common in English verse. Classification of meters without qualification as iambic or trochaic is a naive assumption of the simplicity of linguistic structure. All English verse must be sometimes one and sometimes the other, with the two phrasings ordinarily mingled inextricably. Attempt to classify the *feet* by nature of line openings or endings, or any other external criterion is merely to set up a misleading fiction of artificial scansion, as in the lines already quoted from *Hiawatha*. It rests upon no tangible quality of verse to which its advocates can point. The best argument that they can advance seems to be that since there is not yet "knowledge absolute" upon the subject of verse, the conservative tradition of metrics should not be broken.

In the word "tradition" lies the key to the situation; the iambic-trochaic distinction is in fact a survival. It begins in English at the time of our first metrical treatises (Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*—1589), and, if now decrepit, is nevertheless venerable, even hallowed. Still, a charlatan is a charlatan, be he old as Methusalem, and scientific metrical study of the last twenty years has been steadily undermining the reputation of the character in question. Never founded upon any firm basis, it cannot now be accepted merely for having grown grey in fraudulent good repute. Initiated under the analogy of classical verse when classics were sacrosanct, bulwarked always by their support, it has now lost even that protection. Classical metrists have in fact been more logical than our own, and for half a century many of them have boldly been writing their "iambic" trimeter:<sup>8</sup>

ū|—u—ū|—u—ū|—u—

There is no longer strength to be drawn from classical authority.

<sup>8</sup> This is the usage of such eminent students of classical metrics as J. H. H. Schmidt, Sir Richard Jebb, and Wilhelm Christ. The last notes, "mit anderen Worten jambische Reihen gleichen trochäischen mit vorangeschickter Anak-

The best solution then, as many have pointed out, is to recognize that the distinction represented by the terms trochee and dactyl on the one hand, and iamb and anapest on the other, is in reality no distinction. As terms to differentiate two types of line according to their openings the words may be readapted, and serve a useful purpose, but for application to feet and the internal structure of verse they produce only confusion. For practical purposes of notation the way out is to agree upon some system, necessarily conventional, which will show in the same way the divisions between all feet. There is no essential reason why the mark of division should not come just as well after as before the syllable of stress; I at least know of no quality of verse which would make one method fundamentally more suitable. A convention has already, however, been set by an art which by some metrists is considered to have a very close and by all is granted to have some analogy with verse. The natural conclusion therefore is to fall back upon the analogy of music, and adopt the principle of marking the divisions always before the stressed syllable. This system will be frankly conventional; by it we shall show merely the divisions between metrical feet, and shall assume nothing one way or the other about phrase structure. We shall thus cease perpetuating what at present seems to be a distinct fallacy of metrical theory; the result will be, we may hope, greater ease in the understanding and in the teaching of verse structure.

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rusis." The usage is not entirely established, but in any case the disagreement removes the authority of the analogy. Classical metrists have been content to adopt from music the use of the bar only, and have not found it necessary to employ notes to represent syllables. Just how much musical paraphernalia need be adopted for metrics is in fact a debatable question, and one which cannot be considered here.

## THE GOTHIC ELEMENT IN AMERICAN LITERATURE BEFORE 1835

One of the most universal of literary motives is the motive of terror. The ogre theme, so Sir Harry Johnston conjectures in his *Views and Reviews*, may have arisen from the first true men's "dim racial remembrance" of their gorilla-like Neanderthal predecessors. And who of us, sophisticated moderns though we be, can resist the fearful fascination of a good ghost story? But there have been periods in literary history when the uncanny and the supernatural have been especially cultivated, to the point of becoming a fad. The name Gothic, though inadequate<sup>1</sup>, is generally attached to this type of writing. It may be defined for our purpose as that kind of literature which, originating in Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, seeks to create an atmosphere of mystery and terror by the use of supernatural or apparently supernatural machinery, or of pronounced physical or mental horror.

The aim of this paper is to follow the Gothic convention during one of its most prolific periods as it manifested itself in America before reaching its apogee at the hands of Poe and Hawthorne. The limit of 1835 is chosen as marking approximately the beginning of the work of both these men in this field.

The writers and readers of America, in this as in all other literary matters, took their cue from England and made Gothic story-telling for many years one of the approved fashions in letters.<sup>2</sup> As in England, this innovation was a natural reaction against the rationality, restraint and unimaginativeness of neo-classic literature.

The same rebellion against formality and correctness is seen in other arts, especially in architecture. The dominance of Inigo Jones's and Sir Christopher Wren's classical style was disputed in England about the middle of the eighteenth century, when

<sup>1</sup> An article by Clara F. McIntyre in *P. M. L. A.*, December, 1921, presents the thesis that the so-called Gothic novel is a reflection of the Renaissance as interpreted in Elizabethan drama.

<sup>2</sup> For a full treatment of the Gothic romance in England see Edith Birkhead, *The Tale of Terror*, London, 1921.

Walpole and others took up with the entertaining idea of building villas in imitation of medieval abbeys. Henceforth towers and pinnacles, pointed arches and surprise contested against Greek pediments, the classic orders and regularity. In America, though as early as 1771 Jefferson proposed some Gothic models, the revival did not make itself apparent until 1800, when a country house of Gothic design was built near Philadelphia. A chapel with Gothic forms was erected in Baltimore in 1807, and, from 1812 on, Gothic churches arose in various cities in increasing numbers.

In painting, an art more closely allied to literature, a similar tendency toward liberating the imagination may be discovered. The typical eighteenth century painting is a formal portrait. But under the romantic influence supernatural conceptions began making their appearance in this country early in the nineteenth century. Washington Allston, about 1811, painted a large show piece representing the "Dead Man Revived by Touching Elisha's Bones." The setting is Elisha's sepulchre in a mountain cavern. At the rear are the bones of the prophet, the skull emitting a preternatural light. In the foreground is seen the man at the moment of reanimation, surrounded by several groups in various postures of terror. Some three years later Allston had begun "Belshazzar's Feast, or the Hand Writing on the Wall," about 1817 he attempted "Jacob's Dream," and by 1831 had completed "Saul and the Witch of Endor" and "Spalatro's Vision of the Bloody Hand." A "Resurrection" was painted by John Singleton Copley about 1814. Two years before this Rembrandt Peale executed his "Ascent of Elijah" and by 1820 the "Court of Death." The latter is said to have represented the causes and victims of Death, who is shrouded in mysterious obscurity. William Dunlap in 1825 painted "Death on the Pale Horse," a large canvas in imitation of Benjamin West's picture of the same name. Death, seated on a white horse and followed by the ministers of Hell, is seen rushing over the bodies of his victims.

It is clear that the terroristic literature of America, although the first symptom to appear, was only one of the manifestations of a convention that held a very prominent place in the culture of this country as well as of the Old World during the years commonly known as the Romantic Era. In the following pages

it will be impossible to consider all the items which present themselves, running as they do to well over a hundred; hence it will be necessary to limit the discussion to those with some special significance.

## I

The Gothic idea permeated all branches of our narrative literature, but it first made its appearance in poetry. In 1774 Philip Freneau wrote "The Pictures of Columbus," a poem featuring an enchantress who surrounds herself with snakes, toads, winding sheets, dead men's bones and ghosts, and who has the power of revealing the future. Freneau's most considerable experiment is "The House of Night" (1779), a lurid poem centering about the image of Death and decorated with churchyards and spectres. It has imaginative vigor and a certain crude impressiveness. No poem more promising had yet come out of America.

For concentrated ghastliness Joseph Story's brief "Druid Rites," published in his volume, *The Power of Solitude* (1804), would challenge most competitors. While the Druids offer a beautiful child as sacrifice, demons yell, fiends in winding-sheets rise from the dead, a tempest rocks the sky, furies drink blood from a mystic bowl and clotted gore from wormy skulls, and spirits of evil shriek that a deed of Hell must be done ere morn.

It may seem incongruous to place among these heavy-footed and solemnly dreadful compositions so whimsical and airily delicate a poem as Joseph Rodman Drake's *Culprit Fay* (written 1816; printed 1835); and yet its supernaturalism, however fanciful it may be, places it in our general category. Nominally the setting is the Highlands of the Hudson, but in reality it is the "foam of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn." The combats of an elf with the demons of the waves and the fiends of the air make up one of the few fairy stories in American literature, and one of the very few items in our present study to which the word charming can be applied.

New England witchcraft makes its appearance in *The Sorceress, or Salem Delivered* (1817) by Jonathan M. Scott. Numerous interesting details of the delusion are incorporated in the poem, such as converse with Satan, bewitching of witch-

hunters, trial of the witch by the ordeal of water, and her subsequent hanging.

*Yamoyden* (1820), by J. W. Eastburn and R. C. Sands, deals somewhat elaborately with another local theme, Indian superstition. In their orgiastic worship of the Serpent God the Indians are on the point of sacrificing a half-breed child, but a mysterious form, actually a white man, appears as a terrible storm rends the heavens, and rescues the infant. In the description of the orgy and the storm the authors display considerable dramatic force.

A poem that was styled by John Wilson in *Blackwood's Magazine* "by far the most powerful and original of American poetic compositions" is "The Buccaneers" (1827) by Richard Henry Dana. Perhaps Coleridge deserves some of the credit, for the influence of "The Ancient Mariner" is easily seen. It is a tale of a pirate who, for his great sins, is visited by retributive justice through the agency of a spectre-steed and a phantom-ship.

Whittier dug in a rich but hitherto little worked mine of romantic material in his first volume, *Legends of New England, in Prose and Verse* (1831), a group of sketches based on the superstitions and traditionary lore of the colonists. The four most interesting poems deal respectively with witchcraft, a band of Indians in league with the Power of Darkness, a spectre-ship, and an enchanted and fiendish fox—a sort of were-wolf. In restraint and forceful simplicity these tales are considerably superior to the average of their kind.

In the field of verse, the Gothic movement called forth only slender results in this country both in quality and quantity. The quality is explicable on the basis that all early American poetry is mediocre. The quantity may be accounted for by the fact that poetry was not and is not a popular form of literature; hence the convention of terror, which was essentially popular, found more congenial channels of expression.

## II

One of those channels was, as might be expected, the drama. Here the melodramatic element inherent in the literature of terror found ample scope.

William Dunlap was responsible for the first native Gothic play. In 1794 he wrote *Fontainville Abbey* (acted 1795, printed 1806), basing it on Mrs. Radcliffe's *Romance of the Forest*. Dunlap's "tragedy" is thoroughly Radcliffian, with its scene laid in a ruined abbey, its rusty daggers, its skeleton found in an old chest, its parchments revealing crime, and its subterranean passageways. Still more significant is the natural solution of all the apparent supernaturalism—exactly the method devised by the Englishwoman. It is interesting to note that the American playwright's experiment with Gothic drama was almost simultaneous with the first English plays of a similar kind, and that in both cases Mrs. Radcliffe was the direct inspiration.

Dunlap was obviously pleased with his innovation, for his next two plays belong to the same school. *Ribbemont, or the Feudal Baron* (act. 1796, pr. 1803) is less thrilling than *The Man of Fortitude, or the Knight's Adventure* (act. 1797, pr. 1807), written in collaboration with John Hodgkinson. In this sketch bloody spectres and demons haunting a gloomy castle prove to be only disguised robbers, according to the excellent example set by Mrs. Radcliffe in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.

Dunlap's contemporaries soon showed their approval of the type he had recently introduced, though they were not, to be sure, required to depend long on him alone for light and leading in this matter. In June of 1798 M. G. Lewis's *Castle Spectre* began at New York a long career in the American theatres, and other English successes soon followed it. In a short time it became almost the custom to introduce at least one Gothic episode into every play where it would be at all congruous. For instance, in *Reparation, or the School for Libertines* (1800) by Thomas P. Lathy, which tells a matter of fact story, there is a scene in which the seducer goes to grieve at the tomb of his victim, when suddenly the tomb opens and the woman comes forth with their child in her arms. But he quickly learns that instead of dying she had been kept in seclusion by the pastor, who arranged the somewhat bizarre reunion.

Perhaps the majority of plays that show the Gothic tendency display it in merely a single scene or two. But when J. B. White set about writing *The Mysteries of the Castle, or the Victim of Revenge* (act. and pr. 1807) he resolved to provide terror in unstinted measure. The five hectic acts revolve about the ruins

of a medieval castle, the scene of inexplicable crimes. Ghosts, sinking floors, explosions and underground passages provide enough adventure for half a dozen melodramas.

It is doubtful whether a more fantastic bit of incoherent absurdity was ever written than John D. Turnbull's *Wood-Daemon, or the Clock Has Struck* (act. and pr. 1808). Having obtained the printed prospectus of Lewis's "dramatic romance" of a similar name, Turnbull worked up a hodge-podge even worse than the original. The title-character is a superhuman monster supposed to specialize in slaying children, but in the last act the creature exerts its powers in behalf of a wronged child by stabbing and disappearing with the oppressor. The last act consists almost wholly of a series of supernatural phenomena of an extravagant and puerile nature. The Radcliffian tradition, by its basic effort at rationality, imposed a certain restraint on those who took their formula from her, but this quality was unknown to Lewis in his abandon to the caprices of fancy. Little discretion could therefore be expected of his American imitators, whose taste was even cruder than his.

It is not surprising to find an American playwright, in his search for a likely story, turning to Scott, whose poems and novels were so informed with this element. James Nelson Barker's *Marmion* (act. 1812, pr. 1816) follows the poem in its medieval setting and incorporates the main Gothic details of its source, especially the doings of the mysterious palmer and the trial of Constance in the abbey vault.

Even the light comedy must perforce find room for the popular machinery of terror. *The Bucktails, or Americans in England* (written c. 1815, pr. 1847), by James K. Paulding, squeezes in a night scene in a churchyard with the inevitable accompaniment of thunder and lightning. Two humorous servants convince themselves that in the church porch they see a ghost surrounded by a hundred cats, and spirits capering in the fire. The scene shifts to a ruined castle occupied by strange figures who prove to be gypsies.

The direct influence of Lewis is again seen in *The Forest of Rosenwald, or the Travellers Benighted* (act. 1820, pr. 1821), by J. Stokes. The plot is based on the Bleeding Nun episode in *The Monk*. The play differs from the novel chiefly in making



the Bleeding Nun a beneficent spook, who is a very tame echo of Lewis's vindictive, malignant lady-ghost.

During this period the melodrama went by inevitable attraction to the middle ages for its setting, even though the action was devoid of the supernatural. For instance, *The Mountain Torrent* (act. and pr. 1820) and *The Rose of Arragon, or the Vigil of St. Mark* (act. and pr. 1822), both by S. B. H. Judah, rely on Gothic castles, night storms, bloodshed and mystery, but are free from marvelous occurrences.

The influence of Goethe and Byron may be discovered in Judah's *Odofriede; the Outcast* (pr. 1822) a dramatic poem which, both in conception and style, has considerable merit. Odofriede, a deformed peasant, cast out by society, becomes a misanthrope. Evil spirits grant him beauty and riches in exchange for his soul. He uses his wealth and charm to ruin lives for the sake of avenging himself on mankind until, his command over the spirits forsaking him, he is seized by the "fearful one."

Almost without exception our Gothic playwrights went to medieval Europe for their material. But in *Superstition* (pr. 1823, act. 1824) Barker tried the experiment of a New England theme. The drama centers about a woman who, because she holds herself aloof from the villagers, is regarded as a witch by her neighbors. Another strange figure is a man of wild aspect, called the "Unknown," who lives in a forest cave and performs apparently marvelous deeds. The witch-hunters, suspecting him of being the "chief of fiends," and the woman and her son of being in league with him, bring the latter two to trial and put the son to death. During the trial and subsequent events a storm of thunder and lightning rages.

James A. Hillhouse in *Hadad* (pr. 1825) found in the Bible an unusual source for a Gothic play. The title-character of this closet drama is a demon who, entering and animating the corpse of Hadad, assists Absalom in his conspiracy against David. He is eventually opposed by a flaming angel, who blasts and shrivels him. The play, by no means an uninteresting one, is distinctly Oriental in its central idea and also in various necromantic details. Both *Odofriede* and *Hadad* would indicate that our Gothic writers were more successful in closet drama than in stage plays.

In its combination of supernaturalism and American history *The Widow's Son* (act. and pr. 1825), by Samuel Woodworth, is

notable. Its central figure is the historical Margaret Darby, who was obscurely known during the Revolution as the Witch of Blagge's Cove. In the play her cottage is fitted with the conventional devices of the black art, and by various tricks she deceives the people into believing that her powers are superhuman. The witch theme had already been used by two of Woodworth's predecessors, but he was probably more indebted to Scott's *Meg Merrilies*.

The witch recurs as a minor motive in several later plays, two of which fall within our period: *The Evil Eye* (act. and pr. 1831), by J. B. Phillips, and *The Cradle of Liberty* (act. 1832, pr. no date), by Stephen E. Glover.

From this analysis it is plain that the dominant influence in American Gothic drama was the "explained supernaturalism" that Mrs. Radcliffe popularized. Approximately four-fifths of the plays written during our period that might be classed as Gothic are free from actual supernaturalism, but gain their effect through setting and mysterious occurrences that arise from natural causes. The Walpole-Lewis technique was not particularly congenial to the practical American, who apparently preferred a tie with his familiar earth even when straying into the realm of mystery.

The hold of the Gothic idea on the playwrights' imagination may be gaged from the fact that, as nearly as I can estimate, rather more than half of all the plays written in this country between 1794 and 1835 contain this element in greater or less degree.

That these plays were of poor quality goes without saying. Almost without exception early American drama is unimportant as literature. Probably the Gothic plays were even inferior to the non-Gothic, but the same could be said of the English stage—not to mention the popular mystery plays of our own day. We have here a type that imposes on the author none of the restraints or austere demands of the higher forms of literary art, combining as it does the superficiality and laxness of the melodrama with the lawlessness of a world of marvels. Consequently writers of negligible powers were (and still are) attracted to this genre by the prospects of a success that would be denied them in more exacting fields. The best of the American product were written by men with some consciousness of literary stan-

dards, such as Dunlap's *Ribbemont*, Judah's *Odofriede*, Barker's *Superstition* and Hillhouse's *Hadad*, all four written in blank verse. Probably the worst was Turnbull's *Wood-Daemon* and it, alas, was the most popular of all.

The happy hunting ground for these purveyors of wonder was an indefinitely medieval Europe. This was the obvious setting, both because there the Gothic idea fits and because the British writers whom ours were imitating employed it almost exclusively. A bare handful of playwrights, however, were ingenious enough to attempt a transplanting of the atmosphere and effects of medieval castles and credulity to their western world, notably Barker in *Superstition* and Woodworth in *The Widow's Son*.

### III

Only in fiction did Gothicism achieve anything approaching distinction in this country, probably for the simple reason that by 1835 we had produced almost no writers of real ability except writers of fiction. It is also true, no doubt, that fiction permits a range of the imagination and an agreeable indefiniteness of effect that are essential to the successful treatment of the weird, but that are forbidden by the inescapable realness of the stage.

The earliest trace of Gothic terror in our fiction appears in the first regular American novel, Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton's Richardsonian tale, *The Power of Sympathy, or the Triumph of Nature* (1789). One of the male characters has a Dantesque dream in which he visits the realm of departed sinners. The punishment meted out for seduction, the blackest crime on the blotter of Hell, impresses him with the extreme of fear. He is seized by a demon and thrust struggling into the midst of the group, but at this interesting moment he awakes.

The distinction of writing our first Gothic novel, however, belongs to Charles Brockden Brown. *Wieland, or the Transformation* (1798) is built around two decidedly terrifying phenomena: the inexplicable cremation of a man who at midnight is praying in an isolated pavilion; and mysterious voices that threaten and warn one character, and incite another to the murder of his wife and children. There is a more subtle sort of terror, too, in the foreboding, the spiritual devastation and the insane frenzy of one or other of these victims. For the emphasis

on these psychological horrors Brown was probably indebted to Godwin's *Caleb Williams*.

Brown was convinced that the evocation of the reader's fear did not depend on medieval castles and superstitions. Accordingly he laid his scene in the America of his day. Moreover he gained his thrills by means befitting the time and place. His seeming supernaturalism is given not merely a natural, but even a scientific, explanation, and thus he took the next logical step beyond Mrs. Radcliffe. The cremation is found to be a result of spontaneous combustion—and the scrupulous author adds a foot-note citing exactly similar cases recorded in medical journals. The mysterious voices are produced by ventriloquism.

*Wieland* is far from a negligible representative of its class, even when compared with its English kindred. Its style, though stilted, serves by its preternatural seriousness to convey a mood of impending tragedy. The events, if melodramatic, are boldly imagined; and in all the strange sufferings of these tortured souls there is undeniable power. Even the modern reader glances uneasily from the palpitating page to the shadowy corners of the room.

Brown never again rose to the level of *Wieland*, but he continued its method in another early novel, *Edgar Huntly, or Memoirs of a Sleep-Walker* (1799). Here the mysteries arise from the fact that both the young men in the story are afflicted with somnambulism, a much discussed subject of the time. One of the men, Clithero, is found at night digging under a tree where a murder had occurred. He later explains that this murder reminded him so forcibly of a crime of his own that in sleep he was drawn to the spot. Huntly awakes from one of his attacks of noctambulism to find himself in the blackness of a rocky cave. Before escaping he must kill a panther and several Indians. Exhausted in the fight he sinks to sleep, to awake with his head pillowed on a dead Indian. Thus the caverns of America's hills supplant the Gothic vaults of Europe, and the red-skin proves no less terrifying than the spectre of the castle.

*Ormond, or the Secret Witness* (1799), though not primarily a novel of terror, includes several incidents of that nature. There is a secret night burial of a ghastly-faced victim of yellow fever, that is described at length and with evident relish for all the gruesome and fear-inspiring details. Ormond, who has almost

superhuman power over the heroine, by some unknown means learns everything she does. This, we discover, is accomplished through the agency of an unsuspected canvas door between their two houses. The book closes with a dreadful episode in which a desolate country house near Philadelphia does duty for the medieval hall, and the scene loses but little of its potency by the substitution.

*Arthur Mervyn, or Memoirs of the Year 1793* (1799-1800) finds room for abundant frightfulness. The most telling passages are those which have to do with the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia. Here we find what might be called pathological Gothic. The physical and spiritual horror of the victims of the scourge is relentlessly described. Certain episodes are particularly dramatic. Mervyn enters a stricken house and, glancing into a mirror, sees, as though it were an apparition, a huge, misshapen, one-eyed man, who strikes him unconscious. On regaining his senses he finds himself on the point of being thrust into a coffin. He learns that the "apparition" was a thieving servant. On another occasion a figure glides into Mervyn's room with yellow and livid face, fleshless bones and ghastly, hollow eyes. At first he believes it to be the ghost of his friend, but it soon proves to be that friend himself, who has just escaped from the hospital.

Aside from his considerable skill as a narrator, Brown's importance for us consists in the fact that he always chose an American setting for his novels of the strange and marvelous, and that he offered, so far as was possible, a scientific explanation for his mysteries. By basing his effects on scientific phenomena of an uncanny nature he achieved a logically convincing terror that was a real contribution to Gothic literature.

Brown's partiality for native settings failed to affect Mrs. S. S. B. K. Wood, whose *Julia, or the Illuminated Baron* (1800) is a story of eighteenth century France. Its one scene of horror is in the Radcliffe manner. Julia, paying a nocturnal visit to a family tomb, touches the face of a corpse, long since interred, which instantly sinks to dust and ashes. Julia, not unnaturally, is petrified thereby. Nor is her perturbation lessened by a fleeting glimpse of a man's form in the shadows of the tomb. She believes it to be the phantom of her lover, who is thus apprising her of his demise. But a few nights later his living presence explains the apparition.

That Brown taught his countrymen something about horror in fiction can be seen in *Glencarn, or the Disappointments of Youth* (1810), by George Watterston. Here again the thrills are extracted from such devices as are not inconsistent with the American setting. For our purpose the most significant episode is the hero's adventure with bandits on the banks of the Ohio. He is thrown into a cave and locked in, to discover that the floor is strewn with human skeletons and the walls besmeared with blood. Raising the lid of a coffin, that is to serve as his couch, he sees within the mangled body of a woman. After this manner the horror chamber of the medieval castle, favored of Mrs. Radcliffe, is transported to our own backyard.

*The Asylum* (1811), by Isaac Mitchell, is a title that implies no connection with a madhouse; it is merely the name that the maudlin lovers choose, not inappropriately, for their prospective home. The book illustrates a danger to which the American novelists' method of treating terror peculiarly exposed them. With astonishing incongruity the author by main force drags into the midst of his sentimental love story and tender scenery a bagful of the most shamelessly Radcliffian tricks. A ruinous mansion on the Connecticut coast—a complete copy of a medieval castle—which was built as a protection against Indians, becomes the temporary prison of the heroine. Here on successive nights she runs the gauntlet of Gothic terrors. After this grisly interlude, the story returns to its wonted course until the very last chapter, in which all these marvels are rationalized by the familiar robber explanation.

Of all our weavers of legends of fear prior to Poe, by far the most skilful, the most artistic, the most eery is Washington Irving. In his hands the story of terror for the first time becomes unmistakably literature. In his earliest work of fiction, *The Sketch Book* (1819-20), Irving proved himself a master of the sportive Gothic, a field in which he has scarcely been surpassed. Indeed "Rip Van Winkle," "The Spectre Bridegroom," and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" still remain the classic examples of this genre. As to "Rip Van Winkle" it is sufficient to say that a German superstition is transplanted to the Catskill Mountains and that in so doing Irving adhered to the Americanizing practice established by Brown, choosing for his setting a bit of wild native scenery admirably in keeping with the spirit of the tale.

"The Spectre Bridegroom" is placed in medieval Germany, but the seeming supernaturalism is happily explained in the end. And the style, even in dealing with the apparently unearthly, is but mock-serious.

"The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" returns to the banks of the Hudson. The superstitions and ghost tales of the inhabitants create an appropriate atmosphere for the comic tragedy of Ichabod. "The Legend" might without injustice be called an American "Tam O'Shanter." In both much the same excellent balance of humor and terror is maintained. But, more to the point, they are similar in plan. The unlucky homeward ride in each case is preceded by an evening of merriment and story-spinning. Burns, like Irving, leads his hero to his undoing past various spots with superstitious associations. Both tales employ a haunted church, both include a demonic pursuit, and both terminate on or near a bridge over a stream, which, according to the belief of both Tam and Ichabod, fiends may not cross. Burns's fiends, however, are authentic inhabitants of the pit. Irving's, in keeping with the American practice of explaining such matters, is only a very human Dutchman armed with a pumpkin.

*Bracebridge Hall* (1822), aside from certain details in "The Student of Salamanca," has but one story of the supernatural, "Dolph Heyliger." In this tale, which is located in Manhattan and again employs the sportive style, the most striking element is a phantom-ship with a silent and statue-like crew that once made its appearance in Manhattan Bay after a great storm. The spectre-bark, which seems to have owed its origin to colonial superstition and is perhaps also indebted to "The Ancient Mariner," is dealt with rather frequently in the literature of our period, but it was to have its finest presentment in Poe's "MS. Found in a Bottle."

*Tales of a Traveler* (1824) abounds in Gothic material. "The Adventure of My Uncle" and "The Adventure of My Aunt" are slight stories that rationalize the mystery. "The Bold Dragoon" and "Wolfert Webber" are tales of brisk fun, the former seeming to reveal some influence of "Tam O'Shanter," and the latter containing an episode possibly derived from Goethe's account of Mephistopheles's pranks in Auerbach's wine-cellar.

Much the best of the humorous stories in this volume is "The Devil and Tom Walker," a sort of comic New England *Faust*, which, in the happy blending of the terrifying and the ludicrous almost rivals "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." The setting, a gloomy, snake-infested swamp, is excellently chosen. Here Tom encounters the Devil and seals his soul in exchange for pirate gold. After a career of iniquity, he is whisked back to the swamp on a black horse and never seen again.

If Irving's forte was the jesting Gothic, "The Adventure of the German Student" shows him to have a command of the sombre species as well. The student, finding a beautiful, homeless woman at the foot of the guillotine during the French Revolution, takes her to his room for the night. The next morning he finds her dead, and when he removes a black band from her throat her head falls to the floor. She had been beheaded the preceding day. Unlike some of Irving's stories already discussed, "The German Student" is direct, economical and grimly terrible.

*The Alhambra* (1832) contains a number of tales founded on local traditions that Irving picked up while visiting Granada. The spirit of these stories is inevitably that of *The Arabian Nights*, and their frank supernaturalism rests on magic treasure hidden in the bowels of the earth, demon steeds, flying carpets, palaces built by necromancy, enchanted beauties, and phantom armies that emerge from the heart of a mountain. The tone of the sketches is light and entertaining, but there is no unusual distinction about them. The chief importance of the volume lies in the fact that it is one of the few examples of Oriental Gothic in this country.

Irving's place in the field of our survey is large. In variety of tone and setting he is easily first, though his peculiar strain is humor and his predominant background is colonial America. Moreover he showed that an American writer could gain his ends without either crude melodrama or bogies fit only to frighten children.

The novels of John Neal suggest either that Gothic writing induces madness or that madness induces Gothic writing. His stories are the wildest, most incoherent pieces of imagination in American literature. It is as though they were the product of some of those crazed brains with which his books abound.



No matter how soberly matter of fact his beginning may be, the tale soon trasli off into confused raving and horror. His style is a perfect medium for his purpose: violent, hysterical, shrieking, it defies all laws of order and lucidity. Perhaps for this reason, Neal's novels are not without melodramatic power. One can hardly fail to respond to their tremendous intensity and their devastating terror.

Though it is his first venture in the abnormal sphere, *Logan, the Mingo Chief* (1822) shows his peculiarities fully developed. There is evident some influence of Brown's rational explanations and American settings in the figure of an Indian who, surviving a supposedly fatal wound, like a genuine demon, for which he is mistaken, haunts the spot where he fell and shoots those who come near. But there are less rational elements, as in the scene in a European chamber where the hero goes through all the ghastly experiences common to the ghost-infested halls of the English romances. He later learns that a man had been killed in this room, and that the murderer, going insane, had sat all night watching the horrible swollen eyes of his victim.

*Randolph* (1823) is full of violence, murder and coffins. One portion is of particular significance. A murderer describes Annapolis, the scene of his crime, as a town of a strangely old-world air, of profound silence and solitude, of an almost baronial sullenness and gloom. The houses suggest manors and castles that were once the abode of the haughty and lonely nobility of Maryland. One night, so the murderer continues, while walking on a desolate street of the town, he perceived that he was followed by a silent form. He turned and struck his knife into the pursuer, but it merely walked on with long, noiseless strides. It seemed to him that the face was that of his victim. All this is especially interesting because the author is trying to impart to an American scene as much of the flavor of medieval Europe as possible in order to make it a fit setting for his Gothic terrors. Others, as we have seen, were doing the same thing, but Neal here elaborates his background more fully than had been done before.

*Errata, or the Works of Will Adams* (1823) is full of a vague horror. Two unusual figures are Adams's dwarfish brother and his dwarfish playmate, both of whom have an uncanny effect on him, the one being superhumanly malicious, the other super-

humanly strong. In an illness Adams is seized with delirium and imagines himself first to be in a madhouse and then to have been buried alive. His mental agony is fearful in this state, and the style reaches a point of frenzy.

One of the few tales to use New England witchcraft as its theme is Neal's *Rachel Dyer* (1828). It tells of the cruel suffering and death of a woman accused of being a witch. There is considerable incidental witchery, which the author appears to accept as possible.

In general Neal followed the tendency of his predecessors by setting his novels in his native land, even though in certain episodes he wandered elsewhere. In the matter of supernaturalism he usually but not invariably explained his marvels. As to effect, Neal happily has no rivals in the school of frenzied fiction.

James Fenimore Cooper is never classed among the Gothic novelists, and yet several of his stories contain details, more or less prominent, unmistakably inspired by the prevailing fashion. *The Pilot* (1823) has a trace of it in the English abbey ruin where much of the action occurs. Here one of the girls is fear-struck on hearing the voice of the Pilot, whom she believes to be far away, until she learns that he has just been brought in a captive.

*Lionel Lincoln* (1825) is built about a mysterious old man known as Ralph, who has unusual influence over Lionel and who is responsible for much apparent supernaturalism by his unexpected appearances and the marvelous power of his voice. Cooper frequently says that "his movements and aspect" have "the character of a being superior to the attributes of humanity." The explanation apparently lies in the discovery that Ralph is a madman who has escaped his keeper. His influence over Lionel arises from the fact that he is that hero's father. Another Gothic element is furnished by the strange idiot Job, Ralph's chief friend and companion.

Perhaps the most impressive examples of Cooper's natural supernaturalism are found in his finest novel, *The Prairie* (1827). In the first chapter, emigrants crossing the plain suddenly see the gigantic figure of a man standing in the center of the flood of sunset light. They regard it with superstitious awe, until they find that it is a mere human being named Leatherstocking. Near the end of the book is the powerfully described hanging of the murderer Abiram. After making all preparations for the

hanging, his executioners depart, leaving him to choose the moment of his fatal leap. When they have withdrawn some distance and night has fallen, they hear a shriek which seems to come from the upper air, then a cry of horror as it were at their very ears, then a cry that exceeds horror, filling every cranny of the air, and they know that the criminal's day is done.

Among the least successful of Cooper's novels is *The Water-Witch* (1831), the only one in which he fails to explain his mysteries. Once again we encounter the ship of magical properties, which inexplicably eludes all pursuers, thanks to its presiding genius, a figure-head representing a malign water-witch.

*The Heidenmauer* (1832), a tale of sixteenth century Germany, has as setting a Gothic castle and abbey, and incorporates considerable medieval superstition. There is one effective and imaginative ghost scene, which explains itself away when it is discovered that the supposed ghost is a living man wrongly thought to have been killed.

Cooper contributed little that was new to Gothic methods. In the main he followed what was becoming the American practice of adhering to domestic settings and of explaining the supernatural. Commonly his effects are more satisfactory, dignified and poetic than those of his lesser contemporaries, but he too was capable of triviality.

A readable novel by a little known writer is *The Spectre of the Forest* (1823), by James McHenry. For us the interest centers in the "Spectre," a beneficent spirit who watches over the destinies of the hero. It being an American story, the "Spectre" is at last found to be a human being, the heroine's father and none other than Goffe, the regicide, who fled from England after the execution of Charles I. One architectural detail is significant: A man accused of witchcraft flees to a small cabin fitted with a secret door in the panel and with underground passages and rooms in the rock—a sort of transplanted medieval castle in little.

James K. Paulding was not only a friend but also an imitator of Irving. In *Koningsmarke, the Long Finne* (1823) the Gothic material is handled in the main humorously. The only figure with unearthly leanings is a sort of negro Meg Merrilies. After her death her ghost is believed to walk, and astonishing consequences follow, if we may believe a group of story tellers that

assemble one night at the inn. But the recital of their grim adventures is rudely interrupted by a mighty shrieking in the attic of the tavern. Something falls into the room, extinguishing the light and howling like a pack of demons. Of course it is only a cat fight. This is cruder than Irving, but it is in his vein.

A debt to Irving is again obvious in *The Dutchman's Fireside* (1831). A wild cry is heard at night on the shores of the Hudson. This reminds a Dutch captain of an Indian ghost said to invade these regions. As he starts the story, a scream is heard right over the ship, and the captain is slapped in the face. This is merely the doing of an owl, but the story never gets told.

Two semi-historical novels dealing with witchcraft are Lydia Maria Child's *Rebels, or Boston before the Revolution* (1825) and Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie, or Early Times in the Massachusetts* (1827). In the former appears another imitation of Meg Merrilies, who can read the past and future. In the latter an old Indian woman is placed on trial as a witch because she has cured a rattlesnake victim with the aid of strange incantations. Shortly before her execution she is spirited away by the heroine, a deed for which Satan gets the credit.

Whittier's *Legends of New England* (1831), already referred to, contains several prose sketches of interest, in which, as in most preceding fiction, is seen the effort to create terror by natural causes. The two most striking tales are "The Haunted House," concerning an alleged witch who "haunts" her enemy's dwelling by entering it nightly and making various hair-raising noises—somewhat in the *Wieland* manner; and "A Night Among the Wolves," a story of rather potent psychological horror.

John Pendleton Kennedy like Paulding was a friend and follower of Irving. His *Swallow Barn, or a Sojourn in the Old Dominion* (1832) contains a legend resembling "The Devil and Tom Walker." The Goblin Swamp of Virginia is made the setting of a humorous story about a drunken blacksmith, upon whom the Devil plays numerous pranks. The episode has much of Irving's vigor, though lacking most of his intermixture of terror and his dramatic force.

Bryant is seen as the author of Gothic fiction in two stories in *Tales of the Glauber Spa* (1832), "By Several American Authors." In "The Skeleton's Cave" a party of three, while exploring a cavern containing a human skeleton, are immured

by the fall of a large rock across the entrance. Before their release by a natural miracle, they suffer the most intense mental tortures, which even take the form of hallucinations and temporary insanity. "Medfield," our sole entry that would interest the Society for Psychical Research, tells of a man whose dead wife's spirit palpably but invisibly visits him to restrain his fierce temper. For these visitations and his early death, which results from them, the author suggests the explanation of monomania.

The only other story of terror in *Tales of the Glauber Spa* is "Boyuca," by R. C. Sands. It tells of a Spanish search for the fountain of youth in Florida through a trackless and funereal forest, which is described as a toweringly ominous and evil thing. A South American tiger that is encountered on the route produces the effect of a devil incarnate. Just as the explorers reach the fountain, a devastating tempest breaks upon them and kills their guide, an Indian hag reputed to be a witch. They bury her under the stars amid the dancing gleams of fireflies and the eldritch cries of the night creatures in the sinister old wood. The story is a skilful piece of exaggeration that does not fail to grip the imagination. Indeed, in its extravagant way, it is something of a masterpiece. The effect is obtained almost wholly by the weird nature descriptions, in which the influence of Coleridge may be suspected.

A narrative that does not lack haunting power in spite of its fantastic character is Richard Henry Dana's long short story, "Paul Felton" (in *Poems and Prose Writings*, 1833; reprinted from *The Idle Man*, a periodical of 1821-2). Paul, a moody young man tortured with jealousy of his wife, meets a demented boy of ghastly mien, who becomes his evil genius and by his malign influence leads Paul to murder his wife.

Robert Montgomery Bird, best known as the author of *Nick of the Woods* (1837), has a romance which falls within our period. *Calavar* (1834) goes to the unworked field of Spanish-America for its material. The hero, morbid and distracted because he has slain the woman he loves, construes natural appearances into supernatural; and in turn, because of his terrifying face, he is frequently taken for a spectre by the superstitious. An impressive bit of decoration is the description of the weird ceremonial rites of the natives against the background of a flaming volcano.

## IV

The foregoing discussion should have made it clear that our fiction writers were agreed in the main on two points. First, with considerable unanimity they explained away what at first appear to be supernatural phenomena. Secondly, they showed a common tendency toward locating their stories in America, choosing so far as possible gloomy surroundings, whether natural or architectural. The persistence with which they followed this practice, while the great majority of poets and playwrights went to Europe, is owing in no small measure to Brown. He, our first conspicuous novelist, was convinced of the possibilities that lay in American scenes, and his successors concurred in his declaration in the preface to *Edgar Huntly* that "for a native of America to overlook these would admit of no apology." This denatured Gothic is evidence of no little ingenuity. It is, in fact, more difficult to handle than the sort that depends on a medieval castle or abbey ruin, where, as the reader willingly admits, terror has its normal abode. The Americanized Gothic convinces, if at all, because of the author's skillful treatment; the medieval sort may take for granted our readiness, even our eagerness, to accept mystery and impossibility. But the American writers assigned themselves the harder task, and this fact should not be overlooked in estimating what they did. Perhaps they adopted this course because it seemed the likeliest way to gain new effects in an already well-worked form.

If Irving stands preeminent among these writers of Gothic tales, the reason is to be found partly in the form he chose. The short story is adapted to this kind of writing as the novel cannot be; the reader's credulity may be sustained for twenty pages, scarcely for four hundred. Furthermore the dramatic intensity necessary for success is best secured through the short story. Not without reason are the greatest marvel tales, from the *Arabian Nights* to Ambrose Bierce, short stories. Our novelists seem to have felt this too, for they approximated the short story in that they introduced the element of terror, as a rule, only in occasional and frequently complete episodes.

Between the poets on the one hand and the writers of plays and fiction on the other there is this distinction, that the latter

usually explained their mysteries, whereas the former, in the majority of cases, treated them as beyond human ken. This point is emphasized by Whittier's *Legends of New England*, in which all the poems are frankly supernatural and all the prose tales find natural solutions for their strange happenings. The preponderance of these rationalized phenomena is proof that the dominant influence on the whole body of American Gothic literature was Mrs. Radcliffe. If her American disciples were often feeble followers, at least they showed discriminating taste in choosing as their model the most competent representative of the English school.

In the way of methods and devices the Americans did not contribute a great deal. Brown's scientific explanations are, to be sure, important. The sportive style was more frequently used here than in England, but the idea probably descended from "Tam O'Shanter." In the domesticating process our writers and especially our novelists discovered two new sources of terror: the Indian and New England witchcraft, both of which were often interestingly handled, but neither was developed to its full capacity. On the whole our most significant accomplishment was this very process of domestication. In a new land of but few traditions and legends, it was necessary to find or invent a new order of legend, an indigenous source of superstition and fear to serve the purpose of those that clustered about every castle and ruined abbey of Europe. To the imaginative Irving this condition offered a challenge that was eagerly accepted, and his success is attested by the fact that legends still cling to many places along the Hudson which he first imposed upon them. Lesser men found their readiest ally in our terrifying scenery and our no less terrifying aborigines. When nothing else offered, it was always possible to borrow details from the English romancers and transfer them bodily to America, sometimes with scant attention to congruity. For clumsy ineptitude in this particular *The Asylum* of Mitchell is unrivalled. For a wholly satisfying identification of terror theme with native setting one must go outside our period to *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables*.

The extent to which terror caught the imagination of America is indicated though not defined by this study, for scarcely over half of the possible titles are mentioned here.

With precedents so numerous it was almost inevitable that fiction writers like Poe and Hawthorne, beginning their work about the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, should be drawn in this direction. But, being geniuses, they were not content merely to repeat the formulas, crude as they usually were, of their fellow countrymen. Instead, they brought to the hackneyed idea a fresh creativeness, and to Gothic literature was added the grave moral beauty of Hawthorne and the exotic art of Poe.

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## THE EXCOMMUNICATED JACKDAW

Historical investigations that deal with subject-matter have usually the purpose of setting the characteristics of the authors in a clearer light by contrast and comparison. But it is not less interesting to inquire under what circumstances a subject is taken up again and restored to new life. Just as the botanist tests the earth's surface in which certain kinds of plants can flourish, so the historical critic of literature can not avoid the question why certain subjects have survived and how far they have adapted themselves to suit the changes of time, place and circumstances. The following inquiry into the varying fortunes of a mediaeval legend is a modest contribution to that question. I came across it at first in Migne's "*Patrologia Latina*," glad to find that thus the little circlet of the legends of Corvey that was founded as a monastery in 822, and celebrated in 1922 its 11th centennary, had received a new addition. I shall first give it as it appears in Migne and then add a shorter version that at first seems the older of the two.

### I.

"In monasterio Corbeia temporibus divæ memoriæ Friderici imperatoris erat abbas quidam, nomine Conradus, qui secundum pompaticam consuetudinem imperialium abbatum, inter cæteras sæcularis gloriæ illecebras, annulis aureis utebatur, longe aliter, ut credo, affectus quam ille vere pauper et humilis spiritu Clarævallis, primus abbas, quem, sicut de eo scribitur, plus delectabat rarsrum et sarculus quam tiara et annulus. Contigit vero ut quadam vice haberet annulum aureum, qui erat ei pretiosus, quem una dierum sedens ad mensam, dum juxta morem curiæ causa abluendarum manuum deposuisset, nugis nescio, an seriis intervenientibus, aliquanto negligentius, sic super mensam relictus est. Advolans interea domesticus ales corvus, quem curiales abbatis in deliciis habebant, nullo penitus advertente, raptum ore annulum, nec furti se reum intelligens, pernici volatu in nidulum suum asportavit. Verum postquam exempta est fames epulis, mensisque remotis surrexere omnes, abbas damnum suum intelligens, ministrorumque negligentiam culpans, annulum quaquaversum quæri ocus jubet, sed auctore scleris conscientias omnium eludente minime reperitur.

Itaque tam convivas quam ministros suspectos habens abbas, gravique indignatione commotus, mandavit plebanis oppidi, quod amplissimum et ditissimum haud longe a muris cœnobii situm abbatis subjacet ditioni, quatenus acerrimam excommunicationis sententiam publice intorquerent in eum qui se hoc scelere maculare non timuisset. Quo facto sicut cunctis ratione utentibus

in hac parte testimonium conscientiae factus est decor innocentiae, sic ipsa irrationabilitas naturae subterfugere non potuit, quin temporales anathematis solveret poenas, quas sempiternas solvere transitoria conditionis suae vertabat infirmitas. Coepit namque improbus quidem, sed tamen culpae inscius fur paulatim languescere, cibum fastidire, ludicras crocitationes, cæterasque irrationalis creaturæ ineptias, per quas stultorum hominum timorem Dei negligentium animos oblectare solebat, segnius exercere, dehinc etiam pennas projicere; ad postremum vero ipsis quoque plumis tabescentis carnis corruptionem fugientibus, miserabilis et admiratione dignus cunctis se cernentibus apparere. Factum est autem quadam die domesticis abbatis, ipso præsentē, de tam prodigiosa alitis illius immutatione inter se quærentibus, remque tam insolitam nequaquam sine causa fieri posse asservantibus, ut unus ex ipsis sic quasi joco diceret abbati: "Considerandum vobis est, domine, ne forte iste sit fur quem quæritis, et hæc horrenda plaga quam cernitis, vinculi anathematis quo innodatus est, indicium est." Attonitis ad hoc verbum cunctis, uni ex ministris præcepit abbas, arborem in qua cubile alitis illius erat festinato ascendere, stratumque stipula et sarmentorum repugiis subornatum diligentius reversare. Qui mox ut ascendit, repertum annulum ab injuria sordium vindicavit, nec sine stupore omnium qui aderant manibus abbatis restituit. Ita misero fure, qui atrocissimas furti poenas luebat, nec tamen furti se reum intelligebat, divino, ut credimus, nutu prodito, ad consilium discretorum virorum dominus abbas iis qui excommunicationis sententias dederant, mandavit, quatenus anathema, quod reo intorserant, restituto damno celerius relaxarent. Quod postquam factum est, sicut prius paulatim deficere, pestiferoque tabo de die in diem languescere prædictus ales visus fuerat, ita postmodum per incrementa riviviscere quodammodo atque revirescere coepit quoadusque pristinae formæ sanitatiquē amissae, non sine magno Dei miraculo integraliter restitutus est.

II. Johann. Dolfii Lectionum  
memorabilium et reconditarum centenarii XVI  
Laningae 1600. S. 216.

Anno 820. Ex libro de illustribus viris ordinis Cistrensis.

In Saxonia monasterium est fundatum a Caesare Ludovico: in eo aliquando Abbas fuerat, qui quotidie annulos pretiosos gestabat. Cum ergo quodam tempore mensae accumbere vellet, detraxit digito annulum gemmis insignem, penes se reposuit, manus lavit, annulique inter confabulandum oblitus est. Sed in hypocausto corvum cicurem alebat, qui rostro annulum auferens in nidum suum deportavit, nemine animadvertente: cum igitur mensae positæ essent, et Abbas annulum desideraret, quaeri cum quam diligentissime iussit, sed non inventus est. Tum excandescens Abbas, quoniam convivæ et famuli ipsi suspecti erant, pastoribus civitatis et dioeceseos suae injunxit, ut eum, qui annulum iotum abstulisset, diris devoverent, quod illico factum est. Tunc miser corvus adeo conscientiae stimulis compunctus fuit, et licet non intellexerat, tamen execratio cum tantopere excarnificavit, ut exinde tabescere inciperet, maciem contraheret omnem cibum aversaretur, nec amplius crocitaret: pennae præterea ei defluebant et alis pendulis omnes facetias intermisit, et tam macer apparuit ut omnes eius miserescerent. Elapsis autem pauculis diebus cum de visissitudine huius avis sermones fierent, quidam ex domesticis

ioco ex improvise dixit: Forsitan corvus fur ille est, qui Abbati annulum furetus est, et ventris profluvium ita eum scrutiat? His auditis omnes obstupuerunt et actutum Abbas perquiri in eius nido iussit et inventus est ibi annulus: Tunc Abbas sacerdotibus mandavit, ut rursus furem absoluerent, quo facto corvus omnibus mirantibus propediem convaluit et pristinam sanitatem recuperavit. His nugis excommunicationi Maiestatem conciliare nitebandur Imp. Ludovico I Papa Paschale.

A few remarks concerning these two versions seem in place. We ask first whether the second account is the older of the two. That this is not the case a closer examination of its contents will show. At a very early date, perhaps in the north of France—that a Rheim's authority cannot be identified I shall prove later—a story is told of an abbot whose ring was stolen by a Jackdaw. After its excommunication the jackdaw betrayed itself by its behaviour, and was restored to favour only after its owner had found the ring. This is probably the original form of the story which we are justified in postulating. The first version quoted above knows the monastery—it is Corbeia nova (Corvey)—and names the Abbot Conradus, (known to have been Abbot 1177-1184). The second version on the other hand only speaks quite vaguely of a Saxon Monastery founded under Emperor Ludwig, but does not mention the name of the Abbot. It is in so far more like our postulated original version. The second version gives the year 820 as the date of the events with the addition "imperatore Ludovico I Papa Paschale," whilst version I dates the narrative as early as the age of Frederick Barbarossa. Is version II, therefore, more genuine than I? There are important considerations which speak against such a conclusion. Version II gives as its source the "*Liber de illustribus viris ordinis Cisterciensium*" (Book of the famous men of the Cistercian Order). Although this book must have been widely read during the time of the Reformation and in the latter half of the 16th century, as Johann Marbach tells us in his book, "*Von Mirakeln und Wunderzeichen*," ("Of miracles & wonders") (1571), I have not been able to find a copy of it in any German library, not even in the Monastery of Marienstett (Nassau). But Janauschek tells us in his book "*Originum Cisterc.*" Vol. I. page xiii (1877), that the two original works—the so-called "*Exordium parvum*" and the "*Exordium magnum*" of the Cistercian order had been circu-

lated in older manuscripts under the common title "De viris illustr. ordinis Cisterc." But it is the large Exordium (printed in the *Bibl. patr. Cister.* I 1660 . . labore Tissier p. 113-276, and afterwards in Migne, *Patrologia Latina* vol. 185 (= St. Bernhardus vol. IV) Sp. 995-1198) which is the source of our Version I. (Migne, Sp. 1145/46)—But as the history of the origin of the large Exordium, with which P. Hermann Bär deals in his "Diplomatic History of the Monastery of Eberbach in the Rhine province" Vol. I (1885), page 522-555 has not yet been sufficiently cleared up, it would not of itself be impossible that the "Liber de illustr. viris" had in this case preserved the older version. This however, is not at all certain, nor even probable. We may assume, therefore, that the "Liber de illustr. viris" compared with the large Exordium is the shortened form which was more convenient for the spread of the legend.

I have hitherto assumed that Johannes Wolfius had copied version II in his "Lectiones memorabiles" Vol. I Laningae, 1600, p. 216 faithfully from the "Liber de illus. viris." It can be proved, however, that he did not do so. His date 820 is based on a learned, if mistaken, reflection. He rightly concluded that the Saxon monastery founded under Ludwig the pious was Corvey. But that Corvey, "Imperatore Ludovico I Papa Paschale," was founded in 820 is a slight, though pardonable, error,—822 would have been exact—if, by this very date the impression had not been raised that the events in the story happened at that time. That Wolfius did not make use of the Latin "liber" at all—I shall show later. He came across the story in an antipapal German collection of the 16th century and translated it into Latin. Thus version II is of less value than version I for that very reason.

Now if version II is shorter in comparison with version I we may call I an expanded version of the original facts. It is at once obvious how unfavorable a commentary our story is on the Abbot Conradus of Corvey.<sup>1</sup> A proud Abbot of the kind

<sup>1</sup> Documents, dated from the years 1176 to 1179, concerning him are printed in Erhard "Regesta histor. Westphalia II. 1854; the *epistola Victoris IV. ad C. [hristianum] Moguntinum electum*, which mentions Abbot Konrad of Corvey, (*Martene-Durand ampliss. coll.—Parisii M.D. CCXXIV. Sp. 855*) must be misplaced.

of imperial abbots required by Frederick Barbarossa, and head of a Monastery, who pays so little heed to the strict monastic rules! If we remember, however, that the author of the "*Exordium magnum*" was in all probability the Cistercian Abbot Konrad of Eberbach (cf. Baer etc.), a member of the very Order which in the days of the great Hohenstaufen had always sided with the Popes, who were at feud with the Emperors, the order which on that account had been exposed to the most severe persecutions, we can easily understand why the author, even a generation later,<sup>2</sup> vented his spite on the loyal Benedictine abbot of Corvey. This tendency so unfriendly to the dead Emperor Frederick appears also in other parts of the *Exordium Magnum*, as e.g. (Tissier etc. I, p. 214) in the narration about Prior Meffridus.

Thus the simple legend,—a true legend intended to add flavour to the monastic meal or to rouse up the audience at sermon time, fitted in as a little story,—had become in the hand of a zealous churchman, a weapon for battle.

It had been shot off as an arrow, but it was to be hurled as a club in a later age not less full of the joy of battle. One of the Protestant hotspurs, the Neuburg court-chaplain Hieronymus Rauscher collected in his polemical treatise "*A Hundred Choice Papal Lies*" (MDLXII) the obviously fabulous stories of his opponents for the purpose of refuting them. At first he allows the Catholics to have their say, but then in a "memorandum" he writes his scurrilous comments. And he is so blind with rage that he not only supplies the text with malicious marginal notes—the 22 papal lies that draws from the contents of the well-known "*Book of the famous men of the Cistercian Order*," remarks for instance at the side with a sneer: "perhaps a fair woman had drawn the ring from his finger"—but even distorts his opponent's meaning. Where we read that the raven had become so miserable as the result of the curse of excommunication, he angrily substitutes: "the curse of the belly"; and it is this very substitution which enables us to prove that Johannes

<sup>2</sup> The first 4 distinctions may indeed have been written decidedly earlier, between 1188-1195, but Kaiser Friedrich had been dead for a considerable time (*piae memoriae*!); Konrad did not become Abbot of Eberbach till 1221, the year of his death.

Wolf has translated from Rauscher, for he writes without sense or connection, "ventris profluvium ita eum discruciat."

That not all protestant clergymen were so enraged is shown by Gottfried Arnold's *Vitae Patrum*, in its account of the legend of a hermit and a thievish she-wolf (the edition referred to is that by Pastor Joh. Daniel Herrnschmied, Halle, 1718. p. 313).

The way in which our legend was treated during the time of Rationalism is shown by the story of Columba and the thieving raven which is adapted from the former, or at least closely connected with it. It tells of how a jackdaw stole a glove from the Apostle of Truth. When Columba is told of the crime he only says: "deprive the jackdaw's offspring of food," and the repentant jackdaw returns with the stolen article and is absolved. The collector, v. Sybel ("The saints according to popular ideas I, Leipzig. 1791, p. 308), concludes his narrative with the significant words: "it is not in vain that the proverb says: he steals like a raven. What will you wager that the writers of legends, if they had been deprived, like the robber-raven, of their food, would also have restored what they had stolen as anecdotes to embellish their legends."—

During the 19th century our little legend found an adopter also in England. In the Collection "The Ingoldsby Legends" by Thomas Ingoldsby (pseudonym for Richard Harris Barham) the episode is told in jingling rhymes with all its details under the title "The Jackdaw of Rheims" (2nd Edition 1864. page 142). As the mention of Rheims seemed to suggest an older version, I hopefully looked through the Collection of Feodoard (894-966), entitled "*Histoire, de l'église de Rheims*" (printed in the "Collection des mémoires rel. à l'histoire de France avec une introduction par Guizot, Paris 1824), which contains many legends, but without result. Indeed the fact that Barham puts as the head of his legend his source in a few short sentences, mentioning only an Abbot, and pointing to the *Liber de illustr. viris ord. Cisterc.* (he probably had Wolf's edition before him, since the *lectiones memorabiles* were widely circulated) should have aroused my doubts rather than my hopes. Everything points to the conclusion that Barham used the subject matter, which he intended to expand, just as it suited his fancy. He certainly catches the humour of the narrative, but he doesn't reproduce it without adulteration. He is writing in an age when

the cry of "No Popery" is still a war-cry, and concludes in a somewhat discordant tone:

The conclave determined to make him a Saint,  
And on newly-made Saints and popes, as you know,  
It's the custom at Rome, new names to bestow,  
So they canonized him by the name of Jim Crow."

In order to put the material in all its threads and its texture in as clear a light as possible I have omitted the heraldic legends which introduce the Jackdaw that steals rings.

There has been quite a new note struck in the narration of legends by the Swiss poet Gottfried Keller. An attempt to copy his inimitable style can be undertaken by only a few. I shall, therefore, here try to keep to the simplest form, as I realize that the old naive point of view that likes to associate the animal-world as intimately as possible with man, and at certain times even to raise it above him, in spite of his gift of reason—that this viewpoint of familiarity cannot be regained. I only hope that the following free transcription may renew something of the pleasure that old forgotten times took in the recital of our story.

During the reign of Frederick Red Beard there lived in the monastery of Corvey on the Wesera a powerful Abbot by the name of Konradus. He loved the precious old manuscripts in his library, not for their wise teaching but for the silver clasps and the illustrations which were so deftly carried out in gold-leaf. Whenever he folded his hands in prayer, he mused with complacency for longer than three paternosters and Ave-Marias on his fingers which were adorned with costly gold rings. He loved to remember how the three wise kings of the East had brought myrrh, incense and rich gifts to the Holy Child Jesus, rather than how the Lord, bereft of all earthly riches, had washed the feet of the lowliest of his brethren. One day Konrad prepared a feast. Whilst he was washing his hands, after having taken off his Abbot's ring, he was called away; only a jackdaw, a great favorite of the cloister that hopped about everywhere, was in his cell at the time. On the Abbot's return the ring was gone. Konradus scolded and stormed; he admonished the servants to restore the stolen ring and assured them that God would pardon the penitent thief just as he himself was ready to do. In vain, the ring was gone. In his anger Konradus ex-

communicated the unknown thief. And lo! the result of the ban was revealed to all in an amazing way.—After some months had elapsed, the festival of St. Vitus was being prepared in Höseter, the town close at hand which belonged to the monastery, and Abbot Konradus ordered a feast prepared for some of his friends amongst whom the Lords of Owenhausen were especially welcome. Hans of Owenhausen, surnamed he of the Empty-pocket, was again the merriest there and called out to the Jackdaw: “Master Hans, what a sight you are, the mere shadow of your old self! You must have surely joined the highwaymen; you are a thief and will come to no good end.” The jackdaw who no longer sported a coat of glossy feathers nor a cloisteral round paunch, but resembled a dried herring, such as is eaten with scant delight during Lent, glanced shyly at the Knight and at the Abbot. And an idea dawned on the Abbot as the Knight said: “Master Hans you are a thief.” He ordered the raven’s nest to be searched, and lo! there they found the stolen ring. But Konradus called a Conclave of the oldest monks, who by reason of the mellow wine they had quaffed were not lacking in inspiration, and asked what was to be the fate of the Jackdaw. They all agreed that heaven had worked a miracle by awakening the conscience of the jackdaw and by causing it to feel the torments of the ban as they could all testify with their own eyes. They decreed that the ban should be removed and that the raven should be restored to the community of God’s creatures. The raven was soon restored to new strength and crowed in his well-lined black coat again as delightedly as if the Abbot Konradus had been the Lord Almighty, and he himself the Almighty’s Jackdaw.—

We thus see clearly from the history of the legend which we have here studied that the story would soon have been forgotten, had it not been for the fact that very worldly motives could be interwoven in it, motives which prolonged its life through the 13th and 16th centuries. With Barham in the 19th century it was the exquisite humour of the tale that attracted him, but even he does not omit a side thrust against Rome. It is only our own age, which is capable of enjoying the tale for its own sake, and can do without any controversial additions.

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## GLEANINGS FOR THE HISTORY OF A SENTIMENT: GENEROSITAS VIRTUS, NON SANGUIS

Doubtless most students of medieval literature are aware that the idea of the identity of true nobility and virtue is one of its commonplaces. But perhaps it is not always realized, with full evidence and conviction, how really excessively general the idea was. At all events, two recent studies of Chaucer have failed to put the fact upon its inferences. Mr. R. K. Root, in his *Poetry of Chaucer* (1922), says that this sentiment in Chaucer indicates a tinge of radicalism and betrays a strong leaven of democracy.<sup>1</sup> "Trite enough," he says elsewhere, "in a democratic age like the present, these thoughts were more novel in the day of Chaucer. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Mr. J. E. Wells, in his *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, 1916), goes hardly less far in the same direction when he says: "Through the Wife, and in his poem *Gentillesse*, he [Chaucer] presents what for his time is a striking declaration—that true nobility is not at all born of wealth or subject to inheritance; it is the fruit of virtue and noble living."<sup>3</sup> But we cannot say so much for Chaucer on the strength of this evidence unless we are prepared, on the same basis, to say as much for other poets of the period, notably aristocratic. Nor, indeed, if the citations to follow mean anything, can we believe that the idea was at all novel or striking in the fourteenth century, or, perhaps, in any century.

The truth seems to be merely that the sentiment is one of those which, gratifying, as they do, in a large open-handed fashion, the self-compensatory propensity of the average man (always, necessarily, less powerful than virtuous), lend themselves peculiarly to poetic treatment in all ages and have little to do with the actualities either of the poet's criticism of life or of his practice.

<sup>1</sup> p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> p. 605.

The following citations<sup>4</sup> make no claim to exhaustiveness, having come to hand incidentally in the course of a larger study; though probably the vernacular literature of the middle period (1050-1400) in England would not yield much more of importance.

1. *Seneca* (cir. 3 B.C.—A.D. 65). *De Beneficiis*, Lib. iii, Cap. 18:  
Nulli praeclusa virtus est; omnibus patet, omnes admittit, omnes invitat  
et ingenuos et libertinos et servos et reges et exules.  
*Ibid.*, Lib. iii, Cap. 28:  
The following is a pagan version of "When Adam delved . . . etc."  
Eadem omnibus principia eademque origo; nemo altero nobilior, nisi cui  
rectius ingenium et artibus bonis aptius. Qui imagines in atrio exponunt  
et nomina familiae suae longo ordine ac multis stemmatum inligata  
flexuris in parte prima aedium conlocant, non noti magis quam nobiles  
sunt? Unus omnium parens mundus est, sive per splendidos sive per  
sordidos gradus ad hunc prima cuiusque origo perducitur.  
Epistle 44:  
omnes, si ad originem primam revocantur, a dis sunt.  
bona mens omnibus patet, omnes ad hoc sumus nobiles.  
quis est generosus? ad virtutem bene a natura compositus.  
hoc unum intuendum est: alioquin si ad vetera revocas, nemo non inde est,  
ante quod nihil est.
2. *Juvenal* (fl. A.D. 98-138). Whole of Satire VIII, but especially l.20:  
Nobilitas sola est atque unica, virtus.
3. *Boethius* (written after 510; d. 524). *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Lib. ii,  
Prosa vi:  
(See Chaucer's trans., no. 28 below.)  
Ita fit, ut non virtutibus ex dignitate, sed ex virtute dignitatibus honor  
accedat.  
*Ibid.*, Lib. iii, Prosa vi:  
Jam vero quam sit inane, quam futile nobilitatis nomen, quis non videat?  
quae si ad claritudinem refertur, aliena est . . . . Quod si quid est in  
nobilitate bonum, id esse arbitror solum, ut imposita nobilibus necessitudo  
videatur ne a majorum virtute degenerent.  
*Ibid.*, Lib. iii, Metrum vi:  
Another pagan version of "When Adam delved . . . etc."  
Omne hominum genus in terris  
Simili surgit ab ortu:  
Unus enim rerum pater est,  
Unus cuncta ministrat  
. . . . .  
Nullus degener extat,

<sup>4</sup> Some of them, of course, have been noted before; but, not to complicate the machinery of reference, I have omitted the mention of secondary sources. Except where otherwise stated, the original texts have been examined, and, for the most part, independently.

Ni vitii pejora fovens  
Proprium deserat ortum.

4. *Wace* (written *cir.* 1170). *Roman de Rou*, ed. Plaquet, Rouen 1827; ll. 6027-6030:

(The revolt of the peasants under Richard II, Duke of Normandy, 996-1026—the peasants speak:)

Nus sumes homes cum il sunt;  
Tex membres avum cum il unt,  
Et altresí granz cors avum,  
Et altretant sofrir poum;  
(Our theme is implicit in these lines).

5. *Andreas Capellanus* (second half of twelfth century). *De Amore*, ed. Trojel, Hauniae 1892; p. 47:  
magis enim ex moribus quam ex sanguine deprehenditur cuiusque nobilitas.  
(See footnote 17).

6. *Guilielmus Perardus* (written before 1261). *Summa seu Tractatus de Viciis*—in Petersen, K.O., *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, Boston, 1901; p. 43:

((See Chaucer's trans., no. 38).

De nobilitate etiam carnis fatuum est superbire . . . Primo contemnenda est quia ut frequenter nobilitas carnis meliorem nobilitatem aufert, scilicet, mentis nobilitatem . . . Secundo, contemnenda est quia omnes sumus ex eodem patre et ex eadem matre . . . Quinto vero contemnenda est nobilita carnis quia materia, quam a parentibus contrahit aliquis ratione ejus nobilem se credit, vile quid est et immundum et erubescibile . . . Quis est generosus ad virtutem bene a natura compositus; alia nobilitas est gratuita, quando aliquis gratiam Dei habet qua Dei filius est que custodit eum ut nulli turpitudini serviat . . . An non servus cui dominatur iniquitas? . . . Sextum signum nobilitatis est cordis magnitudo qua quis modica contemnit, et magna appetit.

7. *Gaydon* (first half of thirteenth century). Ed. Guessard, Paris 1862; l. 7057: Cil est vilains qui fait la vilonnie.  
8. *Jean de Meun* (fl. 1268-1277). *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Méon, Paris 1814; ll. 9644-9667:

Jean de Meun tells us how kings and princes originated. In the very humble beginning he gives them, one can see what he was inclined to think of the claims of nobility. In order to secure peace and a quiet life, men chose *ung grant vilain* to protect them from each other. All goes well for a while until even he is attacked by thieves. Then the people tax each other in order to provide a guard for their king; and thus—

De là vint li commencemens  
As rois, as princes terriens,  
Selonc l'escrit as anciens;

*Ibid.*, ll. 18796-18800:

Par moi nissent semblable et nu,  
Fort et fiéble, gros et menu:  
Tous les met en égalité

Quant à l'estat d'humanité.  
Fortune i met le remanant.<sup>a</sup>

Ibid., ll. 18814-18818:

nus n'est gentis,  
S'il n'est as vertus ententis,  
Ne n'est vilains, fors par ses vices  
Dont il pert outrageus et nices.  
Noblece vient de bon corage.

Ibid., ll. 18954-18957:

Et cil qui d'autrui gentillece,  
Sans sa valor et sans proece,  
En vuet porter los et renon,  
Est-il gentil? ge dis que non.

Ibid., ll. 18986-19025:

Noble ancestors, Jean de Meun grants, are useful, provided we emulate their noble lives, but not otherwise (esp. ll. 18991-19000, which follow):

Certes, qui son engin adrace  
A bien la vérité comprendre,  
Il n'i puet autre chose entendre  
Qui bonne soit en gentillece,  
Fors qu'il semble que la proece  
De lor parens doivent ensivre;  
Sous itels fais doivent-il vivre  
Qui gentis hons vuet ressembler,  
S'il ne vuet gentillece embler,  
Et sans deserte los avoir:

Ibid., ll. 19082-19084:

If men have not gentility in themselves, they will never come by it through others, not though they be kings and counts:

Car s'il par eus ne les aquierent,  
Jamès par autrui gentil n'ierent:  
Ge n'en met hors ne rois, ne contes.

Ibid., ll. 19085-19089:

If a man is nobly descended, so much the more shame to him if he is not in himself truly noble:

<sup>a</sup> The lines (18788-18795) preceding these are interesting:

Ne li princes ne sunt pas dignes  
Que li cors du ciel doignent signes  
De lor mort plus que d'ung autre homme;  
Car lor cors ne vault une pomme  
Oultre le cors d'ung charruier,  
Ou d'ung clerc, ou d'ung ecuier:  
Car ges fais tous semblables estre,  
Si cum il apert à lor nestre.

D'autre part il est plus grans hontes  
 D'un filz de roi, s'il estoit nices,  
 Et plains d'outrages et de vices,  
 Que s'il iert filz d'ung charretier,  
 D'ung porchier, ou d'ung cavetier.

9. *Jean de Meun* (fl. 1268-1277). *Le Livre de Melibee et de Dame Prudence*; in *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ed. J. Pichon, Paris 1846; i, p. 225 (see Skeat's Chaucer, iii, pp. 426, 427, and Chaucer's Melibeus, no. 29 below):  
 Et certes il ne doit pas estre dit gentils homs, qui toutes autres choses  
 arrière mises apres Dieu et Conscience, n'a grant diligence de garder sa  
 bonne renommée.
10. *Frère Lorens* (written 1279). *Le Somme des Vices et des Vertues*; MS of  
 fifteenth century in Harvard Library; since the passage from the "Ayen-  
 bite of Inwyt" (see no. 21 below) is a literal translation of this, I shall not  
 quote the Old French.
11. *Baudouin et Jean de Condé* (second half of thirteenth century). Poema,  
 ed. Aug. Scheler, Bruxelles 1866-1867; i, p. 179, ll. 104-106:

Nus n'est vilains se de cuer non,  
 Ne nus gentius hom ensement  
 S'il n'oevre de cuer gentiument.

*Ibid.*, p. 178, ll. 79 ff.:

Dont est vilains, je n'en dout mie,  
 Li hom qui fait la vilonnie,  
 . . . . .  
 Plus est haus hom, plus est vilains.  
 Ei ki ki soit gentius de cuer.

. . . . .  
 S'il ert fuis au plus vilain home,  
 Qui soit en l'empire de Roume,  
 . . . . .  
 . . il est assés gentius hom.

*Ibid.*, iii, p. 97, ll. 14-16:

Car puis que gentius hon aoevre  
 Son cuer à faire oevre vilaine,  
 Il est vilains, puis qu'il vilainne.

*Ibid.*, l. 18:

Vilains est qui fait vilonnie.

*Ibid.*, ll. 41-48:

Quantqu'il est de fames et d'omes,  
 D'un pere et d'une mere sommes:  
 D'Adan, que Diex fist, et d'Evain;  
 Tout sommes presti d'un levain  
 Et tout ouni selon la char  
 Gentil, vilain, large et eschar,  
 Haut et bas, roi et duc et conte  
 Si com poure gent, qui voir conte.

Ibid., ll. 164-166:

Et qui de bien faire est escius,  
Ne l'apelez plus gentil, non!  
Comment donc? Vilain, à droit non.

Ibid., p. 190, ll. 32-37:

Mais s'il est uns vilains de ville,  
De courtois fais et de gentieus  
Nuit et jour faire talentieus,  
Qui un tel home blasmeroit  
Et qui vilain le clamerait,  
Il mesprendroit, ce m'est avis.

Ibid., p. 194, ll. 158-161:

Mais mieus vaut .1. bons pastouriaus  
Qui voie de bien tient,  
C'uns fils de roy qui se maintient  
Ordement et vilainement.

12. *Des Chevaliers, des Clercs et des Vilains* (thirteenth century). In Barbazan, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris 1808; iii, p. 29:

Nus n'est vilains, se de cuer non,  
Vilains est qui fet vilonie,  
Jà tant n'iert de haute linguie.

13. See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxiii, pp. 203, 204 (under date thirteenth century):

Nus qui bien face, n'est vilains;  
Mès de vilonie est toz plains  
Hauz hom qui laide vie maine:  
Nus n'est vilains, s'il ne vilaine.

14. *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, no. 201 (MS end thirteenth century). Ed. Tobler, Leipzig 1895:

Ne sont pas tuit chevalier, qui a cheval montent.

15. *Robert of Brunne* (written 1303). Handlyng Synne, E. E. T. S., nos. 119, 123; ll. 3031-3038:

3yf þou for pryde art outrage  
þat þou are come of hygh lynage,  
Beþenke þe weyl fro when þou cam;  
Alle we were of Adam:  
3yf þou be come of hygh blode,  
And þou dost more euyl þan gode,  
Unwryþyl art þou made gentyl  
3yf þou yn wurdyd and dedys be yl.  
(Not in its source, Manuel des Pechiez).

Ibid., ll. 8669 ff.:

This is the famous story of the bondman who reproved a lord for allowing his sheep to dirty the graves in a churchyard. The lord replied that he cared not for "cherles bones"; to which the bondman:

þe lorde þat made of erþe, erles,  
Of þe same erþe made he cherles:

And the author adds:

Lordynges,—þyr are ynow of þo,  
Of gentyl men, þyr are but fo.  
(Neither is any of the above in the *Manual*).

16. *Dante* (written about 1308). *Convito*, Lib. iv, Cap. i:

That is a false opinion of those  
Che fan gentile per ischiatta altrui,  
Che lungamente in gran ricchezza e stata

*Ibid.*:

Che le divizie (siccome si crede)  
Non possom Gentilezza dar, ne torre.

*Ibid.*:

Those are wrong who say that a base-born man or his son cannot become gentle, because this is to allow the element of time to enter into our conception of the essence of nobility:

Nè voglion che vil uom gentil divegna,  
Nè di vil padre scenda  
Nazion, che per gentil giammai s'intenda:  
Quest' è da lor confesso.  
Onde la lor ragion par che s'offenda  
In tanto quanto assegna  
Che tempo a Gentilezza si convegna,  
Difinendo con esso.

*Ibid.*:

È Gentilezza dovunque è virtute,  
Ma non virtute ov' ella;

*Ibid.*, Cap. x:

Resta omai solamente a provare come le divizie sono vili, e come disgiunte e lontane sono da Nobiltà.

*Ibid.*, Cap. xv:

"When Adam delved" did yeoman's service in medieval literature in connection with our sentiment. Dante's use of it in the present work is as follows. He argues, with considerable complication, that those who insist that baseness and nobility are qualities planted non-transferably in different men from the beginning really deny our descent from Adam; for their contention postulates the belief that there must always have been more than one man on the earth: which, of course, (and as Dante himself adds), was not generally tenable in his day.

. . . . se uomo non si può fare di villano gentile, o di vile padre non può nascere gentil figlio, . . che delli due inconvenienti, l'uno seguire conviene: l'uno si è, che nulla Nobiltà sia; l'altro si è, che 'l mondo sempre sia stato con più uomini, sicchè da uno solo la umana generazione discesa non sia . . . . e questo è falsissimo appo il Filosofo, appo la nostra Fede che mentire non può, appo la legge e credenza antica de' Gentili;

*Ibid.*, Cap. vii:

E così quelli che dal padre o da alcuno suo maggiore di schiatta è nobilitato, e non persevera in quella, non solamente è vile, ma vilissimo, e degna d'ogni dispetto e vituperio più che altro villano.

17. *Dante* (written about 1300-1318). *Purgatorio* vii, ll.121, 122:

Rade volte risurge per li rami

L'umani probitate:

18. *Dante* (written about 1300-1318). *Paradiso* xvi, ll.1, 7, 8, 9:

O poco nostra nobiltà di sangue,

. . . . .

Ben sei tu manto che tosto raccorce,

Si che se non s'appon di die in die,

Lo tempo va dintorno con le force.

The history of thought affords us little of greater interest than when it enables us to watch our forbears struggling with a problem of which either the solution is now common knowledge or which has ceased to seem important. This interest, I trust, will be a sufficient excuse for the present digression.

Behind the problem of the possibility of churls aspiring successfully to nobility there naturally lay that of the origin of that difference between the two classes which in the first place made such aspiration desirable. In regard to this more fundamental problem, the tendency, on the whole, was to accept, without question, Adam as the unique ancestor of the human race and to believe, therefore, that all men were originally noble and might become so again so far as there was anything in the nature of the structure of society to prevent them. There were, however, attempts at what were perhaps felt to be more realistic theories of the origin of the human species; one or two of these I shall set down. The idea itself of the existence of differences sharply distinguishing the classes of men was, one needs to remind oneself, a very real one to our medieval ancestors, and they were consequently keenly alive to the problems presented by it.

Students of Old Norse literature will recall in this connection the *Rígsþula* (Poetic Edda: prob. from 10th & 11th cent's.).<sup>6</sup> Here we have a theory of origin the more interesting because, though medieval, it is nevertheless uninfluenced by the opening chapters of Genesis. A god Ríg, one of the Aesir, sets out on his travels. He comes first to an exceedingly humble dwelling, stays with the goodman and his wife for three nights, and gets upon the wife a child, who is named Thrall. Like most peasants in

<sup>6</sup> Hildebrand and Gering, *Saemundar Edda*, Paderborn 1912: pp. 166 ff.



medieval literature, he is thoroughly unprepossessing in appearance:

Vas þar á höndum      hrokkit skinn,  
kropnir knuar,      . . . . .  
fingr digrir,      fúlligt andlit,  
lútr hryggr,      langir háelar.

From Thrall and a woman of his own class, called Thy, who suddenly and unaccountably appears from nowhere, descends the race of thralls. Then Rig proceeds on his journey and begets in the same way the races of churls<sup>7</sup> and of earls.

The poem as a whole is distinctly contemptuous of the thralls.

From one point of view, this account is less logical than some to follow, since it makes no attempt to explain the genesis of the three couples who are already there before Rig comes and already sharply distinguished socially without his intervention.

The Cursor Mundi (probably 1300-1325) overrides the difficulty of Adam's uniqueness by beginning with Noah. It was to Noah's three sons that society owed its complexity: from Shem came freemen; from Japhet, knights; from Ham, thralls:

thrall of cham þe maledight.<sup>8</sup>

Since Mantuan's tale (printed 1498) is translated by Barclay, I shall not quote the Latin.<sup>9</sup>

English readers owe their knowledge of Mantuan's pretty poem chiefly to Alexander Barclay, who gave it an English dress in his fifth eclogue, Cytezen and Uplondyshman (1514). One day God visits Eve while Adam is busy in his fields. But our Mother, endowed by the poet with more children than Genesis allows her, fears that the Lord, differing in this from future executives, will not be pleased with her fruitfulness:

Anone she blushed, revolvyng in her mynde,  
That yf our Lorde ther should al those babys fynde,  
So sone engendred, supposyng he nedes must  
That it was token of to great carnell lust,

<sup>7</sup> Apparently by churl is here meant the class of well-to-do farmers and artisans: see stanza 24.

<sup>8</sup> E. E. T. S. 57, 99, 101; 59-62; 66-68: 11.2133-2138.

<sup>9</sup> Eclogues, ed. W. P. Mustard, Baltimore 1911: Eclogue VI, p. 92, ll. 73-102.

And all asshamed, as fast as ever she myght,  
She hasted and hydde some of them out of syght,  
Some under hey, some under strawe and chaffe,  
Some in the chymnaye, some in a tubbe of draffe;  
But such as were fayre, and of theyr stature ryght,  
As wyse and subtile reserved she in syght.  
Anone came our Lorde unto the woman nere,  
And her saluted, with swete and smylynge chere;  
And sayde,—“Woman, let me thy chyldren se,  
I come to promote eche after his degre.”  
.....

And than at the laste, to the most olde of all,  
He sayde, “Have thou ceptre of Rome imperyall,  
Thou arte the eldest, thou shalte have moost honoure,  
Justyce requyreth that thou be Emperoure.”  
Than to the seconde he sayde, “It is semynge,  
That thou be haunsed to honour of a Kynge.”  
And unto the thyrde he gave such dygnyte,  
To guyde an army, and noble duke to be,  
And sayde, “Have thou here harde yron and armoure,  
Be thou in batayle a heed and a governoure.”  
And so forthe to other, as they were in degre,  
Eche he promoteth to worthy dygnyte.  
.....

In the meane season Eve very joyfull was,  
That all these maters were brought so well to pas;  
Than fle she in hast, for to have pleasour more,  
And them presented whom she hadde hydde before;  
And unrequyred presentynge them, sayde she,  
“O Lorde, these also my veray chyldren be!  
.....

Withsave to graunte them some offyce of honour.”  
Theyr heer was ruggyd, poudred all with chaffe,  
Some full of strawes, some other full of draffe,  
Some with cobwebbes and dust were so arayed,  
That one beholdynge on them myght be afrayde;  
Blacke was theyr colour, and bad was theyr fygure,  
Uncomely to syght, mysshapen of stature.  
Our Lorde not smyled on them to shewe pleasaunce,  
But sayde to them thus, with trowbled countenaunce,  
“Ye smell all smoky, of stubbyll and of chaffe,  
Ye smell of the grounde, of wedes and of draffe,  
And after your sent, and tedyous savoure,  
Shall be your rowmes, and all your behaviour.

None can a pytcher towme to a sylver pece,  
 Nor make goodly sylke of a gotes flece;  
 And harde is also to make withouten fayle,  
 A bryght two hande swerde of a cowe's tayle!  
 No more wyll I make, howbeit that I can,  
 Of a vyle vylayne a noble gentylman!

Ye shall be plowemen, and tyllers of the grounde,

And such other sorte whose dayly busynesse  
 Passeth in warkes, and labour ef vylenes.  
 To stowpe, and to swete, and subjecte to become,  
 And never to be rydde from bondage and thraldome."

Thus began honour, and thus began bondage,<sup>10</sup>

While none of these speculations as to the origin of society gives evidence of any spark of sympathy for the peasant, that found in the *Orlandino* of Teofilo Folengo (1491-1544) is little short of shocking even to those whose taste has been hardened by a considerable familiarity with medieval personal abuse. Villeins, we are told, were created out of the dung of donkeys:

Passava Giove per un gran villaggio  
 con Panno, con Priapo ed Imeneo;  
 trovan ch'un asinello in sul rivaggio  
 molte pallotte del suo sterco feo.  
 Disse Priapo:—Questo è gran dannaggio:  
*En, Domine, fac homines ex eo.*  
 —*Surge, villane*—, disse Giove allora;  
 E 'l villan di que' stronzi saltò fora,<sup>11</sup>

Melanchthon's pupil Agricola (1492-1566) is said to have answered the question "Als Adam reutte und Eva spann, wer was da ein Edelmann?" with (apparently) the same story of the unequal children of Eve as is found in Mantuan.<sup>12</sup>

To return to our list of citations—

19. *Renart le Contrefait* (one version, 1319-1322; another, 1328-1341). Cited Lenient, C., *La Satire en France au Moyen Age*, Paris 1859; pp. 201, 204, 205:

Vilains est apelez à plain  
 Non poes por ce que il soit plain

<sup>10</sup> Percy Society, vol. xxii, pp. 11-15.

<sup>11</sup> *Opere Italiane*, Bari 1911: vol. i, p. 99. For the peasant in medieval Italian literature, see Merlini, *Satira Contro il Villano*, Torino 1894.

<sup>12</sup> See J. Bolte, *Der Bauer im deutschen Liede*, Berlin 1890, p. 179

De vilenie ne de mal non:  
 Mès de ville est vilains à nom;  
 Nulz n'est vilains, qui voir audit,  
 S'il n'est fal en fait et en dit.

20. *Beson, Nicole* (written some time in first half of fourteenth century, but not earlier than 1320). *Les Contes Moralisesés*, ed. Smith and Meyer, Anciens Textes Français, Paris 1889; p. 22, no. 16:

Ore bestorne le siecle . . . . qar les gentilez devinrent failliz e les pesauntz devienent gentilez . . . ceo qe ne ont pas par nature, par graunt travaillie se purchacent sen e curtesie . . . . Mes les fitz de grauntz seignurs se appuent tant a lur gentrye qe meyns apement.

*Ibid.*, p. 122, no. 102:

. . . . la manere e les teches des plusurs ne se acordent mye al genterie de lur nation,

21. *Ayenbile of Inwyrt* (1340). *E. E. T. S.*, no. 23, p. 87:

þe zoþe noblesse comp of þe gentyle herte. Vorzoþe non herte ne is gentyl: bote he louie god. þanne þer ne is non noblesse: bote to serui god an louye, ne vyleynye. bote ine þe contrarie þet is god to wreþi and to do zenne. Non ne ys ariþt gentyl ne noble of þe gentilesse of þe bodye. Vor ase to þe bodye: alle we bye children of one moder. þet is of erþe: and of wose.

22. *Rolle of Hampole* (1290?-1349). *Moral Poem: With E. I. O.; E. E. T. S.*, no. 26, p. 80, ll. 1-4:

The "When Adam delved" couplet has successfully resisted exclusion from this study, not only because our main theme is really implicit in it, but also because the two often appear together in the same context (see no's. 1, 3, 11, 15, 16, 21 above, and *passim*):

When Adam dalfe and Eue spane,  
 Go spire if þou may spede,  
 Whare was þan þe pride of man,  
 þat nowe merres his mede?

23. *Boccaccio* (written before 1353). *Decameron*, Fourth Day, Novel 1:

tu vedrai noi d'una massa di carne tutti la carne avere, e da uno medesimo Creatore tutte l'anime con iguali forze, con iguali potenzie, con iguali virtù create. La virtù primieramente noi, che tutti nascemmo e nasciamo iguali, ne distinse; e quegli che di lei maggior parte avevano e adoperavano, nobili furon detti, e il rimanente rimase non nobile. . . . Ragguarda tra tutti i tuoi nobili uomini, et esamina la lor virtù, i lor costumi e le loro maniere, e d'altra parte quelle di Guiscardo ragguarda: se tu vorrai senza animosità giudicare, tu dirai lui nobilissimo, e questi tuoi nobili tutti esser villani.

(See Dryden's translation, no. 64 below).

24. *Piers Plowman* (1362-1399). B xi, 194-202:

For on Calvarye of Crystes blode . Crystenedome gan sprynge,  
 And bloody bretheren we bycome there . of o body ywonne,  
 As *quasi modo geniti* . and gentil men uche one,  
 No beggere ne boye amonges us . but if it synne made;

*Qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati, etc.*

In the olde lawe . as holy lettre telleth,  
 Mennes sones . men called us uchone,  
 Of Adames issue and Eve . ay til god-man deyde;  
 And after his resurreccioun. *Redemptor* was his name,  
 And we his bretheren, thourgh hym ybought . bothe riche and pore.

25. *Wyckiffe* (written between 1377-1384). Ed. Arnold, *Select Works*, Oxford 1869: iii, p. 125:

And as anentis pride of monnis kynn, Adam was most gentil mon aftir  
 Jesus Crist, and he come of erthe, as oure byleve teches. . . . And so hit  
 is a folye, a mon to be proude for nobley of his kynn, for alle we comen  
 of erthe. . . . If we take hede to stories of men, lordes of þo worlde by  
 trechorie and raveyne ben comen to hor lordschipps; and þis makes no  
 gentil mon; and bondage to men, jif a mon be virtuouse, makes a mon to  
 be fre to God.

26. *Chaucer* (wrote *cir.* 1366-1400). *Romaunt of the Rose*: ll. 2187-2197:

But undirstonde in thyn entent,  
 That this is not myn entendement,  
 To clepe no wight in no ages  
 Only gentil for his linages.  
 But who so that is vertuous,  
 And in his port nought outrageous,  
 Whan sich oon thou seest thee biform,  
 Though he be not gentil born,  
 Thou mayst wel seyn, this is a soth,  
 That he is gentil, bicause he doth  
 As longeth to a gentilman;

*Ibid.*, ll.2200-2202:

A cherl is demed by his dede,  
 Of hye or lowe, as ye may see,  
 Or of what kinrede that he be.

27. *Chaucer*. *Gentilesse*:

For unto vertu longeth dignitee,  
 And noght the revers, sauflly dar i deme,  
 Al were he mytre, croune, or diademe.

28. *Chaucer*. Translation of Boethius; Skeat, vol. ii, p. 42, ll.17-19:

And therefor it is thus, that honour ne comth nat to vertu for cause of  
 dignitee, but ayeinward honour comth to dignitee for cause of vertu.

*Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65, ll.24-38:

But now, of this name of gentilesse, what man is it that ne may wel seen  
 how veyn and how flittinge a thing it is? For yif the name of gentilesse be  
 referred to renoun and cleernesse of linage, thanne is gentil name but a  
 foreine thing, *that is to seyn, to hem of hir linage*. For it semeth that gentil-  
 esse be a maner preysinge that comth of the deserte of ancestres. And  
 yif preysinge maketh gentilesse, thanne moten they nedes be gentil  
 that ben preysed. For which thing it folweth, that yif thou ne have no  
 gentilesse of thyself, *that is to seyn, preyse that comth of thy deserte*, foreine  
 gentilesse ne maketh thee nat gentil. But certes, yif ther be any good in

gentillesse, I trowe it be al-only this, that it semeth as that a maner necessitee be imposed to gentil men, for that they ne sholden nat outrayen or forliven fro the virtues of hir noble kinrede.

*Ibid.*, p. 65:

Al the linage of men that ben in erthe ben of semblable birthe. On allone is fader of thinges . . . .Thanne comen alle mortal folk of noble sede; . . . .yif thou loke your biginninge, and god your auctor and your maker, thanne nis ther no forlived wight, but-yif he norishe his corage un-to vyces, and forlete his propre burthe.

29. *Chaucer. Melibeus; Skeat, B:2830:*

And certes he sholde nat be called a gentil man, that after god and good conscience, alle things left, ne dooth his diligence and bisinesse to kepen his good name.

30. *Chaucer. Wife of Bath's Tale; D:ll.1109 ff.:*

Loke who that is most vertuous alway,  
Privee and apert, and most entendeth ay  
To do the gentil dedes that he can,  
And tak him for the grettest gentil man.

. . . . .  
For vileyns sinful dedes make a cherl.

31. *Chaucer. Somnours Tale; D: 1.2206:*

Our idea is implicit in the line where Chaucer has his lady say of a well-to-do citizen (who, of course, is not really a churl) when he behaves grossly—I seye, a cherl hath doon a cherles dede.<sup>13</sup>

32. *Chaucer. Clerkes Tale; E:ll.425, 426:*

Griselda's husband—  
. . . .saugh that under low degree  
Was ofte vertu hid, . . .

33. *Chaucer. Words of the Franklin; F:ll. 686, 687:*

. . . .fy on possessioun  
But-if a man be vertuous with-al.

34. *Chaucer. Persones Tale; I: §27, p. 596:*

Eek for to pryde him of his gentrye is ful greet folye; for ofte tyme the gentrye of the body binimeth the gentrye of the soule; and eek we ben alle of o fader and of o moder; and alle we been of o nature roten and corrupt, both riche and povre. For sothe, o manere gentrye is for to preise, that apparailleth mannes corage with vertues and moralitees, and maketh him Cristes child. For truste wel, that over what man sinne hath maistrie, he is a verray cherl to sinne.

35. *Gower (written 1376-1379). Mirour de l'Omme; ed. Macaulay, Oxford 1899: ll. 17336-17340:*

Quant Eve estoit la prioresse  
Du no lignage en terre yci,  
N'y fuist alors q'ot de noblesce

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lydgate, Chole and Bird, Halliwell, Lydgate's Minor Poems, Percy Soc. II.: p. 192: The chole delitethe to speke of rybaudye.

Un plus que l'autre ou de richesce;  
Ne sai comment gentil nasqui.

Ibid., ll. 23389-23394:

Tous suismes d'un Adam issuz,  
Combien que l'un soit au dessus  
En halt estat, et l'autre en bass;  
Et tous au mond nasquismes nudz,  
Car ja nasquist si riches nuls  
Qui de nature ot un pigas.  
(No one, that is, no matter how rich, was ever  
born with a pointed shoe).

Ibid., ll. 23395-23400:

O tu q'en servitude m'as,  
Si je meinz ay et tu plus as  
Richesce, et soietz sanz vertus,  
Si tu malfais et je bien fas,  
Dieus changera tes sis en as,  
Tu meinz aras et j'aray plus.

Ibid., l. 23405:

Tous suismes fils de dame Evain.

36. *Gower* (written 1390, 1390-91, 1393). *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Macaulay, Oxford 1899: ll. 2224-2229:

Adam, which alle was tofore  
With Eve his wif, as of hem tuo,  
Al was aliche gentil tho;  
So that of generacion  
To make declaracion,  
Ther mai no gentilesce be.

Ibid., ll. 2269-2277:

For after the condicion  
Of resonable entencion,  
The which out of the Soule groweth  
And the vertu fro vice knoweth,  
Wherof a man the vice eschuieth,  
Withoute Slowthe and vertu suieth,  
That is a verrai gentil man,  
And nothing elles which he can,  
Ne which he hath, ne which mai.

37. *Chronicon Angliae* (runs from 1328-1388; written toward close of fourteenth century). *Rolls Series*, London 1874; p. 321:  
Of course, the *locus classicus* for "Adam delved" in fourteenth century England is the chronicles which refer to John Ball's sermon (1381):

Whanne Adam dalfe and Eve span,  
Who was þanne a gentil man?

38. *Walsingham* (d. 1422?). *Historia Anglicana*, *Rolls Series*, ii, p. 32:  
Whan Adam dalf, and Eve span,  
Wo was thanne a gentilman?

39. *John Ball* (delivered 1381). Sermon to the Rebels; quotation in Oman, *Great Revolt*, Oxford 1906, pp. 51, 52; see also *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 321:  
 . . . if God had intended some to be serfs and others lords, He would have made a distinction between them at the beginning.
40. *Thomas Usk* (written *cir.* 1387). Testament of Love; Skeat, Oxford Chaucer, vol. vii, book ii, chap. viii, ll.99-101:  
 Better is it thy kinne to ben by thee gentyled, than thou to glorifye of thy kinnes gentillesse, and hast no desert therof thy-selfe.
41. *Latin proverb* (fourteenth century). In Hazlitt, *Proverbs*, London 1907; p. 523:  

Cum vanga quadam tellurem foderit Adam,  
 Et Eva neus fuerat, quis generosus erat?  
 (Hazlitt says that this appears to be the parent phrase).

[Hazlitt gives also a Middle German version, undated:  
 So Adam reutte, and Eva span,  
 Wer was da ein eddleman?  
 From Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, London 1857, p. 194 are the following lines, undated:  

When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,  
 Where was then the gentleman?  
 Upstart a churl, and gathered good,  
 And thence did spring our gentle blood.]
42. *Song* (of fourteenth century). In Wright, *Songs and Carols*, London 1856, p. 2:  

Now bething the, gentilman,  
 How Adam dalf and Eve span.
43. *Christine de Pisan* (written 1401). *Le Dit de la Rose*; ed. Maurice Roy, Paris 1886-1896; vol. ii, p. 39, ll. 336 f.:  

J'appelle villains ceulz qui font  
 Villenies, qui les deffont,  
 Je n'entens pas par bas lignaige  
 Le vilain, mais par vil courage;
44. *Scogan, Henry* (written *cir.* 1413). Scogan, unto the Lordes and Gentilmen of the Kinges house, Stowe's edition, London 1561; Fol. cccxxxi, back; see Skeat's Chaucer, i, p. 83; Scogan is following Chaucer:  

Here maie ye see that vertuous noblesse  
 Cometh not to you by waie of auncestrie  
 But it cometh by lefull busnesse  
 Of honest life. . . .
45. *Declaring of Religion* (1421). E. E. T. S. no. 124, p. 81:  

Thou; þou be of gentyl blod,  
 þenk all com of Adam and Eue.
46. *Adam of Usk* (1352?-1430; MS prob. 1440-1450). *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. Thompson, E. M., London 1904; pp. vii, 56, 219; see also engraving on front binding:  
 Adam of Usk, as a mark of his descent from Adam, has for shield of arms: on a field sable, a naked man (Adam, the father of mankind) delving.



47. *James I.* (1349-1437). *Good Counsel*; in Skeat, *The Kingis Quair: together with a Ballad of Good Counsel*, Edinburgh 1911 (Scottish Text Society); p. 51:

. . . wertew floure and rut is of noblay.

48. *Lydgate* (1370?-1451?). *On the Wretchedness of Worldly Affairs*; Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, London 1841, Percy Society; p. 123:

Oure fader Adam bygan withe sore travaile,

Whan he was flemed out of Paradice.

Lord! what myght than gentillesse availe,

The first stokke of labour toke his price;

Adam in the tilthe whilom was holden wyse,

And Eve in spynnyng prudent was also,

49. *Lydgate*. *The Order of Fools*, *ibid.* p. 165:

Cherol of condicions and born of gentil bloode (i.e., a churl in behavior, though born of gentle blood).

50. *Lydgate*. *The Chorle and the Bird*; *ibid.*, p. 191:

And he is moste madde that doth his besynesse,

To teche a chorle termys of gentillesse.

51. *Rimatori Napoletani* (fifteenth century). In *Rimatori Napoletani del Quattrocento*, ed. Mario Mandalari, Caserta 1885; p. 24:

Non e sulo gentilomo

Quillo che nasse gentile

Non le basta auere lo nomo

Sili facte soy so uile

[In the footnote, the editor quotes the proverb: Non è villano perchè in villa stia,—Ma villano è chi usa villania.

From Calabria he quotes another version: Non è viddhàno cu viddhanu nasi; viddhàno è ccu la fa la viddhanla.]

52. *Castiglione* (written 1514). *Cortegiano*; in Hoby's translation, London 1900; pp. 44, 46:

On the whole, *nobleness of birth* is regarded as significant, but the author is not unaware of what may be said on the other side:

. . . sondrye, who for all they were borne of moste noble bloude, yet have they bene heaped full of vyces: and contrarywise, many unnoble that have made famous their posteritie. And yf it be true that you sayde before, that the privie force of the firste seede is in everye thyng, we shoulde al bee in one maner condicion, for that we had all one selfe begynnyng, and one shoulde not bee more noble than an other.

53. *Vives* (1524). *Satellitium* (for the Princess Mary), quoted in Berdan, *Tudor Poetry*, Macmillan 1920, p. 316:

We shall see how this works out if we make use of an induction in this matter. Which horse is noble? which dog? Is it not the best (*optimus*) and so in other animals and stocks: therefore also the noble man is none other than the best man morally.

54. *Mery Tales and Quicke Answers*, no. lxx (printed *cir.* 1535). Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, vol. i:

There was a rude clubbysshe felowe, that longe had served the duke of Orliance; wherfore he cam on a tyme to the duke, and desired to be made

a gentyll man. To whom the duke answered: in good feyth, I may well make the ryche, but as for gentyl man I can never make the.

By which wordes appereth, that goodes and riches do not make a gentyl man, but noble and vertuous conditions do.<sup>14</sup>

55. *Ascham* (written 1563-1568). Schoolmaster; book i:

. . . how great soever they [great men's children] be now by blood, and other men's meanes, they shall become a great deale greater hereafter, by lerninge, vertue, and their owne desertes.

The fault is in your selves, ye noble mens sonnes, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame, that commonlie, the meaner mens children, cum to be, the wisest counsellours, and greatest doers, in the weightie affaires of this Realme.

For he [God] knoweth, that Nobilitie, without vertue and wisdom, is bloud in deede, but bloud trowellie, without bones and sinewes;

56. *Proverb* (sixteenth century). In *Liedersammlungen des xvi Jahrhunderts*, besonders aus der Zeit Heinrichs VIII; Anglia, vol. 26, pp. 94 ff.:

Whan Adam delfid & eve span,

Who was than a jentilman?

cum uanga quadam tellurem foderat adam

ast eva neus ffuerat quis generosus erat?

57. *Certayne Conceyts and Jeasys* no. 1 (printed 1609). Ed. Hazlitt, Shakespeare Jest-Books, vol. iii:

(Same tale is in *Mery Tales and Quicke Answers*, vol. i, no. lxxxvi).

A certayne Poore-man met king Phillip, & besought him for something, because he was his kinsman. The king demanded frō whence descended. Who answered: from Adam. Then the K. commanded an Almes to be given. Hee replyed, an Almes was not the gift of a king; to whome the king answered: if I should so reward all my kindred in that kinde, I should leave but little for my selfe.

I wish to include just a few references that recur to me from more modern literature, if only to indicate how vigorous the sentiment, as a poetic theme, is in its old age—how old an age, no one would venture to say! The few that follow will certainly suggest others to the reader.

58. *Shakespeare* (written 1597). Merchant of Venice; Act II, Scene ix, ll.40 ff.:

O, that estates, degrees, and offices

Were not deriv'd corruptly, and that clear honour

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., no. xli: the jest of the *villayne* who went to the city to see the king; but when the king was pointed out to him—

Is that the kyng, quod the villayne? what, thou mockest me, quod he; me thinke that is a man in a peynted garment.

By this tale ye may perceyve (as Lycurgus proved by experience) that nourysshynge, good bryngynge up and exerceyse ben more apte to leade folke to humanite and the doynge of honest thynges than Nature her selfe. They for the mooste part are noble, free, and vertuous, whiche in their youthe bene well nourysshed up, and vertuously endoctryned.

Were purchas'd by the merit of the wearer!  
 How many then should cover that stand bare;  
 How many be commanded that command;  
 How much low peasantry would then be glean'd  
 From the true seed of honour; and how much honour  
 Pick'd from the chaff and ruin of the times  
 To be new-varnish'd.

59. *Sir Thomas Browne* (written probably 1635). *Religio Medici*; the second part, paragraph i; or edition, Boston 1862, p. 116:

. . . there is a nobility without heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another, another filed before him, according to the quality of his desert, and pre-eminence of his good parts.

60. *Isaac Walton* (published 1635). *Compleat Angler*; ed. Gough and Balston, Oxford 1915; p. 40:

. . . I would rather prove myself a gentleman, by being learned and humble, valiant and inoffensive, virtuous and communicable, than by any fond ostentation of riches, or, wanting those virtues myself, boast that these were in my ancestors. . . .

61. *Boileau* (written 1665). *Satire V.*, the whole of it, but especially this line:  
 La vertu d'un coeur noble est la marque certaine.  
 (Cf. *Juvenal*, no. 2 above.)

62. *Thomas Jordan* (1612?-1685). *The Prodigal's Resolution*; in *Ritson*, *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, London 1829; p. 285:

Old Adam and our grandam Eve  
 By digging and by spinning,  
 Did to all kings and princes give  
 A radical beginning.

63. *Dryden* (written *cir.* 1699). *Wife of Bath*, ll.384 ff.:

The nobleman is he, whose noble mind  
 Is filled with inborn worth, unborrowed from his kind.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .virtue comes not by inheritance.

. . . . .  
 Do as your progenitors have done,  
 And by their virtues prove yourself their son.

64. *Dryden* (written *cir.* 1699). *Sigismonda and Guiscardo*, ll.501 ff.:

. . . . .when the world began,  
 One common mass composed the mould of man.

. . . . .  
 The same Almighty power inspired the frame  
 With kindled life, and formed the souls the same;  
 The faculties of intellect and will  
 Dispensed with equal hand, disposed with equal skill,  
 Like liberty indulged, with choice of good or ill.  
 Thus born alike, from virtue first began  
 The difference that distinguished man from man:  
 He claimed no title from descent of blood,  
 But that which made him noble made him good.

. . . . . he whose mind  
Is virtuous, is alone of noble kind.  
. . . . .  
. . . . . true nobility is of the mind.

65. *Robert Southey* (written 1794). Wat Tyler, beginning of Act II.:

When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?

In the following lines our sentiment is implicit, only phrased from a different point of view:

Be he villain, be he fool,  
Still to hold despotic rule,  
Trampling on his slaves with scorn;  
This is to be nobly born.

66. *Burns* (written 1785). The Cotter's Saturday Night; stanza xix (and, of course, see *Burns passim*):

Princes and lords are but the breath of kings,  
'An honest man's the noblest work of God;'  
And certes, in fair Virtue's heavenly road,  
The cottage leaves the palace far behind;  
What is a lordling's pomp? a cumbrous load,  
Disguising oft the wretch of human kind,  
Studied in arts of Hell, in wickedness refin'd!

67. *Tennyson* (published 1842, but written earlier). Lady Clara Vere de Vere:

Trust me, Clara Vere de Vere,  
From yon blue heavens above us bent  
The gardener Adam and his wife  
Smile at the claims of long descent.  
Howe'er it be, it seems to me,  
'Tis only noble to be good.  
Kind hearts are more than coronets,  
And simple faith than Norman blood.

68. *William Morris* (written 1886, 1887). Dream of John Ball:

When Adam delfed and Eve span  
Who was then the gentleman?

Probably the reader has already asked himself, Were there any dissenting voices from what seems to have been a remarkable unanimity of affirmative opinion upon a question to which, in feudal times, we should naturally expect a decidedly negative answer? In the first place, one needs to remind oneself, I think, that there are a few questions to which, whatever our practice or secret beliefs may be regarding them, our common nature instinctively shrinks from giving directly, in good set terms, a minority answer. Throughout the Christian era, certainly, the subject of the latent possibilities of the lowly has been one of

those questions. Still there was dissent.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately only a few instances have come to my notice. There can be no doubt, however, that special research on the subject would yield much more of interest, which would tend to balance the above apparent unanimity.

1. *Walter Map* (began to be written *cir.* 1180). *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James, Oxford 1914, pp. 207 ff.:

Map tells the story of the rise of Earl Godwin, the cowherd's son. He comments on it: all the courtesy, affability, and largesse that is usual, and to be expected, in a noble, or the son of a king,—all was manifested with serene urbanity by this son of a cowherd:

Quicquid enim affabilitatis, facie, largitatis, a quovis nobili uel etiam regis filio solet aut iuste potest expeti, totum omnibus hilaritate plena bubulci filius exhibet.

But Map is chiefly struck by the unusualness of this development. Who could believe a churl devoid of churlishness? he asks:

Quod quidem eo videtur mirabilius, quo contigit insperacius. Quis enim rusticum rusticitatis expertem crederet, et tanto uirtutum odore precluem? He then goes on to explain how this can be. His meaning appears to be that the base-born man, while he may conceivably be possessed of ability (probitas), cannot be truly gentle (bonitas):

Non dico virum bonum, sed probum et improbum. Generositatis est filia bonitas, cuius habere summam degeneres dat spiciencia; probitas autem tam est boni quam mali. Bonitas non nisi bonum, probitas utrumque facit. Hunc autem non dico bonum, quia degenerem scio, sed probum, quia strenuus in agendis, audax in periculis, in casus inuolans, executor inuictus, dubiorum elector uelox, et iuris et iniurie fortis euictor.

Ibid., pp. 211, 212, Map explicitly says that he hates villeins and distrusts them:

Cum naturaliter oderit anima mea seruos, hoc mihi placet in eis, quod circa finem et oportunitates edocent quantum amandi sint. Prouerbum Anglicum de seruis est, *Have hund to godsib, ant stent in þir oder hond*, quod est, canem suscipe compatrem, et altera manu baculum.

2. *Jean de Meun* (fl. 1268-1277). *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Méon, Paris 1814, ll. 6602, 6603:

These are the words of a princess to her father and need not be understood as expressing an opinion of Jean de Meun's:

Gentillesce est noble et si l'ain,  
Qu'el n'entre mie en cuer vilain.<sup>16</sup>

3. *Owl and Nightingale* (before 1250). *Belles Lettres* edn., ll. 98 ff.:

The story of the egg of low degree that was laid in the falcon's nest: the

<sup>15</sup> I do not refer to the general medieval scorn of the peasant, but to explicit statements negating the belief in the possibility of his becoming truly noble.

<sup>16</sup> As so often in Old French, it seems impossible to be certain whether *vilain* is simply an adjective here or has in addition personal implication.

resulting bird was recognized for what he was by his bad behavior and thrown out. Then follow this comment and proverb:

Der-by men seggeþ a by-spel,  
 þeyh hit ne beo fulliche spel,  
 Al so hit is bi þan un-gode  
 þat is icumen of fule brode,  
 & is y-meynd wiþ freo monne,  
 Euer he cuþ þat he com þenne,  
 þat he com of þan adel eye,  
 þeyh he a freo neste leye.  
 þeyh appel trendli from þe treo,  
 þar he and oþer myde grewe,  
 þeyh he beo þar-from bicume,  
 He cuþ hwenene he is i-cume.

4. *Le Despit au Vilain* (thirteenth century). In Jubinal, *Jongleurs et Trouveres*, Paris 1835, p. 109:

Let a *vilain* possess all the treasures of the world, yet he is and remains a *vilain*:

Vilains est fols et sos et ors;  
 Se toz li avoires et li ors  
 De cest monde estoit siens, par non,  
 N'ert li vilains se vilains non.

5. *Nicole Bozon* (written first half of fourteenth century, not earlier than 1320). *Les Contes Moralises*, ed. Smith and Meyer, *Anciens Textes Français*, Paris 1889, p. 23, no. 17:

Auxint est de plusours gents que sont nez de bas lignage. Mes ke il soyent en haut mountez, sovent apris e enformes en religion ou en siecle ou en dignetee, touz jours retornent a lur estat e a la nature dont il sont neez.

Then two English proverbs are quoted:

Stroke oule and schrape oule and evere is oule oule.

Trendle the appel nevere so fer he conyes fro what tree he cam.

6. *Thomas Cranmer* (delivered 1549). Sermon on the Norfolk rebels, in Th. Cranmer, Parker Society, Cambridge 1846, p. 195:  
 a gentleman will ever show himself a gentleman, and a villain a villain.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Rather striking evidence of the universality of the theme in the Middle Ages are the following two passages, which were noticed too late to be put into their proper place in the list. Probably the last place one would look to find *Generositas virtus* would be in Arthurian romance of the twelfth century.

*Le Livre de Lancelot del Lac* (toward end of twelfth and beginning of thirteenth centuries). Ed. H. O. Sommer, Vulgate Version, vol. iii, Washington 1910, p. 89, ll. 28-32:

Lancelot is conversing with the Lady of the Lake:

Et len me fait entendant que dun homme & dune feme sont issus toutes gens. Je ne sai pas par quel raison li un ont plus de gentilleche que li autre . se

on ne la conquest par proeche autresi com on fait les terres & les autres honora.  
Mais tant sachiez vous bien de voir . que se li grant cuer faisoient les gentiex  
hommes . Ie quideroie encore estre des plus gentiex. . . .

Ibid., p. 113, ll.31-40.

The Lady of the Lake explains to Lancelot how knights originated:

Et tant sachiez vous bien que cheualiers ne fu mie fais a gas ne establis . &  
non pas por che quil fuissent au commencement plus gentil homme ne plus  
haut de lignage li un de lautre . Car dun peire & dune meire deschendirent toute  
gent . Mais quant enuie & couoitise commencha a croistre el monde . Et  
forche commencha a vaintre droiture . A chele eure estoient encore pareil & un  
et autre de lignage . & de gentilleche. Et quant li foible ne porent plus souffrir  
ne endurer encontre les fors . si establirent desor aus garans & desfendeors por  
garandir les foibles & les paisibles . Et tenir selonc droiture Et por les fors  
bouter ariere des tors quil faisoient & des outrages.

## THE LAY OF SIR GAWAYNE AND THE GREEN KNIGHT

The mid-fourteenth century was a wonderful time in which to be alive in England. At last the feeling of strangeness which had existed between the varying elements of the population had worn away, and the nation was one at heart. Griffith of Carmarthen, Orm of Grimsby, Dirk the weaver of Norwich, Alfred the franklin of besyde Salisbury, and Geoffrey of London, all felt their English hearts swell within them at their victories over their ancient enemies at Sluys, at Crécy, at Neville's Cross. Was not their king with the fine old English name, Edward, the vicar general of the Holy Roman Empire? and had he not practically refused the election of Emperor himself? At last the good old days of English glory had come back, and it seemed as if that splendid Englishman, King Arthur, were once more returned from Avilion to lead his people in a triumphal march across a subjugated world. Ancient English customs were revived. The English merchant wore his forked beard to show the foreigners with whom they had to deal. The English language was once more exalted. And most significantly, as a focal point about which to attract knights from the whole world and to unite them under bonds of fellowship, the Round Table of Arthur was revived. Its effect was, it is true, a trifle marred by the fact that Philip of France held a rival Round Table to which he sent invitations broadcast, and which attracted the Italian and German knights for whom Edward III had angled.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, everybody knew that Philip was a usurper, so that anything he might do had no real corroding influence on Edward's glories. But the magnificence of that Edwardian Round Table which was held early in the year 1344 would certainly have astounded King Arthur—the innumerable host of counts, barons, and burgesses, and more magnificent still, their ladies, the four days feasting and revelry, where we are told "*inter dominos et dominas non defuerunt tripudia*, am-

<sup>1</sup> Thomae Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, Rolls Series 28. pt. 1, p. 263; see also Capgrave, *Rolls Series* 1. p. 211.



plexus ad invicem commiscentes et oscula."<sup>2</sup> Then on Thursday, marshalled by Henry, Earl of Derby, the seneschal of England, and William, Earl of Salisbury, marshall of England, the grand procession formed after mass, led by the King himself with the young Queen, then the Queen Mother, the Prince of Wales, and all the company following, and the solemn institution of the fellowship of the Round Table took place—vows sworn on relics to maintain the Order. Which vows being taken by many present, there was a blare of trumpets and nakers, "a crackyng of trumpes and nwe nakryn noise," and then they went to the great banquet, after which, laden with rich gifts, they were dismissed until Whitsunday following, which was, in good Arthurian wise, to be the feast day of the Order. Meanwhile Edward hastened to build the Round Tower at Windsor to have it ready in time. But the work was interrupted, as Murimuth irritatingly tells us, "ex certis causis."<sup>3</sup> Did Edward see that the Order, which was to consist of three hundred knights, was likely to be too loosely knit? or was their first meeting cursed by the death of William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who was fatally wounded in one of the tournaments at that time? At any rate, out of this organization sprang the much smaller, much more select and secret Order of the Garter, not subject to the Common Law of the Realm, whose records before the time of Henry V have mysteriously disappeared. But in these years, knighthood was in its heyday, and heraldry and knightly origins were eagerly studied. The researches of students led them quite away from France, back to Arthur; through Arthur, back to Brutus, and so back to the ancient chivalry of Troy and of Greece, where amongst other knights, Hector and Alexander were distinguished as two of the most worthy.

In the midst of these rich antiquarian investigations, a seemingly anomalous phenomenon occurs in English literature. A form of verse which had long been dead, suddenly showed itself exceedingly alive, and we have that most interesting movement—the Alliterative Revival of the Mid-fourteenth Century. French culture and French versification are repudiated

<sup>2</sup> Adae Murimuth. *Continuatio Chronicarum*. Rolls Series 93. p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 156.

and the good old English forms revived. The whole movement curiously parallels the later mediaeval revival—at first purely aesthetic, antiquarian, dilettante, then almost as if in revulsion, becoming humanized, socialized—showing the *Castle of Otranto* at the one end of the scale and Guild Socialism at the other, or *The Defence of Guinevere* at the one end and *News from Nowhere* at the other.

At first we have *The Destruction of Troy*, the *Morte Arthur*, *King Alisaunder*, giving chivalry its proper background of antiquity; the story of *Joseph of Arimathe*, showing that England's Christianity was direct, not derived from Rome or the Continent; then *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, and the life of the English *St. Erkenwald*; then the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, and that queer transition piece, *Winner and Waster*, out of which emerges the economic literature represented by the *Piers Plowman* cycle.

The poem of Sir Gawayne fits tightly into its place amongst the other alliterative poems. There is the same verse form, the same attempt at an archaic vocabulary,<sup>4</sup> and the same harking back to the glory of England's past, "mo ferlyes on þis folde han fallen here oft, þen in any oþer þat I wot" (23-24); but in beauty of construction, in richness of content, and in power, the poem challenges comparison with any poem of any age or land. A New Year's game and its consequences, the test of the courage and the courtesy and the chastity of Arthur's Round Table, the poem in its courtly exaltation is a fit companion for such high expressions of knightly ideals as "Noblesse oblige," "Ich dien," and the lofty motto of the Order of the Garter which is added at the close of the poem in the unique manuscript, "Hony soyt qui mal pence."

<sup>4</sup> It is remarkable, when one checks over the vocabulary of Sir Gawayne, to observe how many of the rare words are to be found in *Lazamon* and in *Orm*, i.e., about 150 years earlier, and elsewhere only in the other poems of the alliterative group. The demands of alliteration only partly account for this. That the vocabulary of Sir Gawayne is the result of careful and conscious manipulation, is easily seen—the unusual number of adjectives used as substantives, the four startling ethical datives used within 240 verses (1905, 1932, 2014, 2144) and then used no more, and other such matters, show the artificial quality of the diction. I am not at all sure that the great trouble regarding the localizing of the dialect of the poem is not due to the fact that it is an artificial dialect.



chastity, but even more because his courtesy demands that he do nothing so unknighly as to betray his host's honor:

"He cared for his cortaysye, lest craþayn he were,  
& more for his meschef, þif he schulde make synne,  
& be traytor to þat tolke, þat þat tolde aȝt." (1173-1175)

3. An archaic atmosphere: the Arthurian subject-matter supplies this. Little touches here and there bear it out, as placing New Year's Day at the Christmas season, instead of on March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation. The music of nakers is said to be a novelty in Arthur's day. 4. A connection with the Celtic otherworld. The supernatural element is consistently, even if casually, maintained. A ghost is a ghost to him and to us, and not a sheeted small-boy, or a Radcliffean waxwork. The color green connects the Knight with the Celtic underworld. Chaucer's Friar's Summoner should have taken warning at the color of the devil's clothes, but pride closed his eyes. 5. A love of the picturesque. The pages are filled with vivid and concrete scenes: the arming of Gawain; the arrival at the castle; the greeting of the lady of the castle and her duenna; the scene before the green chapel, Sir Gawain glowing in red and gold before the grim Green Knight, the blood-drops bright upon the snow. 6. A high degree of artistry and polish, and 7. Comparative brevity. All these qualities of the lay of Sir Gawayne are characteristics of another group of poems likewise named Lays. I am convinced that the poet intends to give us here as an offering on the shrine of English patriotism, an English equivalent, in good old English verse, of that daintiest of forms which treated of the glories of the British past—the Breton lai.

Certain questions at once arise when one suggests a connection between the "mediaeval revival" of the fourteenth century and the Breton lais. Since the lais point to Brittany as their home, can they be looked upon as adding anything to the glory of English tradition? Since the blossoming time of the lais was about the close of the twelfth century, are we not ascribing to the fourteenth century too highly developed a love of research if we ask that the author of *Sir Gawayne* know them? Is the subject matter of *Sir Gawayne* by being limited to the British Isles, not rather remote?

There has always existed a high degree of confusion in the minds of learned and lay, between Britain and Brittany, between Breton and Briton. As Chaucer says in *The Franklin's Tale*:

"In Armorik, that called is Britayne," (F. 729) and

"In Engelond, that cleped was eek Briteyne," (F. 810)

and the confusion perseveres to this day. It is not alone that, as Le Moyne de la Borderie tells us in his *Histoire de Bretagne*, at the Teutonic invasion of Britain, whole countries emigrated to Armorica, so that Armorica actually became Britain, but also that at the time of the expedition of William the Conqueror, the tables were turned, and the once expelled Britons came back to their homes—Brient son of Eudo de Penthièvre was granted the domain of Edwin the brother-in-law of King Harold, afterwards the duchy of Richmond. Raoul de Gaël was given the ancient kingdom of East Anglia; Warnke<sup>5</sup> tells us that great estates were granted to Bretons in Herefordshire and in Cornwall, and that in Yorkshire the number of Bretons enjoying feudal grants was no less than 440. But the section which was of the greatest significance was, of course, the duchy of Richmond, with its splendid religious foundations of Jervaulx Abbey and St. Mary's-juxta-York, and its long, close connection with the duchy of Brittany. It was Conon of Brittany and of Richmond who married Margaret of Scotland, whose daughter Constance was married to Geoffrey, son of Henry II. Their son, Arthur, hailed in Brittany as the hope of his race, was chosen by his uncle, Richard the Lion Hearted, as his heir, a choice nullified by John's murder of the little boy. Again, John de Dreux, duke of Brittany, married Beatrix, daughter of Henry III, whose son was another Arthur, from whom the folk of Brittany hoped great things. It was from the issue of the two marriages of this Arthur that the wars between de Montfort and Charles de Blois ensued; de Montfort's son married Mary of Waltham, ninth child of Edward III, thus uniting even more closely Brittany and Britain. So close was the relationship between the Bretons and the English, that a law purporting to come from Edward the Confessor reads: "the Bretons or Armoricans when they come into this realm, must be received

<sup>5</sup> Die Lais der Marie de France. Bibliotheca Normannica III. Halle 1900.

and protected in this realm as its own citizens. They formerly went out from the body of this realm, of the blood of the Britons of this realm."<sup>6</sup> In the *Franklin's Tale* the Breton Arviragus went quite naturally to England to seek his fortune.<sup>7</sup>

This close intercourse must have had a literary side. When such privileges were enjoyed, we can easily picture the number of Breton minstrels and harpers who would find asylum at the many courts and baronial halls in England. Undoubtedly it was from a Yorkshire source that we have the Lay of Haveloc; and we know that when the Franklin told his Tale, he told it from memory of one he had heard, very likely at his own fireside, in payment for one of his famous dinners. So widespread and so generally known were the Breton lais, that G. Paris is of the opinion that they were current not only in a French form but also in English.<sup>8</sup> Certainly they were not sung generally in the Celtic language. A most interesting fact is that the best of all the Breton lais are given to us by the Frenchwoman Marie, who seems to have composed them in England. So popular was her work, that to the world of today as to that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Breton lais were the lais of Marie de France. Denis Pyramus in his *Life of St. Edmund*, tells us that her lais are much praised and loved everywhere, by counts, barons, knights, who like to hear them, and have them copied frequently. They are especially loved by the ladies.<sup>9</sup>

The wandering minstrel Reynard the Fox confesses himself a past master in Breton lais to poor Ysengrim, and recites his repertory: "I know good Breton lais, both of Merlin, and of Noton, and of King Arthur and of Tristan, of the Honeysuckle, of St. Brandan." "And do you know the Lay of Dame Isolde?" asks the thoroughly-impressed Ysengrim, not recognizing that he has already named it twice in his catalogue. "Ya, ya," lies Reynard, "it's God's truth, I know the whole thing."<sup>10</sup> In

<sup>6</sup> Liebermann: *Die Gesetze der Ags.* I. 658. He is of opinion that this dates from before 1199, or in 1207.

<sup>7</sup> That these rights had sometimes an unpleasant side, we know from Langland, when he makes the Breton a braggart and a bully, demanding his living from the poor English Plowman.

<sup>8</sup> *Litt. Franç. au moyen âge*, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> Warnke, p. xxxvi.

<sup>10</sup> *Roman de Renart*, ed. Martin i. 67.

*Flamenca* we have the singing of the *Lay of the Honeysuckle*, of *Tintagil*, of the *Loving Children* and of the feats of Ivan;<sup>11</sup> and in the *Lay of the Thorn* we have an Irish harper singing the *Lai of Alys* and of *Orpheus*.<sup>12</sup>

From these lists we see that although only a few of the *lais* which we at present possess have as their subjects Arthur or the stories associated with him, the Arthurian *lais* seem to have made the greatest impression on the minds of the public.

As to the characteristics of the Breton *lais*, both a study of the *lais* themselves and a perusal of the general description of this literary form prefixed to the *Lay of Sir Orpheo* in the Harleian and the Ashmolean MSS.,<sup>13</sup> and in the Auchinleck MS. prefixed to the *Lai le Freine*,<sup>14</sup> reveal those same characteristics which I have mentioned before as belonging to Sir Gawayne: a refined theory of love; a scrupulous courtliness; an atmosphere of antiquity; a connection with the Celtic otherworld; a love of the picturesque; a high degree of artistry and polish, and a comparative brevity.

Bédier bears witness:<sup>15</sup> "the five manuscripts which preserve for us the *lais* of Marie were all written in the second half of the thirteenth century or even at the beginning of the fourteenth, that is to say, a hundred years after the *lais* were composed; they represent, then, the tradition of several series of intermediate manuscripts, perhaps very numerous, copied and recopied during the course of a whole century, but now lost to us. . . . There has come down to us a translation in English verse of the *Lai le Frêne*; it dates from the fourteenth century. Finally, well into the fifteenth century, another English poet, Thomas Chestre, translated into his language still another *lai* of Marie's, the *Lanval*." All of which only reinforces Chaucer's testimony to the fact that in the fourteenth century the Breton *lais* still held the attention of English folk.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by Ahlström: *Studier i den fornfranska lais-litteraturen* p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Eugene Mason: *French Mediaeval Romances*, p. 140.

<sup>13</sup> Wells: *Manual* p. 125.

<sup>14</sup> Varnhagen, in *Anglia* III. 415-423.

<sup>15</sup> *Les lais de Marie de France*. *Revue des deux Mondes* Oct. 1, 1891.

<sup>16</sup> ". . . hit is breued in þe best boke of romaunce.

þus in Arthurus day þis aunter bitidde,

þe Brutus bokees þer-of beren wyttensse." 2521-2523.

All of which reminds us of the origin of *lais* as recounted in Tyolet: "The most puissant knights, the best, the most liberal, were used to wander seeking and finding adventures; they found fine adventures, which they told and recounted. At the court they were told just as they had happened. The able clerks who were there had them all written down. They were put into Latin. Then they were told and recounted, turned from Latin into Romance. The Bretons made many *lais* of them." (Ahlström p. 26)

Two Gawayne questions which might have some bearing on any special interpretation of the poem, seem to me to be relatively unimportant. The first is as to a possible French original for the poem. I take it that a French original postulates a French audience. A century earlier in England, undoubtedly a poet of such refinement writing for an audience of equal refinement would have first written in French. Here, however, we have a poet of refinement, bi-lingual, who writes for a strongly stimulated national consciousness, in the language of the people of that nation. Professor Kittredge, in his volume on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, has shown us the genesis and the analogues of the story. That sufficiently explains its origin. The second question is whether the poem is a Garter poem or not. If so, why a green token rather than blue? I do not feel at all sure that it is a Garter poem. But that it has to do with a refounded Round Table is fairly obvious. In a day when cognizances and marks of fellowship were highly prized, it is a very clever touch to show that such things were also known in King Arthur's day. Gawayne, in accepting the adventure as he did, was representative of the whole fellowship; his disgrace, if disgrace came, would be the disgrace of the whole fellowship; but in this case, as in a much more august case, the badge of shame and failure was exalted to be the badge of honor of the whole fellowship. As for green, green is the color of a person coming from 'Faerye' and is the proper color for Gawayne's badge. But at Edward's court, the matter stood otherwise.

Bédier is strongly of the opinion that the great Arthurian romances are developed from the Breton *lais*: "It is these tiny old wives' tales which, bound into chaplets, constituted the most ancient romances from which the immense Arthurian



épopée came."<sup>17</sup> In a period such as gave birth to the poem of Sir Gawayne, where the Arthurian story was coming home once more in English dress to England, this same process can be seen. What if the glories of Edward's court under Philippa passed into the shames of Edward's court under Alice Perrers? For a time England had caught a glimpse of what she might become and henceforth she would in her highest moments follow the gleam. It is pleasant to associate the unknown author of the beautiful poem of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* with the gentle Marie who had done so much to keep before the English their heritage from the past of their island, from Alfred and from Arthur. And it is pleasant to think of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* as akin to such other stories as the *Lay of Graelent* and the tiny *Lay of the Honeysuckle*, belonging to that very choice archipelago lying close to the island of the apple orchards, the fairy island of Avilion.

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<sup>17</sup> l. c., p. 859.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article went to press after the death of Professor Garrett on July 8, 1924.

## REVIEWS AND NOTES

**STAND UND AUFGABEN DER SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT.** *Festschrift für Wilhelm Streitberg*, Heidelberg 1924. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung. XIX-683 S.

Zu Wilhelm Streitbergs sechzigstem Geburtstage, der auf den 23. Februar v. J. fiel, hat ihm Carl Winters treuverdienter Verlag in Gemeinschaft mit neunzehn tüchtigen Sprachforschern diese Festschrift gewidmet, die wegen der Persönlichkeit des Gefeierten und wegen der allgemeinen Zeitumstände besondere Beachtung fordert. In der Auslegung der Mehrheit der Mitarbeiter deckt sie die Arbeit des letzten Vierteljahrhunderts in der Indogermanistik, ähnlich wie es Bethge 1902 in den „Ergebnissen und Fortschritten der germanistischen Wissenschaft“ für die Germanistik durchführte. Der Zeitabschnitt hatte mit unbestreitbarer deutscher Führung begonnen und war durch den Krieg jäh in zwei Teile gespalten worden. Wissenschaft darf nicht zur Sache von nationalem Vorurteil für oder wider werden. Was Japan oder Russland leistet, wenn es wirklich vorwärtsbringt, darf nicht weniger befriedigen, als wenn es in Paris oder München oder Chicago geschaffen wäre. Trotzdem, oder gerade deswegen, wird ein Leser, der in der Sprachwissenschaft der letzten Jahrzehnte einigermaßen Umschau gehalten hat, sich beim Durchblättern dieses Bandes schwer einer gewissen Sorge ent schlagen können; denn man wird streng sachlich zugeben müssen, dass das Hauptgewicht der sprachwissenschaftlichen Leistungen im neunzehnten Jahrhundert und länger von deutscher Denk- und Arbeitsweise getragen wurde. Welchen Niederschlag der neuen Zeit mögen wir darin finden?

Die Liste der Verfasser weist stolze Namen auf: Sievers, Horn, Michels, Sommer, Walde; daneben die einer Reihe von jüngeren Gelehrten, die wohl grösstenteils zu Streitbergs Schülerkreis gehörten. Viel Tüchtiges und mutiges Denken spricht aus dem Bande, und doch will es scheinen, als ob da und dort etwas fehlte—eines, das sich so schwer in Worte fassen lässt und doch zum Wesentlichsten am wissenschaftlichen Schaffen gehört. Vielleicht ist es die frühere Klarheit des Zieles, eines Zieles, das schon im Bewusstsein der Arbeit selbst lag; jene Arbeitsruhe, die, sich selbst genügend, nicht nach Zeit und Erfolg fragte. An ihrer Stelle spricht vielfach etwas Unruhiges, ein Fertigwerdenwollen aus diesen Aufsätzen.

Sicher nicht aus allen, bei weitem nicht. Vor allem leuchtet aus den Seiten, die Eduard Sievers beigetragen hat, die ganze Arbeitsfreude und Zielsicherheit dieser unvergleichlichen Persönlichkeit. Sein Abschnitt—der zweite des Buches—führt den

Titel „*Ziele und Wege der Schallanalyse*“ und ist eine Umarbeitung zweier im Jahre 1922 in Hamburg gehaltenen Vorträge. Er gehört in das Buch wie kein anderer, denn er weist der Sprachwissenschaft die grössten Aufgaben, die ihr je gestellt worden sind, und zeigt den Weg zu ihrer Lösung mit so schlichter Klarheit, dass man nicht versteht, wie Carl Karstien an anderer Stelle des Werkes (S. 412 Fussnote) über seine Entdeckungen sagen kann, dass „ein Vertrautwerden mit dieser Forschungsmethode nur auf Grund schriftlicher Übermittlung nicht möglich ist.“

Nach Sievers' Ausführung ist „alles geistige Geschehen beim Menschen mit einem parallel gehenden körperlichen Geschehen, und zwar eindeutig, derart verknüpft, . . . dass das eine Geschehen zwangsweise auch das andere Geschehen hervorruft.“ Das ist ihm Axiom, das an treffenden Beispielen mehr erläutert als nachgewiesen wird. Dieses körperliche Geschehen nun ist Einstellung oder Bewegung. Die letztere ist in Beckings „Generalkurven“ dargestellt—Bewegungslinien, die jedem Individuum dauernd anhaften, ja angeboren sind, *alle* seine Handlungen charakterisieren und „das Konstanteste sind, was es überhaupt beim denkenden und handelnden Menschen gibt.“ Es scheint nur drei Grundformen dieser Becking-Kurven zu geben, die sich zB. bei Goethe, Schiller und Heine finden. (Sievers hat Kurve 2).—Für die Einstellung ging Sievers ursprünglich von Joseph und Ottomar Rutz' vier Typen aus; ihren Grundgedanken hat er beibehalten, in der Einzeldurchführung aber geht er jetzt ganz und gar seine eigenen Wege. So ist jetzt bei ihm die Handstellung statt der Rumpfmuskelspannung das Wesentlichste, und „optische Signale“ (Drahtfiguren) sind ein wichtiges Arbeitsmittel.

Wie sich diese neue Arbeitsweise in der weiteren Anwendung auch gestalten mag, ihre Grundzüge sind keine Theorien, sondern feste Tatsachen, mit denen sich jeder, der die Sprachwissenschaft zu fördern gedenkt, früher oder später wird abfinden *müssen*. Wie sie in den Dienst der Sprachwissenschaft gestellt werden können, darüber gibt Fritz Karg's Aufsatz *Sprachwissenschaft und Schallanalyse* wertvolle Winke, die im wesentlichen ein Bericht über Experimente sind, in denen er unter Streitbergs Leitung Sievers' Entdeckungen anwendete.

Auch einige andere Abhandlungen in dem Bande bewegen sich auf neuen Bahnen, vor allem Alois Waldes '*o-farbige Reduktionsvokale im Indogermanischen*'. Er gibt eine Abrundung von Hirts und Günterts neuen Ablautforschungen. Mit reichen Belegen und musterhafter Methode zeigt er, wie im Griechischen die Vokalschwächung bei Liquida keineswegs immer *a* ergab, sondern zu *o* führte, wenn im Urgriechischen für das Sprachgefühl eine Grundform mit *o* vorlag. So spiegelt zB. *στρωτός* (gegen lat. *strātus*) die *o*-Farbe eines urgr. \**starelós*, zu *στροπύμι*,

wieder. Das ist das sachliche Ergebnis. Es lässt sich davon aber weiter zu dem wichtigen Schluss kommen, der bei Walde immerhin angedeutet ist, dass der Ablaut keineswegs mit der idg. Urzeit abschliesst, vielmehr in den Einzelsprachen noch kürzere oder längere Zeit weiterwirkt; so ist *o* in *σρόρνυμι* dem idg., *ω* in *σρρωός* aber dem griechischen Ablaut zuzuschreiben. Das ist ein fruchtbarer Gedanke, aus dem sich auch für andere Sprachgruppen (besonders für das Germanische) viel Wertvolles wird schöpfen lassen.

Auf engerem Gebiet, aber ebenso glänzend in der Forschungsweise, stellt *Ferdinand Sommers* Aufsatz *Zum vedischen Sandhi* die Tatsachen für die strittige Behandlung des vedischen auslautenden *āu* zusammen und kommt zu dem Schlusse, dass der Wechsel zwischen *ā* vor Konsonant und *āu* vor Vokal als Nachklang eines idg. Wechsels *ō:ōu* gelten darf. Er legt somit für das Idg. einen klaren Fall von Sandhi fest, gleichfalls ein wichtiger Fortschritt.

Eine ähnliche Auffassung vom Zwecke des Buches wie die Sommers und Waldes spricht aus *Josef Weisweilers* semantischer Arbeit über die *Geschichte des ahd. Wortes ēuua*. Mit grundlichem philologischem Wissen und trefflicher Methode zeigt er, wie die Bedeutungslehre ein wirklich erspriesslicher Teil der Sprachwissenschaft werden kann, wenn sie statt allgemeiner Spekulationen historische und im weitesten Sinne des Wortes philologische Untersuchungen anwendet. Als ungewöhnlich geeignetes Beispiel verfolgt er die Entwicklung des Wortes *ēuua* in den einzelnen germanischen Sprachen und Kulturepochen und liefert nicht nur sachlich wertvolle Ergebnisse, sondern vor allem eine der nicht eben zahlreichen semantischen Untersuchungen, die methodisch förderlich sind.

Von ganz andrer Art ist *Gunther Ipsens* Schrift *Der alte Orient und die Indogermanen*. Auch er bietet neue, anregende und—wenn richtig—wertvolle Gedanken. Aber statt des ruhigen Abwägens der erfahrenen Forscher überfließt der Aufsatz von gewagten *a priori*-Behauptungen, sich der Dichtung manchmal mehr nähernd als der Wissenschaft. Schon der Stil weist darauf hin. Mit seltenen Wörtern oder Wortanwendungen prunkend, rednerisch eindringlich, verliert er die Überzeugungskraft, nach der er zu offensichtlich strebt. (Als Beispiele greife ich nur eben die Zeitwörter aus einem Stück seiner Schilderung des „eurasischen Gleises“ heraus: lang hinstreichend—leiert sich an—ficht sich zusammen—zwieselt sich—umbaucht—schnürt sich wie aufgenommener Faltenwurf—streicht straff verhalten—knoten sich wie schwere Kranzguirlanden, usw.—das alles in achtzehn Zeilen, und der Rest ist nicht besser.)

Ipsen schildert gewisse natürliche Grundlagen, die einerseits eine westeuropäische Kultur (hier ist Carl Schuchhardts Einfluss deutlich), andererseits die asiatischen Kulturkreise bedingt

haben. Sie werden durch das „eurasische Gleis“ verbunden, das Gebiet zwischen den jüngeren Faltengebirgen des Doppelkontinentes. Auf diesem bewegt sich der Austausch der europäischen und asiatischen Kulturen, und vor allem muss es als Bewegungsgebiet der Indogermanen gelten, ohne dass der Verfasser vorläufig eine Behauptung über den Ursprung und die Richtung dieser Bewegung ausspricht.

Daran ist viel Wahres, namentlich in der Begründung der Lehre von einer europäischen Randkultur, aber im Unkraut verfrühter Behauptungen kommt das Wahre nicht recht zur Geltung. Ebenso ist in Ipsens Aufstellung von Kennzeichen der „Wanderwörter“ ein richtiger Kern, aber die Anwendung schiesst über das Ziel hinaus. — Als Anregung ist der Aufsatz zu schätzen, aber gerade in diesem Buche habe ich ihn nicht gern gesehen.

Heinrich F. J. Junker und Walter Porzig behandeln allgemein-theoretische Fragen auf logisch-psychologischer Grundlage. Junkers Aufsatz *Die indogermanische und die allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* bildet die Einleitung des ganzen Werkes. Er betont, dass die Indogermanistik nur eine durch praktische Äusserlichkeiten bedingte Richtung der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft ist, deren Grundprobleme keine Sondergeltung haben. Als wichtigste gemeinsame Aufgabe behandelt er das Wesen der Sprache selbst, die er nach ihren Leistungen in Auslösung, Kundgabe und Darstellung unterscheidet—was nach ähnlicher Richtung weist wie de Saussures Unterscheidung von *langue* und *parole*. Ferner unterscheidet er Spracharten nach den Sinnen (Gesichtssprache, Gehörssprache usw.) und bespricht die Grundlagen der Satzgestaltung. Der Aufsatz zeigt den geschulten Denker, lässt aber Ergebnisse vermissen. Es ist, als ob der Verfasser fortwährend auf halbem Wege stehen bliebe; der letzte Abschnitt, Wort und Laut, zeigt zudem, dass er sich mit Phonetik nur ganz nebenbei beschäftigt hat.

Walter Porzigs *Aufgaben der Syntax* hält genau, was der Titel verspricht: Er stellt mit Klarheit eine Reihe von unabweisbaren Aufgaben der idg. Syntax auf. Als kennzeichnend seien einige davon herausgehoben. Der Verfasser sieht die Notwendigkeit einer eingehenden Untersuchung von Modus, Aktionsart und Tempus, da unsere ganze Auffassung des Verbs durch Anlehnung an die in sich verfehlte lateinische Systematik sehr gestört ist; zB. erkennt er es (ebenso wie Curme in der neuen Ausgabe seiner deutschen Grammatik) als gänzlich falsch, dass wir die nhd. Verbindung von *werden* mit dem Infinitiv als Futurum bezeichnen, „das es im Nhd. gar nicht gibt“; man könne diese Form mit den überlieferten Kategorien überhaupt nicht fassen; die Beobachtung der Entstehung solcher neuer Kategorien sei eines der wichtigsten Ziele der historischen Syntax.—Von grossem Wert ist ferner der Hinweis auf

die syntaktische Einheit der abendländischen Sprachen. „Es ist eine der dringendsten und lohnendsten Aufgaben der Indogermanistik, eine Syntax dieser Sprache des Abendlandes zu schreiben.“ Als Gegenstück verweist er auf die syntaktische Einheit der neuindischen Sprachen, bei denen es schon ganz zweifelhaft sei, ob sie syntaktisch noch zum idg. Kreis gerechnet werden könnten.

Die übrigen Aufsätze besprechen vorwiegend den „Stand“ der einzelnen Zweige der idg. Sprachwissenschaft, sich mehr oder weniger streng auf die Errungenschaften des letzten Vierteljahrhunderts beschränkend.

Hans *Reichelt* behandelt mit staunenswertem Wissensreichtum in zwei Aufsätzen das *Indische* und das *Iranische*. In dem ersteren bietet er vor allem die neueren Feststellungen der äusseren Sprachgeschichte, wie die genauere Erforschung der brahmanischen Standessprache, deren Typus er bis auf das 14. Jahrhundert, vielleicht sogar vor das Eindringen der Arier nach Indien zurückverfolgt, ferner die Herkunft und dialektische Stellung des Sanskrit und ähnliche Fragen der indischen Dialektforschung. Der andere Aufsatz zieht auf Grund der soghdischen Texte den Schluss, dass die Avesta-Texte ursprünglich in aramäischer Schrift aufgezeichnet waren, und betont die Notwendigkeit, als Grundlage weiterer Forschung diese Form wieder herzustellen. Als sonstige Aufgaben der Iranistik bezeichnet er namentlich Dialektforschung; an die Abfassung einer vergleichenden iranischen Grammatik aber sei noch auf lange nicht zu denken.

Heinrich L. *Zeller* berichtet über den Stand der *armenischen* Sprachforschung in Form einer ziemlich elementaren Aufzählung von Einzelfragen der armenischen Laut- und Formenlehre.

Über die bisherigen Ergebnisse der *hethitischen* Sprachforschung gibt Johannes *Friedrich* Aufschluss. Bei aller Knappheit und Schlichtheit der Darstellung gehört sein Aufsatz zum Allerbesten in dem Bande. Er stellt Hroznýs und Sommers Ergebnisse und Arbeitsweisen einander gegenüber, beiden volle Anerkennung zollend, und zeigt, in welcher Weise beide Forscher zu dem unabweislichen Schluss gekommen sind, dass Hethitisch tatsächlich eine indogermanische Sprache ist. Hrozný gebührt der Ruhm der Priorität, Ferdinand Sommer dagegen „hat die junge Hethitologie vor der Kinderkrankheit ähnlicher Wissenschaften bewahrt, in planlosem Raten Zeit und Kraft zu vergeuden.“

Das *Griechische* ist durch Adolf *Walter* vorzüglich vertreten. Wer wie ich seit beinahe zwanzig Jahren das *celerum censeo* der *Richtung* im Lautwandel und in der Sprachentwicklung überhaupt nach Kräften betont hat, den muss es angenehm berühren, bei Walter diese Forderung im Vordergrund zu finden. Zwar darf ich mir einen bescheidenen Einwand dagegen ge-

statten, dass Untersuchungen über die Sprachrichtung noch in keiner indogermanischen Sprache angestellt worden seien; über meine Bemühungen für diese Frage auf germanischem Gebiet hat schon 1917 Alexander Green in *Mod. Lang. Notes* gelegentlich der Besprechung meines Buches *Sounds and History of the German Language* berichtet, eines Buches, das fast ausschliesslich diesem Zwecke dient. Doch stimme ich gern mit Walter darin überein, dass wir „kein geeigneteres Objekt für derartige Untersuchungen haben, als gerade das Griechische, dessen Geschichte wir über eine verhältnismässig lange Zeit verfolgen können.“—Wie in der Betonung der Sprachrichtung ist Walter auch in Annahme und Anwendung von Horns Funktionslehre modern. Ähnlich wie ich es aa0. für den Ablaut des Germanischen und sein Verhältnis zum Umlaut annehme, betrachtet er auch im Griechischen den *e-o*-Ablaut als „funktionell geworden,“ sodass er sich auch in verhältnismässig spät entstandenen Perfekten findet.—Im Konsonantismus ist u. a. seine Besprechung der „idg. Spiranten“ bemerkenswert. Damit meint er aber keineswegs die angeblichen aspirierten Medien (mein Nachweis, dass diese stimmlose Spiranten waren, wird ihm kaum bekannt sein), sondern die von Brugmann graphisch durch *þ* wiedergegebenen problematischen Laute. Ich lehre seit vielen Jahren, dass es sich dabei um idg. *ǵ* handelt (teils wurzelhaft, teils infigiert), das nach stimmlosem Konsonant naturgemäss zum *ich*-Laut—[ç]—werden musste, der nach velarem Spirant zu dentalem Spirant dissimiliert wurde, nach Verschlusslaut aber in Verschlusslaut übergang: *χθών* < \**χḡων*, *κτείνω* < \**κḡενḡω*; Walter kommt im wesentlichen auf die gleiche Vermutung, wenn er auch vorsichtig hinzufügt „beweisen aber lässt sich das vorläufig nicht.“ Er bezweifelt übrigens die Annahme eines idg. Spiranten als Ausgangspunkt mit dem gänzlich unhaltbaren Einwand, dass in Sprachen mit vorwiegend musikalischem Akzent Spiranten äusserst selten seien. Das ist so greifbar falsch, dass es sich wirklich nicht lohnt, näher darauf einzugehen; das gerade Gegenteil wäre der Wahrheit nicht so fern.

Bei der Besprechung des Verbsystems zieht er wertvolle Schlüsse aus der schon auf Curtius zurückgehenden Erkenntnis, dass jedes Verb seine eigene Geschichte hat und von einem verhältnismässig einfachen Bestand einer geringen Formenanzahl auf analogischem Wege zu der historisch gegebenen Vielgestaltigkeit gekommen ist. Ob wohl Walter einräumen würde, dass seine Gedankenfolge in ihrem weiteren Verlauf die schon lange brüchige *centum-satem*-Lehre noch weiter untergräbt, indem sie das Griechische von der germanisch-italokeltischen Gruppe gründlich trennt und es äusserst nahe an die asiatische Gruppe des Indogermanischen anschliesst?

Für den Passivaorist nimmt Walter Collitz' Herleitung des  $-\theta\eta\nu$  aus den  $\theta$ -Formen des Medial-Aoristes an und überträgt den Grundsatz dieser Erklärung, sicher mit Recht, auf das aspirierte Perfekt. Beim Aufbau seiner Theorie musste er natürlich in seine Materialsammlung zahlreiche Formen mit  $\chi\theta$ ,  $\varphi\theta$  aufnehmen, und es ist schwer zu begreifen, wie es einem so scharfen Denker entgehen konnte, dass diese Formen phonetische Monstra sind, solange man gr.  $\varphi$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\chi$  als Aspiraten betrachtet; dass sich so monströse Lautgebilde wie [phth, khth] (zB. in  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\theta\eta\nu$ ) nicht nur beinahe ein Jahrtausend erhalten hätten, sondern dass ihr Typus noch weiterspross, kann man doch kaum ernst nehmen. Collitz' Theorie wie Walters Weiterführung ist nur annehmbar, wenn  $\varphi$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\chi$  schon urgriechisch (oder, wie ich *Mod. Phil.* 1918-19 behaupte, indogermanisch) Spiranten waren. Alle historischen Scheinbelege dagegen genügen nicht, diese phonetische Tatsache aus der Welt zu schaffen.

Aber das sind Einzelheiten, wenn auch wichtige. Das Allerwesentlichste der ganzen heutigen Sprachwissenschaft wiederholt Walter am Ende seiner Abhandlung in der Forderung, dass die Sprachwissenschaft vor allem „eine wahre Entwicklungsgeschichte der Sprache“ geben muss, denn „unsere historischen Grammatiken haben nur eine Reihe deskriptiver Grammatiken nebeneinander gereiht.“

Johann Baptist *Hofmann* bespricht die *altitalischen Dialekte* und nimmt, wenn auch mit Vorbehalt, Waldes bahnbrechende Lehre von der gälo-italischen Einheit gegenüber der sabello-britannischen an. Der Hauptteil der Abhandlung betrifft Fragen der italischen Dialektgeographie, namentlich die nach der ursprünglichen Schichtung der Italiker auf der Halbinsel und ihrem Verhältnis zu den Etruskern.

Die *altgermanischen Dialekte*, denen in einer Festschrift für Streitberg sicher ein Ehrenplatz gebührt hätte, kommen leider sehr zu kurz. Carl *Karstiens* Bericht umfasst nur 26 aus den 683 Seiten des Buches—kaum 4%, den gleichen Raum, der dem Baltischen gewidmet ist, während Romanisch, Slavisch und Indo-Iranisch ihn weit überschreiten und nur Armenisch dahinter zurückbleibt. Dass Weisweiler, Michels und Horn verwandte Gebiete behandeln, füllt die Lücke noch lange nicht aus. Trotzdem findet es Karstien notwendig (vielleicht mit Recht), noch über sein eigentliches Thema hinauszugreifen, indem er die altgermanischen Dialekte mit den heutigen Mundarten verknüpft und einen beträchtlichen Teil seines kostbaren Raumes dem Stande der Arbeit am Sprachatlas widmet. — Gleich Walter erkennt er die Wichtigkeit von Horns Funktionslehre an, wobei er, sachlich richtig, aber im Ausdruck nicht eben glücklich, „Funktion“ durch „Grad der Bedeutungsfülle“ widergibt. — Unbegreiflich ist mir, wie der Verfasser äussern kann,



„die Geschichte der verwickelten Umlauts- und Brechungserscheinungen im Angelsächsischen und Altnordischen darf jetzt als in vielem Wesentlichen aufgeklärt gelten“; ganz im Gegenteil: die Darstellung der altenglischen Brechung wenigstens ist noch immer in geradezu allen Handbüchern entweder unzureichend oder grundfalsch. Andererseits scheint ihm die festgegründete Brugmann-Wood'sche Erklärung der „reduplizierten Perfekta“ noch immer nicht sicher; wenigstens meint er, dass darüber noch keine Einigung unter den Fachgenossen erzielt sei.

„Deutsch“ nennt sich Viktor *Michels'* Beitrag, „*Die englische Sprachwissenschaft*“ der von Wilhelm *Horn*. Beide halten sich streng an das im Titel ausgesprochene Ziel: einen Überblick über die Leistungen und gegenwärtigen Aufgaben ihres Zweiges der Sprachwissenschaft zu bieten. Michels verfolgt in grossen Zügen den Werdegang der deutschen Grammatik im weitesten Sinne von den Tagen Jakob Grimms bis zur Gegenwart, in Übereinstimmung mit Vosslers „Positivismus und Idealismus in der Sprachwissenschaft“ einen Anschluss der neuesten Wissenschaft an Wilhelm Scherer fordernd, der Idealismus und Weitblick mit Realismus in der Durchführung verband.

Horn stellt in den Vordergrund „das Erobern neuer Gebiete und besonders das Suchen nach neuen Methoden.“ Gleich Michels bietet er einen kenntnisreichen, wohlgeordneten Überblick über die wichtigsten Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete der englischen Sprachgeschichte, doch beschränkt er sich auf die letzte Generation, was seine Auslese umso wertvoller macht. Über die Einzelheiten einer so knapp gewählten Bibliographie wird man ja immer verschiedener Meinung sein dürfen, doch ist es seltsam, dass unter Wylds Büchern gerade das wichtigste, seine „*History of Modern Colloquial English*“, fehlt. Vielleicht wäre auch Huchons „*Histoire de la Langue Anglaise*“, hinzuzufügen. Von amerikanischen Werken findet neben Grandgents und Krapps Arbeiten namentlich Menckens „*wahre Schatzkammer von Beobachtungen*“ verdiente Anerkennung. In jedem Abschnitt zeigt sich Horn als der weitblickende Forscher, der mit kühner Intuition die Vorsicht gründlichster Sachkenntnis verbindet, und so hat er denn das volle Recht mit einer Warnung zu schliessen vor einem Übermass der Bestrebungen, den Blick von der Sprache auf die Kulturerscheinungen zu richten, Bestrebungen, die in der heutigen romanischen Sprachwissenschaft so energisch auftreten.

Durch einen symbolischen Zufall bildet dieser Schlussgedanke von Horns Schrift den Auftakt von Jorgu *Jordans* Abhandlung über den heutigen Stand der *romanischen* Sprachwissenschaft. Er sieht in dieser „Intuition,“ die sprachliche und kulturelle Forschungen zu verbinden sucht, eine Reaktion gegen die Herrschaft des Verstandes am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Meyer-Lübke, Meringer und Schuchardt sind die Verbotten, und Vossler eröffnet den Kampf gegen die ältere

Linguistik. Etwas gönnerhaft meint Jordan über diesen, seine Methode werde sich mit der Zeit von selbst verbessern; man könne überhaupt beobachten, dass Vossler in den letzten Jahren den überkommenen Methoden gegenüber konzilianter werde. — Der von Vossler eingeleitete Umschwung sei durch Gilliéron-Edmonts Sprachatlas zur Tatsache geworden. Jordans vortreffliche Darstellung von Gilliérons Grundgedanken wirft unabsichtlich ein klares Licht auf einen wesentlichen Grund des notwendigen Methodengegensatzes zwischen der Indogermanistik und Germanistik einerseits, der Romanistik andererseits. Viel liegt natürlich an äusserlich-historischen Gründen: Das Lateinische, wenn das auch für das Vulgärlateinische nur einschränkt gilt, ist eine überlieferte, nicht, wie das Indogermanische oder Germanische, eine erschlossene Sprache. Aber der Hauptgrund dafür, dass Gilliérons Hauptthesen für das Französische, teilweise für das Romanische überhaupt, sehr fruchtbar, dagegen für das Germanische und die meisten anderen idg. Sprachen wertlos sind, liegt im inneren Wesen der französischen Sprache. Nach Gilliéron ist der Lautwandel ein rein physiologischer und vernichtender Faktor, der zur Erkrankung und zum Absterben von Wörtern führt. Zum Schutz der Sprachklarheit wirken ihm entgegen Kontamination und Volksetymologie als schöpferische Prinzipien. Daran ist für das Französische viel Wahres, aber nur weil der aus dem Latein übernommene formale Akzent zum guten Teil „funktionslose“ Wortteile trifft und seine starke Abschwächungswirkung auf die unbetonten Silben allerdings leicht zur Unkenntlichkeit von Wörtern, zu weit verbreiteter Homonymität, das heisst eben, zu Gilliérons Wortkrankheiten führt. In den germanischen Sprachen aber (in denen, nebenbei bemerkt, die Hauptgruppen des Lautwandels lebengebende, nicht vernichtende Faktoren sind) trifft die Schwächung sogut wie immer funktionslose Silben, ohne dass die Stammbedeutung darunter leidet. Infolgedessen müssen sich hier notgedrungen die Wege der Romanisten von denen der anderen Indogermanisten scheiden.

Im dritten Abschnitt seiner Schrift behandelt Jordan die Werke der wichtigen französischen Systematiker der letzten Jahrzehnte: Ferdinand de Saussures Scheidung der Sprache in ein lexikologisches und grammatisches System (*langue*) und den Akt des sprechenden Individuums (*parole*); Vendryes' scharfsinnige psychologisch-philosophische Sprachzergliederung; und Brunots und Meillets soziologische Auffassung der Sprache. — Gerade für Germanisten ist der Aufsatz besonders lesenswert. Jordans Schlusswort „dass der *Stand* der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft im Augenblick — in treibender *Bewegung* besteht“ könnte für sie beschämend wirken, wenn man Karstiens Darstellung als ein wahres Bild der heutigen Germanistik gelten lassen wollte.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen weitblickenden Abhandlungen über Anglistik und Romanistik findet (gleich dem Germanischen) das *Slavische* und *Baltische* nur fragmentarische Besprechung. Franz *Specht* erläutert den Mangel an Hilfsmitteln für das Studium der baltischen Sprachen und behandelt im übrigen vorwiegend litauisch-lettische Dialekt- und Entlehnungsfragen. Karl H. *Meyer* widmet den grössten Teil seiner Arbeit ur-slavischen Akzent- und Intonationsproblemen und geht in den letzten Seiten unvermittelt zu allgemeinen Bemerkungen über das Verhältnis der beiden sorbischen Mundarten zu einander und zum Westslavischen über.

Als Bild des heutigen Standes der Sprachwissenschaft gleicht das Buch dem Wesen der heutigen Zeit im ganzen. Viel Starkes, Tüchtiges ragt aus der jüngsten Vergangenheit in die Gegenwart herein. Aber diese selbst ist verworren, und in die Zukunft kann man nicht ohne Sorge blicken.

E. PROKOSCH

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*NORRØN GRAMMATIKK* by Ragnvald Iversen. Kristiania, 1923. II+180 pages. Aschehoug.

This Old Norse grammar is a welcome addition to our elementary text books on Germanic philology. Written in the Norwegian language the work affords a comprehensive survey of Old Norse phonology and syntax especially adapted to the needs of less advanced Norwegian students. The grammar thus meets a requirement long felt in Norway in that all the previous Old Norse grammars written in Norwegian are either too limited in scope or too specialized in character to meet the practical needs of the average student. The work is designed especially for those students who intend to take the "adjunkt-eksamen" in Norwegian.

This prefatory statement is sufficient to explain the novel features of the book, viz., its lack of minor details, its pedagogical and dogmatic attitude and the omission of references to authoritative works on Old Norse philology.

One general criticism of the book, which may not be out of place at the very beginning of this review, seems to me to lie in the fact that the author has not given due consideration to those views which do not accord with the rule as stated in his text. While it would be out of place in a practical text book of this nature to give recognition to even a majority of divergent views upon all the intricate questions of Old Norse phonology, certain explanations which Dr. Iversen (presumably for pedagogical reasons) presents as final, are, nevertheless, surely still far from certain and one is, therefore, left in doubt as to whether the author is really unacquainted with divergent views upon the question under discussion or whether he has actually

ignored them as untenable. Where divergent opinions are very marked, an explanation to this effect should be given, in order that the student may have the right perspective as to the author's statement *ex cathedra*. To be sure, this has been frequently done, but the cases where such an explanatory statement is lacking are in my opinion still too numerous. The author has, it seems to me, pigeon-holed too many phenomena and too often asserted a dogmatic attitude towards that which science necessarily considers as uncertain. Such an attitude leaves one with the impression that the author himself has not always had the right vision and has been too conservative and categorical. Certain questions could have been presented in their proper perspective without extending the book beyond reasonable limits or confusing the student with learned digressions.

As to the form of Dr. Iversen's work, nothing but the highest praise can be said of it. It is clear, concise and orderly throughout. Furthermore, certain pedagogical features (not found in purely scientific works of this nature) are added which clarify considerably the situation under discussion, e. g., the questions in the notes, which are addressed to the reader, and the cross-references in the paradigms, particularly those which pertain to the sound changes from Primitive Norse to Old Norse. The student is thus better enabled to work out these difficult problems for himself.

Dr. Iversen's adherence to the writing of *i* instead of *e* in unaccented syllables (cf. *bitin*, *segi*, *spaki*, *degi*, etc.)—contrary to Heusler's custom—seems to me a praiseworthy feature, inasmuch as the student is thus better enabled to understand (for one thing) the nature of the palatal umlaut (*g+i*, *k+i*), as in *degi* (<\**dagi*), *dreki* (<\**draki*), etc.

After the Introduction ("Innledning," p. 1) in which he gives a brief historical survey of the Old Norse language, Dr. Iversen divides his book into four chapters: I, *Lydlære* ("Phonology"), pp. 2-40, II, *Bøiningslære* ("Inflection"), pp. 41-131, III, *Ordføiningslære* ("Syntax"), pp. 132-171, and IV, *Momenter av ord dannelseslæren* ("Phases of Word Formation"), pp. 172-180.

The last chapter is one of the novel features of the book and adds considerably to its pedagogical value. The first chapter ("Phonology") is naturally most open to criticism because of the more or less uncertainty regarding many questions of Old Norse phonology.

On the whole, the work is very skilfully done and shows the mark of its sponsor, Professor Magnus Olsen, whose philological acumen and practical judgment have served the author as an indispensable guide throughout his work.

# I

## *Lydlære* ("Phonology"), pp. 2-40

First of all, it should be noted that Dr. Iversen has naturally assumed the orthodox position both as regards 1) the P. G.

vowel system, i. e., P. G. *ɪ* (<I. E. *ɪ*), P. G. *ɛ* (<I. E. *ɛ*) and as regards 2) the P. G. consonant system, i. e., the priority of the sonant spirants *ð*, *ð̥*, *ʒ* over the corresponding stops *b*, *d*, *g*.

1)

While not disposed to quarrel with the author because of this stand (which to him no doubt seemed the safest), it might not be out of place here to call attention to a recent article on the P. G. vowel system by an American scholar, Professor Hermann Collitz, viz., "Early Germanic Vocalism," *M. L. Notes* XXXIII, June, 1918, pp. 321-333. Professor Collitz here presents a summary of his views (which he has elsewhere discussed in detail) to the effect that P. I. *ɪ*:*ɛ*>P. G. *ɪ* except before *h* and *r* where P. I. *ɪ*>P. G. *ɛ* and P. I. *ɛ*=P. G. *ɛ*; or in other words that the Gothic vowel system represents the final stage of the P. G. vowel system. Since Dr. Iversen does not go back of the Primitive Norse for his derivative forms, Professor Collitz's views could not affect the relation of P. N. *ɪ*/*ɛ* to O. N. *ɪ*/*ɛ* except in the case of the *a*-umlaut of P. N. *ɪ* (§10) before *r*. In §10, 1 the author explains, for instance, the *e* in O. N. *verr* as due to the *a*-umlaut of a P. N. *ɪ* (=P. G. *ɪ*): "*i*>*e*; således f. eks. *verr* m. (<\**wirar*, jfr. lat. *vir*) mann." The presence of the vowel *ɛ* in this word in its Gothic as well as in its North and West Germanic form (cf. Goth. *wafr*, W. G. *wēr*) led Streitberg (*Urgerm. Gramm.*, §68) to assume the *a*-umlaut in this word to be fundamental to all the Germanic languages for which he posited a derivative form P. G. \**weroz* (which would give us a P. N. \**werar*, not \**wirar*). Streitberg's view coincides with that of Professor Collitz only in so far as both assume the P. G. vowel in this word to be *ɛ* not *ɪ*. By the failure to give recognition to these divergent views Dr. Iversen has left the impression that a transition P. N. \**wirar*>O. N. *verr* was just as certain as, for instance, the transition P. N. \**gastir*>O. N. *gestr* (§11, 1), and who can maintain this?

2)

So too, as regards the transition of the sonant spirants *ð*, *ð̥*, and *ʒ* in initial position to the corresponding stops *b*, *d*, *g* (§42,1,2,3) the reader is left with the impression that there is just as little doubt regarding the truth of this statement as regarding, for instance, the fact that sonant spirants in medial position became voiceless in final position (§41,1,2,3). The orthodox theory to the effect that the spirants *ð*, *ð̥*, *ʒ* are older than the corresponding stops gained general acceptance thru Paul's exposition of this theory in his article "Zur Lautverschiebung," *P. B. Beitr.*, I, pp. 147-201. But since that time Paul's theory has been ably contested, notably by J. Frank, "Germanisch *B D G*," *Zfda.*, 54, pp. 1-23. For further eminent scholars who share Frank's position to the effect that the stops

*b, d, g* are older than the corresponding spirants, I may refer the reader to Fr. Holthausen, *Anz. fda.*, XVIII, p. 368, Anm., *As. Elementarb.*, §244ff.; K. Brugmann, *Grundr.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 706; R. Trautmann, *Germ. Lautgesetze*, p. 55 and Hermann Collitz in his grammatical introduction to Bauer's *Waldeckisches Wörterbuch*. Out of regard for a just perspective of the situation Dr. Iversen might have added a foot note in which Frank's views could have been taken into consideration.

So much in the way of general criticism of the Phonology. Let us now turn to individual details.

It is not clear to me why the author, in defining the length of syllables (§5,2), has omitted the type *bū-a* in which according to the accepted notion the syllable *bū-* containing a long vowel is *short* because of the vowel immediately following (cf. Holthausen, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §7, Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*,<sup>1</sup> §42). According to the author's definition (§5,2): "En stavelse er lang når den inneholder enten a) en lang vokal (resp. difthong) . . . ." one must consider the syllable *bū-* in the type *būa* as long, but here a note is necessary in view of the prevalent contrary theory that such a syllable is *short*. This seems all the more imperative in that nouns of the type *Borgný(-jar)*, *ey(-jar)*, *mær:mey-jar*, whose stem ends in a long vowel or in a diphthong, are classed as short *jō*-stems (§66). In §54,5 the author states that *j* was retained in unaccented syllables before *a, o, u* and *q* after a short syllable (cf. *vel-ja*) and *after a long vowel*, resp. *diphthong* (cf. *mey-jar*). But does not this fact point towards the conclusion that the syllable *mey-* followed by the vocalic *j* (= *ǰ*) was likewise short? At any rate the prevalent theory to this effect should have been taken into consideration.

In treating the *a*-umlaut of *jū > jō* (§10,3, Anm.) the author says: "Visse konsonanter efter *jū* hindrer *a*-omlyden; derfor heter det f. eks. *kriúpa v.*, *sjúkr* adj., osv." Why not state that the consonants which prevent the *a*-umlaut of *jū* are *gutturals* and *labials* (instead of the indefinite "visse konsonanter")? Cf. the later reference to the relation between *jū* and *jō*, §120: "Det *a*-omlydte *jō* star fremfor dentaler, *h* og *m*."

Regarding the labial umlaut (§19) the author states (Anm.): "Uforklart er *e* for *ø* i sideformer som *efri* kompar. (= *øfri*) *øvre*, *frerinn* pret. ptc. (= *frørinn*) frossen, o. l." So far as the form *frerinn* (*frørinn*) past part. is concerned, the author has either overlooked or rejected as untenable my explanation, viz., that the *e* in *frerinn* is due to analogy with the preterit plural form *frerum*, i. e., according to the proportion *frørum: frørinn:: frerum:X* (cf. "Neubildungen bei altnordischem *Frjósa* und *Kjósa*," J. E. G. Phil., XVI, 1917, p. 509). For a different explanation cf. Kock, *Arkiv*, IX, p. 150.

In treating the "sinking" of *u* > *o* before *kk*, *pp* and *tt* (assimilated from an earlier *\*nk*, *\*mp*, *\*nt*), §24,3, the author adds in Anm. 2: "Ved sidevirkning fra andre bøjningsformer er den lydlovmæssige udvikling blitt hindret i eksempler som *stuttr* adj. (jfr. gsv. stunter) kort—efter kasus som dat. *stuttum* o. l."

If this be the correct explanation for the *u* instead of *o* in *stuttr*, one may well ask why the *u* in the past part. form *drukkinn* should not be explained on the same ground (cf. Kahle, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §75, 2a, Falk and Torp, *Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie*, §69,3). The author has (§121,1) with scholarly caution left the origin of the analogical *u* in *drukkinn* unexplained: "*Drekka* (<*\*drinkan*) drikke har analogisk pret. ptc. *drukkinn* (for lydrett *\*drokkinn* §24,3)," but some reason should be given as to why the form *drukkinn* was not included in the same category as *stuttr* (i. e., in §24,3, Anm. 2).

In explaining the fact that before and after *m* and *n* nasalized *ó* became *ō* (§25), the author cites as examples "nom. sg. *ōss* m. (<*\*ansur*) gud: gen. sg. *ásar*, nom. sg. *spónn* m. spån: gen. sg. *spánar*, nom. sg. *nótt*: gen. sg. *náttar* . . ."

In the first example cited it is, of course, necessary to indicate the derivative form (*\*ansur*) in order that the student may be aware of the original nasal, but in the last two examples how is the student to know by what process the *á* in *spánar*: *náttar* gen. sg. became *ó* in the nom. sg.? Would it not clarify the situation if, as in the first example, the derivative form of the nom. sg. were also given in the last two examples; thus *spónn* (<*\*spánur*), *nótt* (<*\*náttu*)?

Since in Gothic *ai* is written for both the old diphthong *ai* and the short vowel *ǣ*, I can see no reason why the author should have omitted the conventional diacritical accent wherever *ai* precedes *r* (cf. §27, "got. *air*, got. *sair*").

Following the orthodox theory (Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> §74,10, Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*,<sup>1</sup> §82,2) Dr. Iversen explains (§29) the *o* in *sorinn* past part. as a labialized *a* (<*svarinn*) but later on (§124, 1a, Anm.) admits that this *o* may possibly represent a different ablaut vowel than *a*: "Ptc. *sorinn* står kanskje på et annet avlydstrin enn *svarinn* (jfr. dog §29)."

In view of the status in West Germanic, i. e., *o* along side of *a*, O. E. *-sworen* (*-swaren*), O. S. (*for*)-*sworen* (*swaran*) and O. H. G. always *gi-sworan*, we are not justified in separating this *o* from the *o* in O. N. *sorinn* and may, therefore, conclude that both the Old Norse and the West Germanic have here received a later analogical *o* after the proportion *\*beran*:*\*suerian*::*\*boran*:*\*suoran* (= O. N. *sorinn*: W. G. *-sworan*).

In §44,5, Anm. Dr. Iversen states the transition *nn*+*r* > *ör* as follows: "Utviklingen må tenkes å ha gått for sig slik: nom. *\*munþar* > *muþr* m. munn (mot gen. *\*munþas* > *muntis*, skr. *muns* . . .)."

By omitting in his illustration the intermediate stage (i. e., *\*munnr*), the author has not made it clear that the *np+r* first became *nn+r*, before it became *ðr* (cf. *\*munþar* > *\*munnr* > *muðr*). If *nn+r* passed over into *ðr*, why should that derivative form be omitted in which the *nnr* appears and which, therefore, is essential to this transition? Dr. Iversen's illustration of this transition is not only misleading but incorrect.

Furthermore, from his statement (§48,2, Anm. 2): "Efter *nnr* holder *r* sig: *\*gunnr* f. strid, *brunnr* m. brønn, *maðr* (< *mannr*), osv. Merk dog: *menn* pl. (< *\*mennr* < *\*mannr*); *minni* komp. (got. *minniza*) mindre," it is evident that the author does not take into consideration the possibility that the retention of the *r* (< *R*) after *nn* depended upon whether this *nn* represented an original *nn*, as in *brunn-r* (Germ. *Brunn-en*), or was derived from an original *np*, as in *gunnr* (< *\*gunþ-r*, O. E. *gūð*), since he explicitly states (cf. my foot note<sup>1</sup>) that in both these cases the *r* was retained after *nn* (i. e., irrespective of the origin of the *nn*). This is rather surprising in view of the contrary opinion of recognized authorities upon this question. For instance, both Noreen (*Aisl. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> §267, 4b) and Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*,<sup>1</sup> §156) hold that *r* (< *R*) was retained only after an *nn* derived from an original *np* (cf. *\*gunþar* > *\*gunnr* > *guðr*) but disappeared (i. e., became assimilated) after an *nn* representing an original *nn* (cf. *\*brunn-ar* > *\*brunnr* > *brunn*); that consequently the *r* appearing after an *nn* representing an original P. G. *nn* was not a phonetically correct *r* but one which had later been restored by analogy (cf. *\*brunn-ar* > *\*brunnr* > *\*brunn* > *brunnr* (by restoration of the *r*-ending) > *bruðr*, *\*mann-r* > *\*mannr* > *mann* > *mannr* (by restoration of the *r*-ending) > *maðr*). Noreen (*ibid.*) sees in the retention of the *r* (< *R*) after *nn* (< *np*) the influence of the dental *þ*, inasmuch as P. N. *r* became *r* (and thus identical with original *r*) first after dentals, and thus, like original *r*, could not be assimilated to a preceding *nn* (cf. *ibid.*, §256).<sup>2</sup>

Noreen's theory (adopted by Heusler) certainly appears sound and it is, therefore, not clear to me why Dr. Iversen has not accepted it. It will be noted that the author in this same foot note has been forced to add as *exceptions* to his rule—

<sup>1</sup> This statement is evidently a misprint for "Efter *nn* holder *r* sig." The *r* in question was added to *nn* (from either the original *\*nn* or from *\*np*) and not to *nnr* as the author states.

<sup>2</sup> The second edition of Heusler's *Aisl. Elementarb.* (1921) was not available to me when I wrote this review. In this edition (§155) I note that Heusler has abandoned Noreen's theory and assumed that after original *\*np*, as well as after original *\*nn*, an -*R* was regularly assimilated. For a discussion of this question see my article "Old Norse -ðr from *\*-nn+r*", *J. E. Germ. Phil.*, XXIII, 78-82.



"After *nnr* (should read *nn*) holder *r* sig"—the following cases: *menn* pl. (<\**mennr* < \**mannr*); *minni* (Goth. *minniza*), which are, however, perfectly regular according to the Noreen-Heusler theory (viz., because of the fact that *r* became assimilated to *a* preceding *nn* if this *nn* represented an original P. G. *nn*.)

In §45 the author in his examples of metathesis does not apparently distinguish between later O. N. metathesis and metathesis due to P. G. conditions; thus, for instance, "*Bort* adv. <*brot*; *girkir* pl. <*grikkir* grekere; jfr. også *ragr* adj. = *argr* feig." Possibly, however, the author's "jfr." (=cf.) was intended to indicate that the metathesis in the last example (*ragr:argr*) was not on a level with his previous examples. But if this is so, then a statement should have followed in explanation of the fact that the metathesis in *ragr:argr* was fundamental and not of later O. N. origin as in the previous examples (cf. Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, §30, *Aisl. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> §305, Anm. 3, Falk and Torp, *Dän.-Norw. Etym. Wörterb.*, under *arg*, I p. 31-32).

Under the head of retrogressive assimilation ("Regressiv assimilasjon," §47,9) the author says: "*Z(σ:stemt s)+d>dd*; således f. eks. *gaddr* m. (<\**gaððr*=got. *gazds*) piggi; . . ."

If the *dd* in O. N. *gaddr* was developed out of a *z* + the stop *d* (=Goth. *d* in *gazds*), as the author states, then it is difficult to see how *z+d* could have become a long spirant *ðð*, i. e., \**gaz+d+r>\*gaððr*. The process must have been either \**gaz+ð+r>\*garðr>\*gaððr>gaddr*, as Noreen (*Aisl. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> §218,2) suggests, or \**gaz+d+r>\*gardr>gaddr* as Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*,<sup>1</sup> §148, 1) suggests. But to assume a transition \**gaz-d-r>\*gardr>\*gaððr>gaddr*, as Dr. Iversen does, is out of the question, unless the original stop *d* became the spirant *ð* after *r*, which is far from likely and not at all a necessary assumption. Evidently the author has confused the two processes suggested respectively by Noreen and Heusler. At any rate, having assumed that the *dd* in O. N. *gaddr* goes back to a *z* + the stop *d* (= *d* in Goth. *gazds*), i. e., \**gaz+d+r*, the intermediate form should have been \**gardr* not \**gaððr*.

## II

### *Bøiningslære* ("Inflection") pp. 41-131

This chapter is exceptionally well done and seems to me capable of improvement only in unessential details, except in so far as the author has not, as in the preceding chapter, given due recognition to certain views regarding the phonology, which conflict with those which he here states as final.

Consonant with the practical purpose of the book, not much attention is given to dialectical peculiarities, and older poetical forms are frequently omitted (cf., e. g., §85, the omission of *mann(r)* along side of *maðr* nom. sg. and the omission of *meðr*

along side of *menn* nom. acc. plur.). The remarks introductory to each category in question serve as a helpful guide to the understanding of the processes (phonetic or analogical) involved in inflection.

The following instances serve to illustrate Dr. Iversen's categorical attitude towards certain phenomena connected with inflection, whereby he has failed to give due recognition to divergent views which seem to me as equally well founded as (and in some cases more justifiable than) those views which he here presents as final.

In §119,3 the author explains the *e* in *beðinn* past part. of *bíða* 'to wait' as due to *a*-umlaut (i. e., \**bið-an-* > \**beð-an-*): "*Bíða* bie har pret. ptc. *beðinn* (*i* > *e* ved *a*-omlyd)."

Dr. Iversen has here followed the old theory advanced by Streitberg (*Urgerm. Gramm.*, §68), Noreen (*Aisl. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> §154,1), Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*,<sup>1</sup> §306,1) and others. But there is no doubt in my mind that the correct explanation of this question has been given by Kock ("Der A-Umlaut in den altnord. Sprachen," *P. B. Beitr.*, XXIII, p. 498), viz., that the *e* in *beðinn* of the first ablaut series is due to the influence of the past participial form *beðinn* from *bíða* 'to ask' of the fifth ablaut series, and that *beðinn* from *bíða* 'to wait' is, therefore, not a phonetically correct form. For a discussion of this question in favor of Kock's assumption cf. Hermann Collitz, "Segimer oder: Germanische Namen in keltischem Gewande," *J. E. G. Phil.*, VI, p. 297, Anm.

Dr. Iversen's position here is certainly untenable, inasmuch as he leaves unanswered the question as to why *beðinn* should have been the only past participle of the first ablaut series, which retained such an *e* resulting from the *a*-umlaut of *i*; a question to which Kock, on the other hand, gives a satisfactory answer.

In a foot note to *ðxum:uxum* (§124,1) the author says regarding the form *uxum*: "Dannet analogisk efter mønstre som *fló:flugum*, *hljóp:hlupum*, o. l."

So far as the analogy with *fló:flugum* is concerned, the author has evidently followed Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*,<sup>1</sup> §311,3). In an article entitled "Zum altnordischen Vokalismus" (*J. E. G. Phil.*, XX, chapter IV, "Altnordisch *ðxum:ūxum*," pp. 536-538) I endeavored to show that the form *ūxum* was due not to the analogical proportion *fló:flugum* ≈ *ðx:uxum* but to the proportion *iók:iókum*, *iūkum* ≈ *ðx:ðxum*, *ūxum*. Whether my views, as set forth in this article, are untenable or not, I leave for the reader to decide.

In §138, 2b, Anm. 1 Dr. Iversen has evidently followed Noreen's theory (cf. *Aisl. Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> §167, Anm. 3, "Suffixablaut im Altnordischen," *I. F.*, XIV, pp. 399-402, "Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen,"<sup>2</sup> *Grundr.*, 1913) regarding the past

participle suffix *-in-* of O. N. strong verbs in its relation to the *a*-umlaut. Noreen's theory is based upon the assumption that the suffix *-in-* goes back to a P. G. double suffix *-in-/an-*, the two forms of the original suffix standing in ablaut relation to each other. This assumption owes its origin to Paul's views as set forth in his article "Zur Geschichte des germanischen Vocalismus," *P. B. Beitr.*, VI, pp. 239 ff. Paul's theory that the Germanic languages had inherited both forms of an original suffix *-in-/an-* was found as a very convenient means for explaining the presence or the lack of *a*-umlaut, as well as the appearance of the *i*-umlaut, in the past participles of strong verbs both in North and in West Germanic.

Without entering into a discussion of Paul's theory (which Noreen has here applied to O. N. conditions) it is sufficient to state, in order to gain a just perspective of the question, that this theory has by no means met with universal approval. Noreen's supposition (which Dr. Iversen here follows), viz., that the forms *-in-* and *-an-* in Primitive Norse alternated with each other in the same inflection in such a way that *-an-* came to be retained in syllables which were later syncopated, *-in-* elsewhere, is ably refuted by Kock ("Der A-Umlaut in den altnord. Sprachen," *P. B. Beitr.*, XXIII, pp. 497ff., "Zur Frage nach dem Suffix der Participia Passivi altnordischer starker Verba," *I. F.*, XXXIII, pp. 337-350). Kock concedes the possibility of an original *-in-* suffix only in those cases where the radical syllable of the past participle contained an *i* or an *ai*; in all other cases the original form of the suffix must have been *-an-*. Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*,<sup>1</sup> §119), Walde (*Die germ. Auslautsgesetze*, p. 94) and Hultman (*Hälsingelagen och Upplandslagens ärfdabalk* I, Helsingfors, 1908) go even further than Kock in denying the existence of an original suffix *-in-*, in that O. N. *-in-* may readily be derived from an original *-an-* by reason of the weakening of *a > e > i* in unaccented syllables. This latter viewpoint is the one which I assumed in my article entitled "Die Endung des Partizipium Präteriti der germanischen starken Verben," *Amer. J. Phil.*, XLII, pp. 12-24, 1921. It is clear that Dr. Iversen has either overlooked or rejected as untenable the views which I advanced in this article in refutation of Noreen's theory. At any rate, Noreen's views on this point are far from conclusive and Dr. Iversen should have embodied in his foot note a recognition of divergent theories on this question.

### III

#### *Ordøfiningslære* ("Syntax"), pp. 132-171

This chapter is one of the best done, if not the best done, in the whole book. The material is presented in a very succinct and clear form; the author here shows his acquaintance with

Nygaard (*Norron Syntax*) and Magnus Olsen. Perhaps more parallels from other languages (notably German and English) might have been introduced to the advantage of the student. One case in particular I note, viz., §165, 5, Anm. 1, c where the presumptive force of the auxiliary *munu* is discussed: "Nú mun faðir minn dauðr vera." Why not call attention to the parallel function of the future auxiliary *werden* in German; cf. "Nun wird mein Vater wohl tot sein"?

## IV

*Momenter av Orddannelseslæren* ("Phases of Word Formation"), pp. 172-180

In this the concluding chapter of his book the author treats the origin and development of suffix syllables in nouns, adjectives and verbs and at the same time discusses (§195,4) the meaning of the most important particles (eleven in all) which compose the first element of a compound.

In discussing the history of nouns ending in the suffix *-ari* (§192,2) the author mentions the fact that the older form of the suffix was *-eri*: "For sig stár ordene på *-ari*, eldre *-eri* (om den ophavlige bønning se §72,1, anm. 2)." The cross reference here informs the student that nouns ending in *-ari* were originally *ia*-stems. In §192,2, however, the author gives no explanation as to why the older historical form of the suffix should have been *-eri* instead of *-ari*, for in view of the priority of *a* over *e* in this suffix (cf. Goth. *-areis*, O. H. G. *-âri*) one would expect exactly the reverse.

In §192,8 the author mentions the suffixes *-ida* and *-ōda* "som danner adjektiver med betydningen "forsynt med": *eygðr, hærðr, . . .*"

It is not clear to my why Dr. Iversen should consider the intermedial *d* in this suffix as a stop instead of as a spirant (i. e., *-iðā: -ōðā*), cf. Falk and Torp, *Dansk-Norskens Lyd-historie*, §49, b, pp. 94-95. The suffix in question was most probably identical with the dental suffix of the weak past participle, as the author (*ibid.*) admits ("I nær sammenheng med dette ptc. suff. stár suffiksene *-ida* og *-ōda* . . .") and as such could not in the Primitive Norse have represented a stop (*d*) between vowels, but the spirant *ð* (<*þ*).

In this same rubrik (§192,8) the author says: "Suff. *-þa*, *-þō* (*-da*, *-dō*) er det vanlige suffiks ved dannelsen av det svake pret. ptc. . . ." The by-forms, *-da*, *-dō*, are here legitimate for the Primitive Norse, since *ð* (<*þ*) after liquids and nasals in P. G. went over into *d*, (=stop), but such was not the case when *ð* (<*þ*) stood between vowels as in the suffixes *-iðā*, *-ōðā*.

In the list of compounds containing suffixes which were originally independent words (§193) the author mentions *-ligr*, *-samr*, *-látr*, *-indi* (*-yndi*), *-dōmr*, *-skapr* and *-leikr*. Why not

include in this list the suffix *-viss* (=adj. *viss* 'wise') which had come to denote certain characteristics of mind or manners; cf. *bragð-viss* 'wily, crafty,' *dramb-viss* 'haughty,' *ugg-viss* (= *ugg-ligr*) 'ugly' etc. This suffix is by no means rare, yet no mention is made of it, altho suffixes of much rarer occurrence are noted (Anm.), such as *-dagi*, *-átla*, *-rænn*, etc.

Dr. Iversen's book is well printed. Aside from the wrong spacing in a few O. N. words (cf. *sú pa*, *drjú pa*, *kljú fa*, *fljú ga*, p. 107; *sú pa*, p. 108; *hó fum*, *kó fum*, *skó pum*, p. 111) only the following misprints (aside from that already noted in §48,2, Anm. 2; cf. my foot note<sup>1</sup>) have been noted.

P. 39 (§54,8) for "þ er blitt stumt fremfor l" read *þ* etc.; p. 113, fourth and fifth lines from the top, for "igjen i form av av et j" read only one word *av*; p. 118 (§135, Anm. 1) for "bøetizd" read *bætizk*; p. 148 (§160) for "akkusativ" read *akkusativ*; p. 166 (§182, Anm.) the *s* in the word "hovedsetning" is inverted.

Furthermore, the abbreviation *nt.* (= *nedertysk*) has been omitted in the list of abbreviations.

In viewing the book in its entirety, one wonders why an index of the words treated had not been prepared. Every scientific grammar has such an index, and one wonders why in a work designed specifically for less advanced students a word index should not have been regarded as an essential feature. To be sure, the *Contents* ("Innholdsliste") at the beginning of the book enables the student to find the subject matter under discussion, but a word index would supply him with all the references in the book to the laws involved in the word in question.

*Norrøn Grammatikk*, while written primarily for Norwegian students, may also be used to advantage in our American universities wherever the student is acquainted with the Norwegian language. Our students are compelled to resort to the German texts of Noreen, Heusler, Holthausen, Kahle, etc., which not only present the difficulties of the German language but are, furthermore, written primarily for the teacher rather than for the student. This state of affairs has obtained to a large degree also in Norway and therefore Dr. Iversen has rendered a real service to his country in making accessible to the Norwegian youth in his own tongue a comprehensive, yet succinct and clear, grammatical presentation of the Old Norse language. Who is to accomplish for American students of Old Norse that task which Dr. Iversen has performed for Norway?

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

*Kansas University.*

**DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER RHEINROMANTIK.** Von Dr. Heinz Stephan. (Rheinische Sammlung Nr. 3). Rheinland-Verlag, Köln, 1922. XX—111 Seiten.

Diese Bonner Dissertation, die als dritte Nummer in der von Professor Carl Enders und Dr. Paul Bourfeind herausgegebenen Rheinischen Sammlung erschien, ist gerade zur jetzigen Zeit, wo der Rhein den Völkern wieder einmal als politischer Spielball dient, höchst aktuell. Sie untersucht die Entstehung jener romantischen Auffassung des Rheins, die durch die deutsche Romantik mit ihrem um die Jahrhundertwende zur Geltung kommenden neuen Verständnis für die Natur und ihrem erwachenden modern-patriotischen Gefühl ausschlaggebend geworden ist. Ein ganz vorzügliches Literatur-Verzeichnis von zehn Seiten (XI bis XX), wovon viele der angeführten Werke in Amerika unzugänglich sind, leitet das Werk, das aus fünf Kapiteln und einem Schlusswort besteht, ein. Vier Illustrationen, von Oberwesel, Oberlahnstein und dem Kölner Dom (zwei Ansichten) schmücken den Band.

Von dem Satze ausgehend, dass alle Landschaftsästhetik doppelseitig sei, untersucht der Verfasser die Grundlagen und Vorstufen der Rheinromantik. Die Schönheit ist nämlich in zweifacher Hinsicht zu betrachten: in realem, objektivem Sinne ist sie plastisch (real-plastisch), in symbolischem, subjektivem Sinne dagegen poetisch (ideel-poetisch). So zum Beispiel ergreift uns die Schönheit der Rheinlandschaft an sich, aber wir pflegen sie unter dem Einfluss jener Dichter zu betrachten, die, von den vielen Vorzügen des Rheins angezogen, seine Landschaft durch ihre Schilderungen berühmt gemacht haben.

Die vorromantische Auffassung des Rheins lässt erkennen, in welch entscheidender Weise die Romantik in dieser Hinsicht Aenderung geschaffen hat. Den Römern galt der Rhein als Flussgott, als Vater von zahlreichen Nymphen. Dann, nach Einführung der christlich-germanischen Kultur, wird er von Naturmythen umwoben und mit historischen Sagen verbunden. Doch nirgends finden wir in der Literatur jener Epoche, weder in den ältesten Denkmälern noch in den Schriften des reichhaltigen mittelhochdeutschen Zeitalters, das geringste Verständnis für die Naturschönheit der Rheinlandschaft. Etwas später, im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, wird der Fluss hauptsächlich als geographische Bestimmung aufgefasst. Der Streit zwischen Wimpheling und Murner mag hierzu als Beispiel dienen. Bereits in demselben Zeitalter werden einzelne Rheinstädte, wie Köln und Strassburg, verherrlicht. Nationaldeutsche Motive dagegen treten zuerst im 17. Jahrhundert auf, auch finden wir das Lob des Rheinweins schon ausgeprägt bei Opitz. Die Werke der Klassiker schliesslich bilden die Vorbereitung, die Vorstufe für die Rheinromantik. Erwachendes

Naturgefühl zeigt sich besonders bei Matthisson; Hölderlin hingegen weist eine anthropomorphe Rheindeutung auf, die an die früheste Zeit aber sogleich an gewisse Motive der Romantik erinnert. Damit ist die allerdings sehr knapp umrissene Vorgeschichte der Rheinromantik erschöpft.

Das rheinische Geistes- und Gesellschaftsleben zur Zeit der Romantik, die Geselligkeit, die glücklichen Menschen, die Wanderlust, der Wein, die rheinische Gastfreundschaft, Sanges- und Tanzfreudigkeit—alle diese Faktoren zusammengenommen bilden den eigentlichen Nährboden der Rheinromantik. Auch die katholisierende Richtung der Romantik, die sich vom rheinischen Katholizismus angezogen fühlte, spielt dabei eine Rolle. Dass das Gesellschaftsleben eine wichtige Grundlage romantischer Geistesarbeit bildet, beweisen ja schon zahlreiche Stellen aus Friedrich Schlegels Aeussungen im Athenäum und im Lyzeum. Und so verlohnt es sich, die gesellige Einwirkung einzelner Dichter und romantischer Schöngeister, wie Klemens und Bettina Brentano, Arnim, Görres und Sulpiz und Melchior Boisserée, in ihrem brieflichen und persönlichen Gedankenaustausch und in ihrer gemeinsamen Arbeit zu verfolgen.

Der Verfasser datiert den Beginn der Rheinromantik von Arnims Rheinfahrt (1802) und von seiner Freundschaft mit Brentano. Die Befestigung und das Wachsen dieser neuen Richtung, die sich rasch verbreitete und bald, man könnte fast sagen, zur literarischen Mode geworden ist, wird dann durch eine reiche Auswahl von Stellen aus dem Briefwechsel der Hauptromantiker dargelegt. Die wichtige Rolle, die Heidelberg namentlich um 1805 in dieser Hinsicht spielte, der etwas später auftretende Kölner Kreis von Literaten, Sammlern und Künstlern unter E. Wallrafs Leitung, der die altdeutsche Zeit im Sinne der Rheinromantik neu zu beleben suchte, und nicht zuletzt Friedrich Schlegels Wirksamkeit in Köln um 1808 nach seiner Bekehrung sind von grösster Bedeutung.

Das dritte Kapitel über Entdeckung und Poetisierung der landschaftlichen Schönheit des Rheins durch die Romantik darf als Schwerpunkt der ganzen Arbeit gelten. Im Hochmittelalter ist die Darstellung des Naturgefühls in der Literatur noch durchaus konventionell. Allein im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert verschwinden selbst die Spuren dieser unzulänglichen Landschaftswürdigung und erst bei Rousseau und Matthisson erscheinen die frühesten Anzeichen der modernen Naturbetrachtung. Aber auch Goethe besass ein tiefempfundenes Naturgefühl, das als ein Mitleben und Mitempfinden mit der Natur, als ein Erlauschen und Mitfühlen jeder Naturstimmung bezeichnet werden kann. Bei den Romantikern wird dieses Mitfühlen ein Einfühlen in das geheime, zuweilen sogar grauenhafte (Tieck) Wirken und Weben der Natur. Die Rheinlandschaft bot ihnen alles, was sie von einer Landschaft forder-

ten. Der erste, der sie würdigte, war Brentano (zunächst in "Godwi" und in seinen Rheinmärchen), dann Arnim ("Päpstin Johanna" und "Angelika die Genueserin und Cosmos der Seilspringer") und Friedrich Schlegel (in seinem Aufsatz "Reise nach Frankreich," in der Zeitschrift "Europa" erschienen, und in verschiedenen Gedichten). Auf diese Bahnbrecher folgte eine ganze Schar von rheinbegeisterten Dichtern. Besondere Vorliebe für Burgen und Ruinen finden wir gleichfalls bei den drei Erwähnten; bei Schlegel ist dies Interesse hauptsächlich historisch.

Auch die vielen Märchen und Sagen der Rheingegend wurden von den Romantikern, mit ihrem Hang, alles zu verlebendigen, begeistert aufgenommen und erweitert, zuerst von Brentano (man vergleiche seine Lorelei-Sage bereits in "Godwi"), häufig von Arnim, und von Fr. Schlegel in seinem Gedicht vom versunkenen Schloss (1807). Sie fanden zahllose Nachfolger, die in Almanachen, Anthologien, Zeitschriften und Taschenbüchern vor die Öffentlichkeit traten. Die Rheinweinpoesie dagegen lässt sich viel weiter als ins romantische Zeitalter zurück verfolgen. Schon das Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin um 1450 weist Belege dafür auf. Die neuere Zeit hat nur einzelne neue Motive hinzukommen lassen: das Studenten- und Burschikosenhafte, das Vaterländische und zuweilen das Religiöse.

Das Thema "Hebung und Verarbeitung der historischen Werte des Rheinlandes" wird zunächst unter der Rubrik "Bildende Kunst" betrachtet. Das Interesse von kunstliebenden romantischen Schriftstellern für die Kunstwerke des Rheinlandes behandelt der Verfasser hier in knappen Worten. Darauf folgt die Betätigung der romantischen Gelehrten (der ersten Germanisten), die in den alten Literaturwerken und Handschriften des Rheinlandes, namentlich in den zur Gattung "Volksdichtung" gehörigen, eifrig forschten. Als Mittelpunkt dieser Bestrebungen diente natürlich Heidelberg. Unter dem Titel "Religion" wird schliesslich der romantische Katholizismus in Zusammenhang mit dem rheinländischen Katholizismus gebracht. Es hat den Anschein, als ob der Verfasser hier in den alten Fehler gerät, dessen so viele seiner romantikforschenden Vorgänger sich bereits schuldig gemacht haben: er legt zu viel Gewicht auf das Verhältnis der Romantik zum kirchlich-katholischen Glauben. Denn wer die deutsche Romantik als Ganze zu eng mit der orthodox-katholischen, d. h. kirchlichen Konfession verbindet, hat, wenigstens nach Ansicht des Rezensenten, das eigentliche Wesen dieses wichtigen Abschnitts der deutschen Literatur nicht voll erfasst.

Das letzte Kapitel führt uns den "Rhein als Symbol des Deutschtums" vor und ist mit Bezug auf die jetzigen Verhältnisse im Rheinland besonders zeitgemäss und lehrreich. Wir sehen, wie der Rhein für die Romantiker und mithin für das



ganze deutsche Volk zum Symbol für deutsches Wesen und nationales Bewusstsein wurde, wie der Rheingedanke das nationale Denken und Fühlen belebte. Die trübe politische Lage am Rhein treibt die Romantiker nur zu grösserer deutscher Vaterlandsliebe an. Die meisten von ihnen wollen den Fluss nicht als Deutschlands Grenze anerkennen. Man vergleiche hier besonders Arndts Schrift: "Der Rhein, Deutschlands Strom, aber nicht Deutschlands Grenze." Als erstes weitverbreitetes rheinromantisches Gedicht, das Muster und der Vorgänger von ungezählten vaterländisch-politischen Rheinliedern, gilt für den Verfasser Schenkendorfs "Lied vom Rhein" (1814).

Ausser dem bereits Gesagten ist in Stephans Werk wenig zu beanstanden. Es steht auf bedeutend höherem Niveau als die übliche Doktorarbeit. Zu bezweifeln ist die Andeutung (Seite 15), dass die Schönheit des Rheins schon den Zeitgenossen der Renaissance aufgegangen sei. Für den Kulturwert des Flusses mag das wohl eher zutreffen. Fraglich ist auch, inwiefern der Verfasser mit seiner Polemik gegen Nadler (Seite 35) recht hat. Denn auf manchen Punkt, den Stephan berührt, scheint die Nadler'sche Bezeichnung "fränkische Restauration" weit besser zuzutreffen als das vom Verfasser festgehaltene Schlagwort "rheinische Romantik." Druckfehler sind selten. Auf Seite 44, Zeile 6 von unten, soll es wohl *etwas*, nicht *etwa* heissen, und auf Seite 105, Zeilen 22-23, ist das Wort *bei* wiederholt. In bibliographischer Hinsicht ist es lohnend, das Werk mit dem jüngst erschienenen Buch von Henning Kaufmann: "Die Dichtung der Rheinlande. Eine landschaftliche und örtliche Bibliographie nebst einem Abriss ihrer Entwicklung." (Bonn, Schroeder, 1923), zu vergleichen.

Zu loben ist vor allem die Uebersichtlichkeit und die vielen Zitate aus Werken, die manchen Forschern unzugänglich sein dürften. Besonders wertvoll für den Literaturhistoriker sind die häufigen Hinweise auf die Reisebeschreibungen jener Zeit und deren getreue Widerspiegelung der zeitgenössischen Naturauffassung. Vor allem aber war der Verfasser sehr glücklich in der Wahl seines Themas, das nicht nur für den Fachgenossen sondern auch für den Laien von Interesse sein wird. Es erfasst die deutsche Romantik da, wo sie Dauerndes geschaffen und hinterlassen hat, denn während die überwiegende Mehrzahl der romantischen Lehren längst überwunden oder vergessen sind, lebt die Rheinromantik noch heutzutage und namentlich zu Zeiten, wo die nationale Begeisterung von neuem erwacht, in all ihrer poesievollen Schönheit fort.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

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*A HISTORY OF GERMAN VERSIFICATION, Ten Centuries of Metrical Evolution*, Henry Gibson Atkins, Methuen & Co. London. (1923)

Teachers of German in English speaking countries must have keenly felt the lack of such a book as this. I know from my own experience and from that of many of my colleagues with what pangs of conscience we recommended to the eager graduate student (not to mention an occasional undergraduate thirsty for knowledge) one or the other book on the subject. Sievers-Paul or Minor proved too comprehensive and theoretical, Saran too confusing and startling, Mehring too dry and superannuated. All of them are written in fairly or very difficult German, no attempt had been made to cover the field in English. Moreover, the discoveries of Sievers, Saran and their followers have so revolutionized metrical theory, thereby causing such confusion in metrical terminology, that one could not, with a clear conscience, let the poor young scholar shift with defunct forms and terms, nor plunge him without compass into the rising tide of untried waters.

Mr. Atkins' History of German Versification rescues us from this dilemma. His book is simple and clear, comprehensive, scholarly and comparatively short (282 pp.). He presents with a distinct gift for definition the well established theories as a groundwork and outlines the material still under discussion as far as the scope of his treatise permits. He accepts the old terminology wherever it is clear and sound, but also coins new expressions where they make for clearness (as for instance *lift* and *dip* instead of *arsis* and *thesis*). He presupposes no information on the subject and dismisses the reader at the close of the book with a comprehensive knowledge of metrical evolution and in possession of a working theory.

The first book treats of the principles and esthetics, of rhythm, meter, accent, metrical units, rhyme (pp. 1-61); the second presents the history of German versification (pp. 68-170), the third discusses the chief modern German lines (pp. 191-244); and the fourth describes modern strophic forms.

I cannot help feeling that the first two parts of Mr. Atkins' book are superior to the third and fourth and that his interest in the subject begins to lag distinctly in the fourth part. He seems to have sensed that himself when he says in the introduction to this last division: "Many of the comments on strophic forms frequently found in metrical work are mere truisms, or observations which each can make for himself." He then gives a tabulation of Classical, Romance, Oriental and Older National Strophes, which, to be sure, is indispensable in such a book. Yet, here I think, Mr. Atkins might have improved upon his predecessors of the above description by

elucidating the organic structure or strophic form and analysing a few of the more complicated stanzas. Saran's valuable terms *Bund-Fuge*, *Reihe-Lanke*, *Kette-Kehre*, *Gebinde-Wende*, *Gesätz-Absatz* (see Jackson's happy translations in *Modern Philology* 13 and 14, 1916) lead to a deeper understanding of this problem; the discussion of the line would likewise have gained by such a procedure. It is eminently important that the student learn to distinguish between *Augen-* and *Ohrenform*. Otherwise he will be hopelessly misled when trying to analyse a stanza like the following:

Die Nacht,  
Die sonst den Buhlen fügt und süsse Hoffnung macht,  
Die Ruh,  
Die einem Liebenden sagt alle Wollust zu . . . . .

(see the reviewer's article in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 1916 Number 2). A later edition might add a paragraph on this subject after the discussion of the Alexandrine (p. 195)—which is after all not a line, but a chain—and insert a page or two on the organism of the stanza at the beginning of the fourth book.

On page 38 a misplaced semicolon works havoc among the lifts and dips. I do not wish, however, to close this review in a note of criticism or disagreement, but beg to congratulate the author and the publisher as well on their most valuable and welcome publication.

ERNST FEISE

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**SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF KIERKEGAARD.** Translated by L. M. Hollander. University of Texas Bulletin. pp. 239.

To the devotee of Kierkegaard, his neglect by the English-speaking world has been a lamentable illustration of the fortuitousness of reputation. Many Scandinavian writers of far lesser genius have been translated and widely read, but for three quarters of a century after Kierkegaard's death his work has remained practically unknown. This neglect is the more extraordinary inasmuch as the French and Germans, especially the latter, have shown a steadily growing interest, evidenced in translations and studies, in this great Danish writer. A number of German translations went into several editions, and their vogue led at last to the literary and philosophical canonization of Kierkegaard by the publication in German of his complete works. He is therefore not a man of purely provincial importance; he belongs to the world and has already had an international influence. It seems safe to prophecy that he is now about to have his day also in England and America.

We should therefore be grateful to Professor Hollander for this first English translation, and almost the first English discussion, of our author. The criticism of Kierkegaard in English is certainly not extensive. In his list of books and articles, Professor Hollander gives only one English title, the article by Professor David Swenson in *The Philosophical Review* for 1916. It is rather unaccountable that he omitted the essay by Professor J. G. Robertson in *The Modern Language Review* for 1914; if we add also the three pages in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, our bibliography of the English discussion of Kierkegaard is about complete.

The difficulties in translating Kierkegaard are, of course, such as one meets in translating any work with a rich, idiomatic and subtle style. In the process much must be lost—much of the color and movement, the allusiveness, the delicate play of emotion and imagination which depends upon the idiom of the original. But the reviewer is not inclined to be too severe on any translator of Kierkegaard, inasmuch as he has tried the task himself and given it up in despair. Perhaps there is a disharmony between the English language and the mind of Kierkegaard—whose foreign affiliations were chiefly with German philosophy and literature; perhaps the process of translation is easier into the language of Jean Paul and Heine. One can imagine the difficulties in finding an adequate rendering of, let us say, *Sartor Resartus* in French.

But though Kierkegaard's style is baffling to the translator, there is still the solid substance of his thought which may be conveyed in a good, conscientious translation. For Kierkegaard combined the skill in characterization and the psychological penetration of the great novelist, with the dialectal powers of a great philosopher. His habit of pseudonymous publication indicates his type of mind; he was not content with writing pure philosophy, but each philosophical conception of life he presented through the medium of an appropriate character. His works are a series of philosophical tales and philosophical biographies. Hence their manifold and inexhaustible interest. Perhaps the reader is attracted first by Kierkegaard as a philosopher, by his acute discrimination, his profundity, or the audacity of his philosophical speculation; but the method of Kierkegaard is to present these philosophical conceptions artistically and concretely, as an integral part of experience, whereby their content is enriched and their significance enhanced. Another reader is perhaps first attracted by the brilliant portraits and character studies, the psychological narratives, and the consummate art with which Kierkegaard portrays the spiritual *milieux* of his characters; but such a reader, again, finds that all these studies of a novelist are essentially philosophical, and that the philosophical conclusion grows as organic-

ally out of the art of the novelist as the flower from the stem that bears it. This rare combination of talents is one of Kierkegaard's distinctions, and Professor Hollander's translations are varied and extensive enough to give the reader an impression of the author's manifold brilliance.

The writings of Kierkegaard constitute a study of three basic modes of life; the æsthetic, the ethical and the religious. These three modes, or stages (*stadier*) as he called them, he did not regard as complementary, and the transition from one to another, he maintained, is not by development but by a "leap." To Kierkegaard the religious stage alone was completely satisfying. In *Stadier paa Livets Vei* all three stages are illustrated. His earlier, but greatest, work, *Enten-Eller*, presents the æsthetic view of love in the papers of "A," and the ethical defense of marriage in the papers of "B." Regarding the latter Professor Hollander says: "Though nobly eloquent in places, and instinct with warm feeling, this panegyric on marriage and the fixed duties of life is somewhat unconvincing, and its style undeniably tame and unctious—at least when contrasted with the Satanic verve of most of A's papers." (p. 23) Such a judgment seems to me rather unjust to a noble and powerful work; for, in spite of the witty resourcefulness and original tactics of A, he is completely out-generaled and driven from the field by B. In spite of the Satanic verve with which the esthetic life is illustrated in the first volume, it is the second volume which is the real triumph in *Enten-Eller*. And I cannot imagine that it would gain either as an exposition of the ethical life or as a defense of marriage by the addition of Satanic verve. In his selections, also, Professor Hollander has chosen passages chiefly on the esthetic and religious stages. It is true, as he says (p. 23), that Kierkegaard, in *Enten-Eller*, "when considering the ethical sphere, in order to carry out his plan of contrasting it with the æsthetic sphere, was already envisaging the higher sphere of religion, to which the ethical sphere is but a transition, and which is the only true alternative to the æsthetic life." But the ethical sphere is as distinct and interesting in itself as the æsthetic, and one must follow Kierkegaard through all three to understand his thought and appreciate fully his genius.

However, the volume is really an introduction to Kierkegaard, and in an introduction many things must be omitted. It is to be hoped that in the future, complete English versions of his important works will appear, and that his reputation and influence in England and America will be solidly established. Brandes and Höfding are deservedly well-known names among us, but Kierkegaard was a greater man than either.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

*University of Michigan*

## MEMORIAL TO THE LATE PROFESSOR W. P. KER

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SIR,

Among the many distinguished services rendered by the late Professor W. P. Ker to literature and learning, the institution of the Department of Scandinavian Studies in the University of London is of special interest. He threw himself into the foundation of the Department with very great zeal. He had been teaching Icelandic to his students for years, but that was not enough; there must be a full equipment for the teaching of the Scandinavian (or, as he preferred to call it, the Northern) contribution to human learning. Inevitably he was chosen the first Director: in the last public speech he delivered at University College, he said, "May I add the piece of advice not to forget Mr. Helweg's Danish Ballads. Those are my last words"; and as he was leaving the College, he added, "I am anxious about Scandinavian Studies; they must be kept going."

The original Fund, which was raised to finance the Department for four years, is now exhausted. The staff consists of a Director, to which office Professor J. G. Robertson has been elected in succession to Professor Ker; a Lecturer in Danish, a Lecturer in Norwegian, and a Lecturer in Swedish.

Professor Ker's friends and old students are anxious to do honour to his memory in every way possible: it is felt that there is nothing that would please him better than to endow permanently one of the three Lectureships and to name it after him. For this purpose an annual income of £500 is required.

We invite all those who are willing to assist to communicate with Mr. Edmund Gosse as promptly as possible. Contribu-

tions to the W. P. Ker Memorial Fund (either in the form of donations or in the form of subscriptions, spread over a period of three or five years) should be sent to Mr. Gosse, at University College, London.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) EDMUND GOSSE,

Chairman of the Scandinavian Studies  
Committee.

FRANCIS PEMBER,

All Souls College, Oxford.

A. D. GODLEY,

Magdalen College, Oxford.

R. W. CHAMBERS,

Quain Professor of English, University  
College, London.

*University College, London*

June, 1924.

The above communication regarding the plan for a memorial to Professor W. P. Ker, who died last June, has been forwarded to the editors with a letter under date of February 13, 1925, from Provost T. Gregory Foster, University College, London, inviting publication in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. We are sure that many of the readers of the *Journal* will desire to cooperate in thus honoring the memory of Professor Ker. If preferred, contributions may be sent to George T. Flom, 611 West Green St., Urbana, Ill., who will be glad to transmit them to the Memorial Committee.

March 2, 1925.

## DIE FRÜHNEUHOCHDEUTSCHE SPRACHFORSCHUNG UND FISCHART'S STELLUNG IN IHREM RAHMEN\*

Zwei Aufgaben sind es, welche die frühneuhochdeutsche Forschung, die ich mit Scherer auf die Zeit von der Mitte des 14. bis zu der des 17. Jahrhunderts ausdehnen möchte, zunächst zu lösen hat und die meines Erachtens auch bereits in der Hauptsache zur Lösung reif sind: die Schaffung einer kurzen Grammatik, welche die lautlichen und flexiblen Haupterscheinungen des Frühneuhochdeutschen in knappe Regeln zusammenfasst oder richtiger: zusammenzufassen versucht, und eines kleinen orientierenden Ueberblicks über die geschichtliche Entwicklung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache mit dem Bestreben, die einzelnen Phasen und die Komponenten, aus denen sie sich zusammensetzt, deutlicher hervortreten zu lassen.

Es ist dies aber nur die erste Station, die es erst ermöglicht, auf dem ausgedehnten Territorium einmal sicheren Fuss zu fassen, um von hier aus tiefer ins Innere dieses weiten Oedlandes vorzudringen: denn das Endziel liegt noch in grauer Ferne.

### I

Welches sind nun die Gebiete, an deren Urbarmachung oder Kultivierung sich die Einzelnsforschung zu betätigen hätte, um diesem Endziel möglichst rasch, ohne zu viele Um- und Irrwege nicht zu gelangen, sondern vorzurücken.

Ueber die Erforschung der Kanzleisprachen darf ich mich hier kurz fassen. Wohl ist gerade hier wichtige und gründliche Arbeit zur Aufhellung der ersten Epoche der nhd. Schriftsprache, des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts zu leisten, an der Spitze genaue Untersuchungen über die kaiserliche Kanzlei von Ludwig dem Bayern und Karl IV bis auf die Habsburger des 17. und vielleicht sogar 18. Jahrhunderts und die Fortsetzung und Erweiterung derjenigen *Böhmes* über die Sächsische Kanzlei; aber da das Material hiezu unmittelbar aus den Quellen der

\* This paper was presented as a contribution to the study of the German language and literature of the sixteenth century at the recent meeting of the Mod. Lang. Association at the University of Michigan.

<sup>1</sup> Grundfragen der nhd. Forschung von Virgil Moser. 1924.



Archive geschöpft werden muss und daher nur an Ort und Stelle erreichbar ist, so kommt dieses Gebiet für das Ausland kaum in Frage. Und an vorbildlichen Untersuchungen, welche sich zum Teil auch theoretisch mehr oder minder grundlegend mit dem Problem auseinandersetzen, fehlt es hier nicht: ich nenne nur die Arbeiten von Gessler über Basel,<sup>2</sup> Brandstetter über Luzern,<sup>3</sup> Scheel über Köln,<sup>4</sup> Böhme über die Sächsische Kanzlei,<sup>5</sup> und Lasch über Berlin,<sup>6</sup> welche gewissermassen Marksteine in der Entwicklungslinie der Forschung bilden.

Viel wichtiger ist in unserm Zusammenhang ein anderes Gebiet: die *Druckersprachen*. Kommt dem Buchdruck schon seit den letzten Jahrzehnten des 15. Jahrhunderts eine immer zunehmende Bedeutung neben den Kanzleien für die Geschichte der Nhd. Gemeinsprache zu, so wird er seit dem 2. Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts der nahezu alleinige Träger der schriftsprachlichen Entwicklung, hinter dem nicht nur die Kanzleien sondern auch die originalen Handschriften mit ihrem viel konservativen Verhalten ganz in den Hintergrund treten. Diese durchaus führende Rolle der Offizinen in den grossen Kultur- und Wirtschaftszentren, die längst schon erkannt wurde, fordert denn auch, dass eben diese Seite zunächst in den Mittelpunkt der Forschung gestellt wird, und das um so mehr, als bei der Fülle der hier zu leistenden Arbeit sehr viele Kräfte von nöten sind. Bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts sind wir darüber noch verhältnismässig gut, in erster Linie durch die Zusammenfassungen von v. Bahder<sup>7</sup> und Götze<sup>8</sup> unterrichtet; an sprachlichen Darstellungen einzelner Druckorte und Druckereien

<sup>2</sup> Beiträge zur Geschichte der Entwicklung der nhd. Schriftsprache in Basel. Basler Dissertation, 1888.

<sup>3</sup> Die Luzerner Kanzleisprache 1250-1600, 1892. (auch im Schweizer Geschichtsfreund Bd. 47), Die Reception der nhd. Schriftsprache in Stadt und Landschaft Luzern 1600-1830, 1891 (auch im Geschichtsfreund Bd. 46).

<sup>4</sup> Jaspar von Gennep und die Entwicklung der nhd. Schriftsprache in Köln. Trier 1893 (= Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, Ergänzungsheft VIII.).

<sup>5</sup> Zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kanzleisprache von ihren Anfängen bis Luther I. Teil: 13. u. 14. Jahrhundert, Halle a.S. 1899 (mehr ist nicht erschienen).

<sup>6</sup> Geschichte der Schriftsprache in Berlin bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Dortmund 1910.

<sup>7</sup> Grundlagen des neuhochdeutschen Lautsystems. Strassburg 1890.

<sup>8</sup> Die hochdeutschen Drucker der Reformationszeit. Strassburg 1905.

mangelt es freilich schon für diese Zeit ganz. Von der Mitte an ist aber unsere Kenntnis in anbetracht der nur lückenhaften Angaben selbst in v. Bahders trefflichem Werk überhaupt noch äusserst gering. Und doch ist gerade das folgende Jahrhundert für die Frage nach der Ausbildung einer Gemeinsprache und ihrer Zusammensetzung aus den verschiedenartigen Elementen besonders wichtig. Zuerst müssten die Hauptdruckorte und deren bedeutende Offizinen gleichmässig in Angriff genommen werden. In den Vordergrund wären dabei Untersuchungen der ostmitteldeutschen Druckersprachen, vorzüglich die Wittenbergs und dann Leipzigs, Dresdens, aber auch des schlesischen Breslau und der thüringischen Städte Erfurt und Jena, im Hinblick auf die so dringend nötige Möglichkeit einer richtigen historischen Beurteilung Luthers zu stellen: einerseits der zeitgenössischen unter Ausschluss oder nur vergleichender Heranziehung lutherischer Druckschriften, anderseits über deren Fortentwicklung und Ausgestaltung vom Tode des Reformators bis auf Opitzs Zeiten. Kaum weniger wichtig, aber wegen der Stofffülle ungleich schwieriger ist eine Darstellung der Frankfurter Druckersprache, deren Bedeutung—vor allem in der Epoche Sigmund Feyerabends und der mit ihm in der "Company" verbundenen Drucker—im Rahmen der neuhochdeutschen Sprachgeschichte noch immer viel zu wenig gewürdigt wird. Ueber die Sprache der grossen bayrischösterreichischen Druckorte—Wien, Ingolstadt, München—wie diejenige Nürnbergs ist überhaupt noch kaum Zusammenhängendes bekannt. Dasselbe gilt von der späteren Augsburger Druckersprache, wenn sie auch von der Tübinger in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts an Bedeutung übertroffen wird.

Daneben steht die sprachliche *Untersuchung einzelner Schriftsteller und Denkmäler*. Auch da gilt es den grössten und bedeutendsten unter ihnen zuvörderst seine Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen. Ueber die Sprache der meisten, vor allem wieder der späteren Zeit, sind wir noch gar nicht unterrichtet, andere (wie Murner, Emser, Alber und in der Hauptsache auch Sachs) müssen nochmals ganz neu untersucht werden, während die Arbeiten über wieder andere dringend der Ergänzung bedürfen, so z. B. Baesekes tüchtige Darstellung der Sprache von Opitz,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Die Sprache der Opitzschen Gedichtsammlungen von 1624 u. 1625. Göttinger Dissertation. Braunschweig 1899.

vorläufig durch die Untersuchung eines Prosawerks. Natürlich hat sich dabei die Bewertung der Autoren und Werke in erster Linie nach sprachgeschichtlichen und nicht nach literaturgeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkten zu richten, die vielfach stark mit einander divergieren. Denn vom ersten Standpunkt aus kommt denjenigen Schriftstellern und Denkmälern, deren litterarische Ueberlieferung zeitlich und dialektisch möglichst einheitlich ist, der Vorrang vor solchen, bei denen dies nicht der Fall, und den Prosaisten und Prosawerken der Vorrang vor Dichtern und Dichtungen zu. Auf die ermüdende Aufzählung der einzelnen dabei in Betracht kommenden Schriftsteller der der frühneuhochdeutschen Zeit darf ich hier wohl um so eher verzichten, als ich in dem eingangs erwähnten Aufsatz bereits den Versuch einer tabellarischen Zusammenstellung solcher Art nach Dialekt und Chronologie gewagt habe.

Eine gesonderte Insel in diesem unerforschten Land nehmen die seit der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts auftretenden *Reformorthographen* ein. Sie denken dabei naturgemäss sogleich an Fischart. Allerdings ist er nicht der erste: denn er hat mindestens zwei Vorläufer, den bislang unbeachtet gebliebenen Strassburger Historiker und Philologen *Michael Beuther* von Karlstadt, dem deshalb besondere Bedeutung zukommt, weil er einstweilen als der Begründer der deutschen Reformorthographien anzusehen ist und als vermutlicher Lehrer Fischarts zweifellos dessen Bestrebungen veranlasste,<sup>10</sup> und einen anderen bayrischen Franken, Paul Schede-Melissus,<sup>11</sup> der ebenfalls sicher sprachlich auf unsern Satiriker einwirkte. Aber Fischart ist jedenfalls derjenige, der durch die Art seiner Schriften und deren dadurch bedingte Verbreitung unter den verschiedensten Volkskreisen jene Versuche, die deutsche Orthographie und Sprache kraft der schriftstellerischen Persönlichkeit in individueller Weise zu beeinflussen, in weitestem Maasse bekannt gemacht hat. Ueber seine Sprache und vor allem über ihre speziellen Eigenheiten existieren zwar schon mancherlei Einzel-

<sup>10</sup> Darüber meine "Strassburger Druckersprache zur Zeit Fischarts (1570-1590). München 1920, S. 106 ff. und S. 76. ff., sowie *Alemannia*, Bd. 42, S. 168 ff.

<sup>11</sup> M. H. Jellinek, Ausgabe der Psalmenübersetzung des P. Schede Melissus (1572). Halle a.S. 1896. (= Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des 16. u. 17. Jahrhunderts, No. 144-48) S. LXXI ff.

arbeiten,<sup>12</sup> aber es fehlt ihnen an Vollständigkeit und Zusammenhang und teilweise finden sich sogar unlösbare Widersprüche zwischen ihren Angaben. Deshalb konnte auch der Versuch Hauffens in seinem umfänglichen Fischartwerk, jene zu einem knappen Bild zusammenzufassen,<sup>13</sup> nicht gelingen. Eine umfassende Untersuchung von Fischarts Sprache in ihrer Gesamtheit gehört daher zweifelsohne zu den wichtigen Aufgaben der Sprachforschung des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Zeit ist denn auch insoferne gekommen, als durch das eben genannte Werk jenes bis jetzt bedeutendsten Fischartforschers die literarhistorischen Grundlagen, die ja wie kaum sonst irgendwo fast unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten für den Sprachforscher bildeten, im wesentlichen geschaffen sind, obgleich die besonders wichtige Bibliographie noch aussteht. Aber man darf sich auch über die Grösse der Aufgabe keineswegs täuschen, die nicht nur darin besteht, dass sie bei der ungeheuren Produktivität dieses Autors einen ganz bedeutenden Zeitaufwand, wohl mehrere Jahre, verlangt, sondern auch Anforderungen verschiedener Art an den Bearbeiter stellt, welche eine tüchtige Ausrüstung und eine vorherige Erprobung der eigenen Kräfte an kleinern Aufgaben zur Voraussetzung haben. Dazu kommt noch, dass die Beschaffung der vielen und zum Teil äusserst seltenen Originaldrucke, die mangels einer Gesamtausgabe unbedingt nötig, mit bedeutenden Schwierigkeiten und Kosten verbunden ist. Eine spezielle Seite solcher Themen, die ihre Bearbeitung noch besonders kompliziert, stellt aber ihre notwendige Einordnung in das Gesamtproblem dar, weil erst hiedurch eine richtige Würdigung der reformorthographischen Bestrebungen ermöglicht wird. Zunächst gilt es da sich ein Bild von der Normalsprache zu schaffen, auf und aus deren Boden der betreffende Reformversuch erwachsen ist, da erst so die Grenzen zwischen dem, was jener angehört, und dem was daran neu und ungewöhnlich, gewonnen werden können, eine oft recht umfängliche und aus den oben angedeuteten Ursachen

<sup>12</sup> Die früheren habe ich in den Beiträgen zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache u. Literatur. Bd. 36 (1910) S. 102 ff. zusammengestellt und kurz besprochen; ein vollständiges Verzeichnis findet sich jetzt bei A. Hauffen, Joh. Fischart, Ein Literaturbild aus der Zeit der Gegenreformation. 2 Bde. Berlin u. Leipzig 1921-22, Bd. 2, S. 417.

<sup>13</sup> A. a. O. Bd. 2 S. 281 ff.

heute nur sehr beschränkt lösbare Vorarbeit, an der ich mich speziell für Fischart selber versucht habe.<sup>14</sup> Nach der anderen Richtung muss aber auch die Fortdauer und Nachwirkung eines solchen Reformunternehmens in den Betrachtungskreis gezogen werden und damit kommen wir zu den spätern Reformern von denen vermutlich eine ganze Anzahl erst noch zu entdecken sein wird. Der Nächste ist meines Wissens ebenfalls ein gebürtiger Strassburger, der Herborner Theologieprofessor und Schöpfer der Calvinischen Bibelübersetzung Johann Piscator, noch kaum beachtet und noch ganz ununtersucht, der hinsichtlich der Vereinfachung von Konsonantenhäufungen wahrscheinlich von Fischart und Schede beeinflusst, sonst aber auch von seinen Vorgängern gänzlich unabhängig und eigenartig zu sein scheint. Ihre Blüte erreichen diese Bestrebungen jedoch erst in den 40er Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts und vor allem in Ostmitteldeutschland. Untersucht ist davon fast noch garnichts und es liegt hier ein reiches Feld für grössere und kleinere Arbeiten vor uns: zu den ersteren würde eine Untersuchung des nach dieser Richtung noch völlig unbekannt gebliebenen *Rist*, dann auch *Butschkys* und eine zusammenhängende Darstellung der verschiedenartigen Versuche des nur teilweise untersuchten *Zesen*,<sup>15</sup> zu den letzteren solche über *Fleming*, *Rumpler*, *Schneuber*, *Schottel* gehören. Eine besonders wichtige Aufgabe wäre es aber, die verschiedenen Beziehungen und Abhängigkeiten dieser Reformer unter einander in ihren Hauptzügen aufzudecken. Immerhin darf man nicht vergessen, dass all diesen bloss tastenden und inkonsequenten Versuchen zu einer Verbesserung der deutschen Orthographie nur eine sehr mässige Bedeutung für die neuhochdeutsche Sprachgeschichte zukommt, wie uns gerade Fischart selbst lehrt.

Die historischen Zusammenhänge der *theoretischen* Bestrebungen seit dem 16. Jahrhundert hat Jellinek in seinem zweibändigen Werke<sup>16</sup> grundlegend dargestellt. Dagegen ermangeln wir noch dringend einer vollständigen Zusammenstellung der

<sup>14</sup> Strassburger Druckersprache (s. oben Note 10); Ergänzungen dazu werden meine Besprechungen der beiden Bände von Hauffens genanntem Fischartwerk in der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie bringen.

<sup>15</sup> Jellinek, Ausgabe von Phil. Zesens Adriatischer Rosamund (1645) Halle a.S. 1899 (= Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke No. 160-63, S. XII ff.).

<sup>16</sup> Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Grammatik von den Anfängen bis auf Adelung. Heidelberg 1913-14.

grammatischen Angaben und Forderungen von *Niklas von Wyle* und *Ickelsamer* bis auf *Schottel* nach modernen Gesichtspunkten, die bei deren Zweideutigkeit und teilweisen Widersprüchen nicht überall ganz leicht sein dürfte.

Nicht gering ist auch das Gebiet der *grammatischen Themen*, das sich als Brachfeld vor unserm geistigen Auge erstreckt. Manches wichtige orthographische und lautliche Kapitel harret da noch eines sachkundigen und gewissenhaften Pflügers; doch möchte ich Ihnen auch hierbei eine Aufzählung im einzelnen ersparen, da sich wohl noch später Gelegenheit dazu bieten wird. Reiche Ernte ist in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten auf dem Boden der Flexionslehre, hauptsächlich durch Schweden, gehalten worden. Am weitaus vordringlichsten ist hier noch der Abschluss von *Molz's* unvollendet gebliebener Arbeit über die Substantivflexion,<sup>17</sup> über Adjektiv und im wesentlichen auch Zahlwort, wo es freilich keine grossen Fragen zu lösen gibt, besitzen wir noch keine Monographien,<sup>18</sup> das Pronomen ist hingegen gut bearbeitet.<sup>19</sup> Ebenso das Verbum, wenn eine ebenfalls von einem Schweden lange in Aussicht gestellte Ergänzung zu *Strömbergs* Untersuchung des Praeteritalablauts<sup>20</sup> für das Mitteldeutsche erschienen sein wird: doch wäre noch über die Endungen zusammenhängend zu handeln. Aus den umfangreichen Kapiteln "Wortbildung" und "Wortschatz" sind nur wenige Einzelheiten in neuerer Zeit behandelt worden.

<sup>17</sup> Die Substantivflexion seit mhd. Zeit. Beiträge Bd. 27 (1902) S. 209 ff und Bd. 31 (1906) S. 277 ff., hiezu H. Gürtler. Zur Geschichte der deutschen *er*-Plurale, besonders im Frühneuhochdeutschen, Beiträge Bd. 37 (1912) S. 492 ff. und Bd. 38, S. 67 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Abgesehen von H. Stulz, Deklination des Zahlwortes 2 vom 15. bis 18. Jh. *Zfd Wortforschung* Bd. 2, S. 85 ff.

<sup>19</sup> A. Jeiteles, Das neuhochdeutsche Pronomen, *Zfd Ph.* Bd. 25 (1893) S. 303 ff. und Bd. 26, 180 ff; Fr. Leupold, Zur Geschichte der nhd. Pronominalflexion, Heidelberger Diss. 1909.

<sup>20</sup> Die Ausgleichung des Ablauts im starken Praeteritum mit besonderer Rücksicht auf oberdeutsche Sprachdenkmäler des 15. bis 16. Jahrhunderts. Göteborg 1907. Ferner sind zu nennen: T. Nordström, Studien über die Ausbildung der nhd. starken Praesensflexion, Diss. Upsala 1911 (vergleiche dazu auch Strömberg, Zur Geschichte des starken Praesens im Neuhochdeutschen in der Minnesskrift vtgifven af Filol. samfundet i Göteborg (= 2. Teil der Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, Bd. 16) Göteborg 1910, 53 ff.), f. Stårck, Studien zur Geschichte des Rückumlauts, akad. Abhandlung, Uppsala 1912 und A. Sobbe, Die Ausgleichung des Rückumlautes. Heidelberg 1911. (auch als Heidelberger Diss.).

Aehnliches ist auch von der Syntax zu sagen, doch besitzen wir hier bereits eine Anzahl wichtiger, wieder überwiegend im Ausland entstandener Arbeiten, unter denen ich nur die einer Ihrer bekanntesten Gelehrten auf unserem Gebiet, Herrn Professor *Kurrelmeyers*, über die Futurumschreibung<sup>21</sup> und des schwedischen Dozenten Dr. *Holmberg* über die Verbindung von *sein* mit dem Participium praesentis<sup>22</sup> heraushebe, während zur Zeit ebenfalls in Schweden die Wortstellung bearbeitet wird.<sup>23</sup> Ein weiteres Eingehen erübrigt sich für mich, nachdem der vorhergenannte Lektor, Herr Dr. Strömberg in Malmö auf Grund eigener umfassender Sammlungen der Fachwissenschaft eine frühneuhochdeutsche Syntax vorzulegen gedenkt.

Vielleicht werden gerade Sie von mir noch ein Wort über die Bearbeitung *exterritorialer Gebiete* erwarten. Ich muss aber offen gestehen: sie sind mir selbst eine völlige terra incognita. In Ungarn sind zwar meines Wissens die ersten Anfänge gemacht worden, der Rezeption der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache daselbst nachzugehen, aber die betreffenden Abhandlungen sind schon wegen der Sprache, in der sie abgefasst werden, so gut wie unzugänglich.<sup>24</sup> Die wichtigste Kolonie, die Niederlande, wo besonders in Amsterdam und Leiden in den Elzevirischen Offizinen der Buchdruck in deutscher Sprache möglicherweise eigene schriftsprachliche Triebe angesetzt hat, ist noch immer gänzlich unerforscht. Nordamerika aber kommt bei dem späten Zeitpunkt grösserer Auswanderungen aus deutschen Ländern für den hier abgesteckten Zeitraum schwerlich überhaupt in Frage; jedenfalls müsste zunächst eine genaue Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbreitung des deutschen Schrift-

<sup>21</sup> The historical development of the forms of the future tense in Middle High German, Dissertation of the Johns Hopkins Univ. 1902, Strassburg 1904.

<sup>22</sup> Zur Geschichte der periphrastischen Verbindung des Verbum substantivum mit dem Part. praes. im Kontinentalgermanischen. Diss. Uppsala 1916.

<sup>23</sup> Diese grundlegende Arbeit ist inzwischen erschienen unter dem Titel: E. Hammarström, Zur Stellung des Verbums in der deutschen Sprache (Studien in volkstümlicher Literatur und Urkundensprache der Uebergangszeit vom Mittelhochdeutschen zum Neuhochdeutschen). Akademische Abhandlung Lund 1923.

<sup>24</sup> Jetzt: A. Schullerus, Luther's Sprache in Siebenbürgen (Forschungen zur siebenbürgischen Geistesgeschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation. I. Hälfte) Hermannstadt 1923 (mir nicht zugänglich).

tums daselbst vorliegen, um sich ein Urteil darüber bilden zu können.

## II

Je unerforschter und je ausgedehnter ein Gebiet ist, in das man vorzudringen unternimmt, um so besser muss die *Ausrüstung* sein, um mit Erfolg allen Eventualitäten gewachsen zu sein. Es ist eine weit verbreitete Meinung, die frühneuhochdeutsche Sprachperiode sei zur ersten Einführung in das Studium der deutschen Philologie besonders geeignet: das ist indess ein grosser Irrtum, vor dem nicht genug gewarnt werden kann. Denn ohne ordentliche Kenntnisse in der allgemeinen philologischen Methodik sollte man sich keineswegs an den Beginn einer selbständigen Arbeit auf frühneuhochdeutschem Gebiet heranwagen, will man nicht nachträglich üble Enttäuschungen erfahren. Im übrigen ist vor allem eine gründliche Vertrautheit mit dem Mittelhochdeutschen erforderlich und zwar auch seiner zeitlichen und vor allem auch örtlichen Verschiedenheiten da man mit dem Normalmittelhochdeutschen bei weitem nicht auskommt.

Dann eine hinreichende Kenntnis des Althochdeutschen und wenigstens der Hauptcharakteristika des Westgermanischen, weil der Anfänger mit Vorliebe über manche langlebige Reste von Erscheinungen besonders ehrwürdigen Alters strauzelt oder gar achtlos hinweg schreitet. Bei der hervorragenden Bedeutung, die den lebenden Dialekten für die Erforschung des Frühneuhochdeutschen in Anbetracht der aus den Mundarten hervorgewachsenen lokalen Schriftsprachen zukommt, sind auch genügende Kenntnisse in den phonetischen Grundfragen und der heutigen deutschen Mundarten nötig; das ist freilich für den Ausländer besonders schwierig, da es noch vielfach an modernen Arbeiten darüber fehlt und ältere nur mit grösster Vorsicht benutzt werden können. Das gilt selbst für die spätere Zeit in vollem Umfang; denn obschon z. B. Fischart im Gegensatz zu Brant oder Murner keineswegs mehr alemannischen Dialekt schreibt, so kann doch vieles ohne Kenntnis des Elsässischen und wegen der frühen Einflüsse auf ihn auch der Rheinfränkischen Mundarten unmöglich richtig beurteilt werden. Vor allem trifft dies auch für die Reime zu, die sich bis über Opitz



und die ostmitteldeutschen Dichter der Optzischen Reform hinaus auf mundartlicher Grundlage aufbauen.<sup>23</sup>

Natürlich muss man auch mit dem *Arbeitsgerät* und seiner Handhabung gründlich vertraut sein. Das ist, so selbstverständlich es klingt, leider vielfach nicht der Fall, wie sich durch ganz eklatante Beispiele—nicht nur von Anfängerarbeiten—leicht erweisen lässt. Von den allgemeinen Hilfsmitteln steht „Behaghels“ Geschichte der deutschen Sprache in den letzten umgearbeiteten Auflagen<sup>24</sup> an der Spitze, wozu neuerdings Pauls grosse „Deutsche Grammatik“<sup>25</sup> kommt; Wilmanns' gleichnamiges, aber inhaltlich ganz verschiedenes Werk, das öfter benutzt wird, eignet sich hingegen für unsere Zwecke wenig. Fürs Mittelhochdeutsche ist neben Pauls Grammatik<sup>26</sup> Michels' Elementarbuch<sup>27</sup> wegen seiner weitgehenden Berücksichtigung der dialektischen Unterschiede von ganz besonderer Wichtigkeit, während Weinholds mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik und noch viel mehr dessen alemannische und bairische Grammatiken, die durch ihre Stofffülle so imponierend wirken, im Hinblick auf ihren veralteten prinzipiellen Standpunkt vom Anfänger nur mit grösster Vorsicht beigezogen werden dürfen. Um einen Ueberblick über die speziellen Probleme des Frühneuhochdeutschen zu gewinnen, ist das genaue Studium von Bahders „Grundlagen des neuhochdeutschen Lautsystems“, eines Buches, das freilich nicht für das Anfangsstudium bestimmt ist und daher nicht leicht nach seinem ganzen Inhalt in sich aufzunehmen ist, erstes Erfordernis. Kehreins „Grammatik der deutschen Sprache des 15.-bis 17. Jahrhunderts kann hingegen als Einführung in das Studium des Frühneuhochdeutschen nichts mehr, Raphael Meyers Heftchen mit Texterläuterungen zu einigen Strophen des „Hürnen Seyfrid“ kaum etwas bieten; auch meine, wie es scheint, noch immer weit überschätzte „Einführung in die frühneuhochdeutschen Schrift-

<sup>23</sup> Vergl. hierüber die grundlegenden Untersuchungen von F. Neumann über die „Geschichte des nhd. Reimes von Opitz bis Wieland“, Berlin 1920.

<sup>24</sup> In der 3. und der 4. und letzten Auflage, Strassburg 1911 und 1916. Hier findet man auch in der Einleitung die genauen Titel der nachgenannten Werke verzeichnet.

<sup>25</sup> In 5. Bänden, Halle a. S. 1916-21.

<sup>26</sup> 10. und 11. Auflage, Halle a. S. 1918.

<sup>27</sup> 3. und 4. (letzte) stark erweiterte Auflage, Heidelberg 1921.

dialekte" darf nur mit starker Kritik herangezogen werden.<sup>28</sup> Die erstgenannten Hilfsmittel sind aber vor Beginn der Arbeit ganz gründlich durchzustudieren, damit dann während dieser ihre Handhabung auch in den oft unvermutet auftretenden Einzelfragen von vornherein mühelos zu geschehen vermag. Eine wesentliche Ergänzung hiezu bildet die rege Anteilnahme an Vorlesungen und Uebungen über unser Gebiet, die bedauerlicherweise überall viel zu spärlich gesät sind. Für den Einzelfall muss man sich dann noch mit der gesamten Spezialliteratur und den Vorarbeiten über das Thema vertraut machen, wogegen meist noch mehr zum Schaden der Sache gefehlt wird: sowohl den bibliographischen, biographischen und literaturgeschichtlichen als auch den sprachgeschichtlichen. Hier ist wieder Fischart ein charakteristisches Beispiel, weil bei ihm die verschiedensten Fragen an uns herantreten, von denen jetzt allerdings der grösste Teil, soweit die literaturgeschichtliche, bio- und bibliographische Seite betreffen, durch das erwähnte Werk Hauffens gelöst und zusammenfassend dargestellt ist.

### III

Was nun die *Bearbeitung selbst* anlangt, so ist zuvörderst die *Wahl des Bodens*, auf dem man sich zu betätigen beabsichtigt, von grundlegender Bedeutung; denn ein sorgfältig und richtig gewähltes Thema ist nicht nur für den Bearbeiter und seinen Erfolg, sondern auch für die Förderung des Gesamtgebietes überaus wichtig. Für den nicht Geübten empfiehlt es sich im allgemeinen, einen möglichst einfachen Stoff, der keine Lösung zu komplizierter Probleme verlangt und keine zugrosse Ausdehnung besitzt, auszuwählen. Dies soll indes, wie bereits früher angedeutet, durchaus nicht den verbreiteten Fehler der Wahl ganz obskurer Stoffe begünstigen. Vereinfacht wird die Arbeit zunächst besonders dadurch, dass man einen zeitlich und dialektisch möglichst einheitlichen Stoff zu Grunde legt, also unter einzelnen Schriftstellern solche bevorzugt, deren Werke entweder in Originalhandschriften, wie das vor allem bei vielen Chronisten des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts der Fall ist, überliefert sind, oder in Drucken, die durchweg oder doch überwiegend zu Lebzeiten und im Dialektgebiet des Verfassers hergestellt sind. Ferner durch die Wahl eines Prosaisten, weil hiebei die sich aus

<sup>28</sup> Vergleiche hiezu Jellinek, Anz. f. d. A. Bd. 33, 147 ff.

Metrik und Reim ergebenden Schwierigkeiten in Wegfall kommen. Begrenzen lässt sich der Stoff durch die Einschränkung auf ein oder mehrere Hauptwerke eines Autors, welche die nötigen Bedingungen am besten in sich vereinigen. Ein solch auswählendes Verfahren ist immer bei besonders fruchtbaren Schriftstellern, wie Fischart einer ist, zu empfehlen, indem man kleinere, keine wesentlich neuen Gesichtspunkte versprechende Schriften ausscheidet. Auch kann man ein Werk, das aus irgendwelchen Gründen eine sprachgeschichtliche Sonderstellung im Rahmen des Ganzen oder eines einzelnen Schriftstellers, wie Fischarts "Bienenkorb," einnimmt für sich zum Gegenstand einer Untersuchung machen. Schliesslich soll man sich innerhalb *einer* Arbeit auch mit der Untersuchung der Laut- und eventuell Flexionserscheinungen oder aber der Syntax begnügen, da man durch eine allseitige Untersuchung auf einmal seine Aufmerksamkeit zu sehr zersplittert und sich damit nur zu leicht der Gefahr allzugrosser Flüchtigkeit und Lückenhaftigkeit aussetzt. Denn auch hier zeigt sich in der Beschränkung der Meister. Nicht minder wichtig ist aber dann die so vielfach vernachlässigte *kritische Sonderung des gewählten Stoffes*, um so wichtiger, je komplizierter dieser ist.

Für die Bearbeitung der *Druckersprachen*,<sup>29</sup> vorzüglich in späterer Zeit, liegt die Hauptschwierigkeit in den meist fehlenden druckgeschichtlichen Vorarbeiten. Deshalb müssen hier durch Sammlung zahlreicher Drucke zunächst Umfang der Drucktätigkeit und Bedeutung des betreffenden Druckorts und dessen einzelner Offizinen bestimmt werden. Alle Drucke, welche nicht ein genaues Impressum mit Angabe von Ort, Drucker und Jahr tragen, sind auszuschneiden. Dann ist eine Auswahl der wichtigsten Erzeugnisse jedes Druckers für die sprachliche Untersuchung vorzunehmen, wobei im einzelnen oft die Zugänglichkeit ausschlaggebend ist. Bei der Untersuchung selbst sind die einzelnen Offizinen zur Feststellung ihrer sogenannten "Hausorthographien" scharf auseinanderzuhalten. Innerhalb derselben ist wiederum auf ihr Verhältnis zum Ortsdialekt beziehungsweise zum Heimatdialekt des Druckers, zu den Autoren, den Druckvorlagen und den verschiedenen Auflagen zu achten.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Darüber meine Strassburger Druckersprache (siehe Note 10), Seite 2 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Ueber die letzten Punkte hat Schröder in den Göttingischen Gelehrten Anzeigen 1888, Seite 274 f. ausführlich gehandelt.

Ist die Wahl auf einzelne *Schriftsteller oder Denkmäler* gefallen, so hat man hauptsächlich folgendes zu beachten. Zunächst sind—abgesehen von den literar-historischen—alle sprachlichen Vorarbeiten auf ihren Inhalt und Wert hin kritisch zu prüfen. In den meisten Fällen ist das insoferne ziemlich einfach als nur eine einzige oder gewöhnlich gar keine vorhanden ist. Bei Fischart hingegen, wo deren bereits eine grössere Zahl vorliegt,<sup>21</sup> gehört dies abgesehen von Luther zu den wichtigsten und heikelsten Aufgaben: denn ältere wie vor allem neuere bieten zwar gar manches, aber es fehlt ihnen nicht nur der Zusammenhang untereinander, sondern den einzelnen an Vollständigkeit der Quellen und des Stoffes wie Systematik und Klarheit, was z. B. auch von der fleissigen Untersuchung Quentins<sup>22</sup> und der noch später zu erwähnenden Krells<sup>23</sup> zu sagen ist, weshalb hier überall eine feine kritische Ausscheidung und Zusammenfassung des Brauchbaren notwendig wird.

Was dann den Stoff selbst anlangt, so sind alle nicht mit Sicherheit von dem betreffenden Autor herrührenden Werke oder nur teilweise Uebearbeitungen fremder Werke auszuscheiden. So einfach das klingt, so ist das doch nicht immer so leicht, wofür Fischart den deutlichsten Beweis gibt. Denn erst durch die jahrzehnte langen literarhistorischen und kritischen Forschungen Hauffens und anderer und dessen zusammenfassende Darstellung der hieraus gewonnenen Resultate ist es jetzt überhaupt möglich, die fast durchweg pseud- und anonymen Schriften unseres Satirikers mit einer gewissen Sicherheit nach ihrem Gesamtumfang feststellen und überblicken zu können. Was aber von Fischart in besonders potenziertem Maasse gilt, trifft auch mehr oder minder auf manchen andern Schriftsteller der *frühneuhochdeutschen* Zeit zu, so dass bei Fehlen von Vorarbeiten langwierige literarische oder historische Vorstudien notwendig werden können. Ist jedoch daneben hinreichendes sichergestelltes Material vorhanden, so wird man in solchen Fällen meist besser tun, auf die Heranziehung unsicherer Werke zu verzichten. Von Handschriften dürfen nur originale oder doch wenigstens originalwertige, d. h. solche,

<sup>21</sup> Siehe Note 13.

<sup>22</sup> W. Quentin, Studien zur Orthographie Fischarts, Marburger Diss. 1915.

<sup>23</sup> L. Krell, Studien zur Sprache Fischarts aus seinen Reimen. Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1912/13 der K. Luitpold Kreisoberrealschule (in München) München 1913.

welche unter den Augen und im Dialekt des Verfassers angefertigt sind, wie das beispielsweise bei Aventin der Fall, benutzt werden. Alle sonstigen gleichzeitigen oder gar späteren Abschriften sind zur Feststellung der Sprache des Autors unbrauchbar; aber auch von der Sprache des Schreibers geben sie meist ein nur unvollkommenes Bild, weil mit den Einwirkungen der—ältern oder dialektisch verschiedenen—Vorlage zu rechnen ist. Unter den Drucken sind zunächst alle nicht zeitlich und örtlich festgelegten oder mindestens mit einer gewissen Sicherheit festlegbaren auszusondern. Dann alle diejenigen, welche nicht zeitlich und dialektisch mit Schaffen und Sprache des Schriftstellers in Uebereinstimmung stehen. Vielfach ist freilich diese Forderung nicht in idealer Weise oder überhaupt kaum zu erfüllen, wenn dessen Werke an ganz verschiedenen Orten zum Druck gelangt sind. Will man sich dennoch einem solchen Thema, das unter Umständen zum schwierigsten gehört, widmen, so darf man niemals die Erkenntnis aus dem Auge verlieren, dass man dabei eigentlich nicht eine Untersuchung über die Sprache des Autors sondern eine Vergleichung zwischen verschiedenen Druckersprachen mit der Beschränkung und unter dem Gesichtswinkel auf die Werke einer bestimmten schriftstellerischen Persönlichkeit anstellt. In dieser Richtung nimmt nun Fischart eine gewisse Mittelstellung ein, indem seine ersten grösseren Schriften und gelegentlich auch einige spätere in rheinfränkischem Gebiet, die Hauptmasse jedoch auf niederalemannischem Boden erschienen sind. Ganz kompliziert liegt hingegen ein Fall, wie der des Hessen Alber, von dem nur zwei Werke in Frankfurt, eines in einem nordelsässischen, mehrere an ganz entgegengesetzten norddeutschen und die überwiegende Zahl ohne Druckort erschienen sind, so dass es nur begreiflich, dass ein Anfänger<sup>24</sup> an dieser Aufgabe fast völlig gescheitert ist. Liegt das Problem dergestalt, so sind bei Untersuchung wie Darstellung die Drucke der verschiedenen Dialektgebiete streng von einander zu scheiden und die der Mundart des Verfassers angehörenden zum Mittelpunkt zu machen, während die übrigen meist nur in ihren Hauptzügen und typischen Abweichungen von jenen, mehr anmerknungsweise, zu behandeln wären. Auf Fischart angewandt stellt sich dabei die

<sup>24</sup> K. Fundinger, Die Darstellung der Sprache des E. Alber, Freiburger Diss. Heidelberg 1899.

Sache so dar, dass man die frühesten rheinfränkischen Drucke, den "Nacht Rab", "Dominici Leben" und "Eulenspiegel", gesondert behandelt, spätere, wie die Amadisübersetzung nur kurz berücksichtigt, im übrigen aber das ganze Gewicht auf die in Strassburg hergestellten Drucke legt. Jedoch auch innerhalb ein und desselben Dialektgebiets sind genaue Trennungen vorzunehmen, soll nicht ein vollständiges Chaos entstehen. Das gilt zunächst für die verschiedenen Druckorte: so zeigen die drei genannten Erstlingswerke Fischarts einen ganz verschiedenen Grad mitteldeutscher Sprachcharakteristika, die am weitaus stärksten bei dem in Ursel gedruckten "Dominicus" hervortreten;<sup>35</sup> doch auch zwischen den Strassburger und den wenigen Basler Drucken wird man Unterschiede finden. Endlich darf man aber auch die zwischen den verschiedenen Offizinen ein und desselben Ortes bestehenden Abweichungen, wenigstens in ihren Hauptzügen, nicht vernachlässigen, was weniger für Fischart, dessen in Strassburg erschienene Werke wohl ausnahmslos durch die Presse seines Schwagers Jobin publiziert wurden, als vor allen für Schriftsteller der ältern Zeit, etwa Geiler oder Murner wie auch Luther, wo solche viel stärker hervortreten, in Frage kommt.

Besonders gelagert ist die Sache, wenn handschriftliches und gedrucktes Material neben einander vorliegt. Denn es hat sich gezeigt und ist neuerdings auch für Luther nachgewiesen worden,<sup>36</sup> dass ersteres stets konservativer als letzteres ist und daher beide meist zwei verschiedene Sprachepochen darstellen. Für die Sprachgeschichte jedoch ist ihre völlig verschiedene Einwirkung auf deren Entwicklung von grundlegender Bedeutung: während die gedruckte Form eines Werkes durch ihre Massenverbreitung auf einen mehr oder minder grossen Kreis sprachlich einwirkt und daher in grösserm oder geringerem Mass zu beeinflussen im stande ist, aber nicht die eigentliche Sprache des Schriftstellers ist, sondern nur die durch den

<sup>35</sup> Eine genauere sprachliche Charakteristik derselben werde ich in der Note 14 erwähnten Besprechung des I. Bandes des Hauffenschen Werkes geben.

<sup>36</sup> F. Haubold, Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis der Originaldrucke Wittenberger Hauptdrucker Lutherscher Schriften zu Luthers Druckmanuskripten. Jenaer Diss., Borna-Leipzig 1914 und E. Giese, Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis von Luthers Sprache zur Wittenberger Druckersprache. Halle 1915.

Drucker modifizierte bietet, stellt die Originalhandschrift die individuelle Schreibweise desselben dar, vermag indes bestenfalls nur auf eine ganz enge Umgebung dem Autor persönlich Nahestehender eine sprachliche Wirkung zu üben.<sup>87</sup> Nur bei den Reformern decken sich Handschrift und Druck in der Hauptsache, indem diese sich bestreben, ihre Intensionen möglichst auf das Druckwerk zu übertragen. Doch gilt es dafür hier festzustellen, in wie weit ihnen das gelingt und in wie weit Setzer und Korrektor, ihre eigenen Wege gehen, wie wir das im Verlauf der Fischartschen Reformbestrebungen beobachten können. Aus all diesen Gründen dürfen niemals beide unterschiedslos zusammen behandelt werden.

Innerhalb der schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit ist dann auf die einzelnen zeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen zu achten: das trifft nicht nur auf die einzelnen Werke unter einander sondern auch für die verschiedenen Auflagen des nämlichen Werkes zu. Deutlich treten diese bei dem Strassburger Satiriker hervor: die der gewöhnlichen Orthographie, der strengen Reform, die sich wieder in zwei Abschnitte zerlegt, und die des Verfalls; doch bleibt ihre genaue Abgrenzung noch Aufgabe der Spezialuntersuchung.

Ein allgemein verbreiteter Fehler ist die Unterlassung der grundsätzlichen Scheidung von Prosa und Poesie. Denn bei beiden handelt es sich um zwei wesentlich verschiedene Dinge: erstere gibt die Normalsprache wieder, wogegen die letztere immer durch die Anforderungen, welche die gebundene Rede stellt, auch formell beeinflusst ist. In einer Zeit wie der frühneuhochdeutschen, in der alles in Fluss ist, tritt dies erheblich stärker zu Tag als unter der Herrschaft einer fest geregelten Schriftsprache. So lassen sich manche Fragen, wie die Gesetze über die Aus- und Abstossung des unbetonten *e* aus der poetischen Literatur, wo diese ganz willkürlich nach dem metrischen Bedarf erfolgen, überhaupt nicht beantworten. Am grundlegendsten zeigt sich der Gegensatz in den Reimen, weil hier altertümliche oder ausgeprägt dialektische Laute und Formen aus Gründen der poetischen Stiltradition oder der Bequemlichkeit noch sehr häufig gebraucht werden, die in Prosa oder auch im

<sup>87</sup> Speziell für Luther hat darauf J. Luther in seinem Vortrag über Die Reformationsbibliographie und die Geschichte der deutschen Sprache. Berlin 1898, Seite 9 mit allem Nachdruck hingewiesen.

Innern des Verses kaum oder gar nicht mehr üblich sind. In der genauen Feststellung und Trennung dessen, was wirkliches schriftsprachliches Allgemeingut und was nur poetisches ist, liegt aber ein Kernpunkt bei der Untersuchung dichterischer Werke. Reimuntersuchungen gehören jedoch zum allerschwierigsten und sind eigentlich eine Sache für sich; denn wenn sie nicht nach Zwierzinas grundlegendem<sup>38</sup> und von Schauerhammer<sup>39</sup> mit Glück und mustergiltig auf einen Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts übertragenem Vorgang auf einer vollständigen Reimstatistik aufgebaut sind, entbehren sie so ziemlich jeden Wertes und unterbleiben darum besser ganz,<sup>40</sup> weil dann die Aufmerksamkeit wenigstens ungeteilt der übrigen Untersuchung gewidmet werden kann. Für Fischart liegt dabei der Fall besonders eigenartig, da er zwar entsprechend seiner Strassburger Heimat in erster Linie elsässisch reimt, daneben jedoch unter dem Einfluss seiner Jugenderziehung bei seinem "Praeceptor" Kaspar Scheit zu Worms und wohl auch unter den während seiner mehrjährigen Studienaufenthalte im Ausland seitens seiner aus andern deutschen Gauen stammenden Universitätsfreunde erfahrenen Einwirkungen sich von Anfang an auch zweifellos ausgesprochen mitteldeutscher Bindungen bedient, wie sich schon aus seinen ersten Dichtungen leicht dartun lässt. Dass Krell<sup>41</sup> nicht nur die Bedingungen der modernen Reimuntersuchungen, sondern auch diesen letzten Umstand nicht gewürdigt hat und daher ein Problem von gewaltigem Umfang in einer kleinen Gelegenheitsschrift lösen zu können glaubte, drückt den Wert seiner Arbeit auf die Bedeutung gelegentlicher Streiflichter ohne innern Zusammenhang herab. Eine ausgedehnte Darstellung der Reimtechnik Fischarts in ihrer Gesamtheit wie in einzelnen Dichtungen oder zusammenhängenden Gruppen derselben (z. B. den Jugenddichtungen) wäre daher eine bedeutsame Vorarbeit für die Kenntnis seiner Sprache nach einer besonderen Richtung hin.

Wenden wir uns noch kurz den *grammatischen Arbeiten* zu, so gelten da für die Stoffkritik mutatis mutandis die nämlichen

<sup>38</sup> Mittelhochdeutsche Studien, ZfdA. Bd. 44, und Bd. 45.

<sup>39</sup> A. Schauerhammer, Mundart und Heimat K. Scheits auf Grund seiner Reimkunst untersucht. Halle 1908.

<sup>40</sup> Zur ganzen Frage noch Neumann (Siehe Note 25).

<sup>41</sup> Siehe Note 35.



Voraussetzungen: Auswahl nur örtlich und zeitlich sicher gestellter Denkmäler, strenge Trennung von handschriftlichem und gedrucktem Material, weil sie trotz der Gleichzeitigkeit zwei verschiedene Entwicklungsphasen einer Erscheinung darstellen oder doch darstellen können, ebenso prosaischer beziehungsweise vom poetischen Gewand, unabhängiger Formen und solcher, die von Metrum und Reim beeinflusst sind oder sein können. Auch hier geht es nicht an, Werke eines Autors einfach einem bestimmten Dialekt zuzuweisen: so darf eine Form, die sich in einer in einem rheinfränkischen Ort gedruckten Schrift Fischarts findet, nicht im Hinblick auf des Verfassers Heimat als elsässisch angesprochen werden, wie das schon öfter geschehen, sondern in der Regel als rheinfränkisch; doch schliesst man derartige Drucke nach Möglichkeit überhaupt von der Untersuchung aus.

Ein besonderes Wort ist noch über das *Verhältnis von Original und Neudruck* zu sprechen. Wenn irgend möglich, sollen als Grundlage immer bloss Originale benutzt werden. Wo dies aber ausgeschlossen, sind nur ganz zuverlässige Neudrucke heranzuziehen, wozu eine Vergleichung durch Stichproben meist unerlässlich ist, da man den Versicherungen des Herausgebers, besonders wenn dieser kein oder ein älterer Germanist ist, vor allem für unsere Zeit sehr skeptisch gegenüberstehen muss. Dass das nicht übertrieben ist, liesse sich sogar durch sehr bekannte Namen belegen. Einzelne Versehen spielen dabei viel weniger eine Rolle, als stillschweigend vorgenommene prinzipielle Änderungen. Diese Frage bat gerade für den Ausländer, dem die Originale von vornherein viel schwerer zugänglich sind, eine hervorragende Bedeutung; auch für die zutreffende *Stoffwahl*.—

Was endlich die *Bearbeitung im einzelnen* anlangt, so halte ich es nach meinen Beobachtungen für wichtig, nachfolgende Gesichtspunkte nicht aus dem Auge zu verlieren.

Zur Schaffung der Grundlagen für die Erkenntnis des Frühneuhochdeutschen ist in erster Linie eine nach allen Richtungen und auf den ganzen Zeitraum sich erstreckende Bekanntschaft mit den typischen Grunderscheinungen notwendig. Auf *sie* hat man deshalb auch bei der Umpflügung des einzelnen Feldes, das man sich abgesteckt hat, sein Hauptaugenmerk zu richten und *sie* müssen den *Hauptertrag* der Arbeit

bilden; denn nur eine allseitige und gleichmässige Bearbeitung in *dieser* Art wird echte und reiche Früchte für die Allgemeinforschung tragen. Dabei ist vor allem die Feststellung und Mitteilung des Umfangs jeder dieser Erscheinungen wesentlich: also ob dieses oder jenes lautliche, flexible oder syntaktische Charakteristikum durchweg, regelmässig oder bloss mehr oder minder oft vorkommt und in welchem prozentualen Verhältnis daneben andere entsprechende Formen stehen, was nötigenfalls durch Zahlenstatistiken zu ermitteln ist; gleichzeitig sind auch die Ausnahmen von der gefundenen Regel scharf herauszuarbeiten und zu umgrenzen. Dagegen sind in solchen Fragen tote und willkürlich herausgegriffene Stellenzitate von einem halben bis einem Dutzend Belegen, wie man das häufig antrifft, nicht nur überflüssig, sondern auch völlig wertlos, weil damit für Beurteilung der Erscheinungen überhaupt nichts anzufangen ist. Eine ganz falsche, aber von Kehrein bis auf die neueste Zeit überaus verbreitete Auffassung der Zwecke und Ziele der frühneuhochdeutschen Sprachforschung ist es dem gegenüber, als handle es sich hiebei vor allem wenn nicht ausschliesslich um ein Schürfen nach Goldkörnern, deren möglichst viele—wirkliche und vermeintliche—man zu entdecken müssen glaubt. Das ist schon darum ein Irrtum und eine unnütze Kraft- und Zeitvergeudung, weil solche Schätze überhaupt recht selten und dann meist nur für ein wohlgeübtes Auge sichtbar sind, denn auch da ist nicht alles Gold, was glänzt, da oft im Mittelhochdeutschen oder für den Kenner der Sprache des 16. Jahrhunderts ganz bekannte Dinge als wichtige Funde angesprochen und in ihrem Wert weit überschätzt werden. Es genügt darum immer, solche glücklich gewonnene Einzelercheinungen bloss als Nebenprodukte zu betrachten und dem gemäss unter Verzeichnung des genauen Fundortes anzumerken. Speziell für die Reformer kommt dazu noch eine scharfe Ausscheidung zwischen den der Normal- und der Individualsprache angehörenden Bestandteilen.

Als einfachster und zweckmässigster Ausgangspunkt für den Forscher wie den Nutzniesser hat sich bisher meinen an fremden wie an eigenen Versuchen gewonnenen Erfahrungen nach durchaus das Mittelhochdeutsche unter genauer Berücksichtigung seiner dialektischen und zeitlichen Spielarten, denen gegenüber man in jedem einzelnen Fall durch gründliche Stel-

lungnahme zu seinem Problem erst den richtigen Standpunkt gewinnen muss, erwiesen. Wo dieses nicht ausreicht, ist dann das Althochdeutsche und eventuell Westgermanische heranzuziehen. Dazu kommt noch die Beiziehung der einschlägigen lebenden Dialekte, soweit es die Beurteilung der einzelnen Erscheinungen verlangt. Doch sollte man niemals weiter gehen, als unbedingt nötig, und sich der besonders in Promotionsarbeiten beliebten Schwäche des Anfängers, sein Wissen durch Heranziehen der entlegendsten Dinge zu dokumentieren, unter allen Umständen entschlagen, denn auch in der Wissenschaft ist "sich zusammenraffen" höchstes Gestez noch "ungebundener Geister." Zwar ist auch der entgegengesetzte Weg, der von der heutigen Schriftsprache aus, keineswegs ausgeschlossen—das hat ja mein hochverehrter Lehrer Paul noch kurz vor seinem Tode durch seine "Deutsche Grammatik" in vollendester Weise bewiesen—aber er ist der weitaus schwierigere und hat die souveräne Stoffbeherrschung jenes wohl grössten Gelehrten unseres Faches seit Grimm zur Voraussetzung, will man sich nicht der Gefahr völligen Scheiterns aussetzen; dem nicht gründlich Erprobten ist es jedenfalls abzuraten. Ganz verfehlt ist hingegen meines Erachtens die Zugrundlegung des Frühneuhochdeutschen selbst, weil dabei infolge des ungeheuren sprachlichen Schwankens des Frühneuhochdeutschen ja sogar des einzelnen Schriftstellers, ein fester Standpunkt, zumal solange jegliche Orientierungsmöglichkeit über den Gesamtkomplex durch eine zusammenfassende Grammatik fehlt, überhaupt nicht gewonnen werden kann und man sich daher völlig im Chaos der Erscheinungen zu verlieren droht. Dafür scheint mir Frankes Luther-Grammatik<sup>42</sup> ein vollgültiges Beispiel; aber auch Fischart, auf dessen eigene Sprache bei deren verschiedenen Entwicklungsphasen ähnlich wie bei Luther unmöglich eine Darstellung aufzubauen ist.

#### IV

Viel Fleiss, Mühe und Zeit ist in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten, seit dem Erscheinen der Bücher von Socin, Kluge und Bahder, im In- und Ausland auf die Erforschung der Frühneuhoch-

<sup>42</sup> Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers. 2. Auflage, 3 Bde. Halle a. S. 1913-22. Vergl. dazu meine Besprechung in der *Zfd Ph.* 47, 121 ff und Seite 266 ff.

deutschen Sprache verwendet worden und doch stehen die Früchte dieser Arbeit in keinem annähernden Verhältnis dazu. Die eigentliche Ursache für diese Unfruchtbarkeit glaube ich in der Planlosigkeit des Arbeitens sehen zu sollen, die sich bei einem so ausgedehnten Gebiet um so mehr rächen musste als dazu naturgemäss zahlreiche und daher meist un- und wenig geschulte Kräfte nötig waren. Je grösser aber ein Unternehmen, je unentbehrlicher ist ihm eine einheitliche Führung und Leitung: das wissen gerade wir heute am besten. Wir besitzen ja allerdings seit zwanzig Jahren eine eigene Abteilung an der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin für "Forschungen zur Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache," doch verfolgt diese andere Zwecke und Ziele.<sup>43</sup> Eine *Zentralstelle für frühneuhochdeutsche Forschung* erscheint mir daher auf die Dauer als unentbehrlich. Ihre Aufgabe wäre die Vereinheitlichung der Forschung und Beratung im einzelnen; vor allen Dingen jedoch die tunlichst baldige Ausführung der beiden eingangs erwähnten zusammenfassenden Darstellungen zur grammatischen und historischen Orientierung über das Frühneuhochdeutsche.

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<sup>43</sup> Einen geschichtlichen Ueberblick und eine kritische Würdigung derselben gibt Kluge in seiner Schrift "Zur Nachfolge Erich Schmidts, Freiburg i. B. 1913, S. 11 ff.

## THE MEDIÆVAL WANDERINGS OF A GREEK MYTH

One of the most famous of classical myths is that which concerns Io, the maiden who was loved by Jupiter and on this account hated by the ever-jealous Juno. This myth was familiar throughout the entire period of Greek literature, was handed down to the Romans, and, as recounted by the inimitable Ovid, has become the common property of all later ages. There were many complexities, particularly in Greek literature, about the rescue and subsequent history of Io, but it is the first part of the myth with which we are concerned. In this we learn that Jupiter in an effort to avert the suspicions of Juno turns Io into a white heifer. Juno immediately asks that the heifer be given to her and, since no excuse can be found for refusing the request, the poor Io comes into the power of Juno who places over her hated rival Argus of the hundred eyes. In the meantime Jupiter, who is not unregardful of his responsibility, sends Mercury who is to attempt by the guileful use of his musical art to put Argus to sleep. At first some of the eyes persist in staying awake, but finally, after Mercury has told the origin of his pipe, he finds that all of the eyes have succumbed to the soothing effect of his music. Argus thus betrayed his trust, and the rescue of Io eventually followed.

It is this story which I have been interested in tracing through mediaeval literature partly because its wandering course is of itself alluring, and partly because of a desire to account for some of the elements of the tale as it appears in the Middle Ages which are not easily attributable to the classical myth.

The *Gesta Romanorum*, the well-known collection of stories compiled probably about the beginning of the fourteenth century, but the date of the origin of the different parts of which we have little means of determining, uses the Io-Argus-Mercury myth stripped of all connection with the gods as the basis of one tale.<sup>1</sup> Here we are told how a certain nobleman had a heifer

<sup>1</sup> Hermann Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, Berlin, 1872, 111.

I have been greatly aided in the collection of different versions of the story by the list of references given at the end of Oesterley's edition.

which he loved very much because she was white and gave an abundance of milk. He gave her golden horns and entrusted her to a man by the name of Argus who was true in all things and had a hundred eyes. This trusty man took the heifer to pasture each day and brought her home at night. Now there was a covetous fellow, Mercury by name, very skilled in musical art, who often came to Argus and attempted by prayers and bribes to obtain the heifer with the golden horns. Argus was sorely tempted and in his uncertainty finally holds an imaginary conversation with his master whom he represents by his shepherd's staff. He fixes the staff in the earth in front of him and says to it, "You are my master; this night I shall come to you and you will say to me, 'Where is my heifer with the horns?' I will reply, 'Lo your heifer is without horns; for while I slept a certain robber bore the horns away.' You will say, 'O wretch, have you not a hundred eyes? How was it that all slept and the robber took the horns?' " Then Argus considers with himself, "This is a lie and I shall be the son of death. If I say that I sold the horns, I shall be no better off." Then turning to Mercury he said, "Go your way. You shall obtain nothing." Mercury withdrew and the next day came with his musical instrument and began to tell stories to Argus, *more historico*, and to sing much, until two of Argus' eyes went to sleep; then two other eyes slept, and so on until all the eyes were fast asleep. Seeing this, Mercury cut off the head of Argus and stole the heifer with the golden horns. The allegorical interpretation of the story which follows says that the master is Christ, the white heifer the soul, Argus a prelate, Mercury the devil, and the music by which he tempted Argus the enticement of women.

There is nothing unusual here in the way in which a classical myth is changed and used as a means of teaching a moral lesson, except the dramatization of the imaginary scene between the servant and his master. This is an element which has no classical precedent unless it be the soliloquy of the rascally slave in Latin comedy who considers with himself how he shall make peace with the master whom he has cheated. But before considering the slave's soliloquy and marking its resemblance to the scene between the shepherd and his staff, let us follow the Io story as it is repeated during the Middle Ages, and at the same

time note the recurrence of the bit of dramatization. So far I have been able to find no such dramatization in mediaeval literature except in connection with some variation of the Io story.

The tale from the *Gesta Romanorum* just discussed seems to be nearer to the classical myth and, if one should judge from that fact, older than any other of the versions, which gradually get so far from the classical source that it is only by a knowledge of the intervening links that the relationship is recognized.

The question of dates in connection with popular tales such as those among which the Io story occurs is a very difficult one. For instance, a story told by a Sicilian peasant to a compiler of tales may antedate another which was put into print three centuries earlier. Internal evidence rather than a printer's date is to be considered, although the latter, of course, sometimes furnishes a limit *ante quem*.

In the collection of *Latin Stories* compiled by Thomas Wright<sup>2</sup> the first one, entitled *De Mauro Bubulco*, is from a manuscript at Cambridge University said to belong to the thirteenth century. A certain rich king had among his possessions a bull with golden horns which was guarded together with the rest of the herd by a herdsman named Maurus, who was greatly loved by the king because he never told a lie. An evil courtier annoyed by the king's praises of Maurus wagered his head against one of the king's states that he could make Maurus tell a lie in the king's presence. After the wager was made the courtier was greatly troubled. His wife notices his unhappiness, asks the cause, and promises to arrange things. She goes to the place where Maurus is tending the herd and guarding the bull with the golden horns, and so bewitches him with endearing words and caresses that he is completely enthralled. Finally she says that unless he will give her the horns she will accuse him before the king. Maurus promises anything except the horns of the bull, but the woman insists until finally in great fear he seizes his staff and breaks off the horns and gives them to the wretched woman. She takes them home to her husband, who in joy awaits the day fixed by the king for the decision of their

<sup>2</sup> *A Selection of Latin Stories, from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Contribution to the History of Fiction during the Middle Ages.* Edited by Thomas Wright, London, 1843. (Percy Society Publications, VIII.)

wager. On the appointed day all the court is present and Maurus is sent for. When he is on his way to the king he begins to consider how foolishly he has acted. He stops and says to himself that he will go no farther until he has decided how he can safely reply to the king's questions. He fixes his staff firmly in the ground, takes his cap from his head, puts it on the staff, and says, "Ecce, rex." Going back a stone's throw he advances toward the staff and bending to the earth says, "Salutations, king, salutations ", and replying for the staff to himself he says, "Greetings, Maurus, good and faithful servant. How are my herds getting on?" "Very well," replies Maurus. "And how is my bull with the golden horns?" "Otherwise than I could wish or than is well for me." "How is that?" "Day before yesterday," says Maurus, "he got separated from the herd, and a pack of wolves came and killed him and ate him up." And again replying for the staff he says, "You have guarded my bull badly; but nevertheless give me the horns, since they couldn't be eaten by the wolves." Maurus sees how he is caught. Again he goes back a stone's throw, again approaches the staff, and this time tells the truth, how he had given the horns to the wife of the courtier for the adultery which she had committed; he considers with himself that it is better to tell the truth in the presence of the king than to be caught in a lie and perish shamefully. He takes up his cap and staff and goes to the king, before whom, as he had planned, he tells the whole story, at the same time pointing out the courtier whose wife had enticed him. He declares himself worthy of death but begs for mercy. The story ends with the courtier losing his head in accordance with the terms of the wager, and Maurus being *magnus et gloriosus in domo regis in die et deinceps tunc et in sempiternum*.

This story, as will be seen, varies considerably from the tale in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Instead of the heifer we have a bull; Argus, who in the former tale retained enough of the supernatural to have a hundred eyes, has now become a mere servant, but one of extraordinary truthfulness; he is overcome not by music but by the thing for which the music stood in the allegory of the *Gesta Romanorum*, namely, the enticement of a woman; the colloquy of the shepherd with the object which represented his master occurs in the former story before the loss of the heifer,



but in the latter after the bull is lost. In spite of differences, however, the similarity is such as to make the connection between the stories quite evident.

There are at least four Italian versions of the story, all stressing the truthfulness of the servant. They vary considerably but in essentials are substantially the same. One of these from a collection of Sicilian tales compiled by Pitрэ and published at Palermo in 1875<sup>3</sup> is in some respects nearer the *Gesta Romanorum* than is the story just recounted. It concerns a heifer which was called *Corna d'Oru* although no mention is made of golden horns. The faithful shepherd, who is called *Zu Viritati*, The Truthful, is trapped by two women, one of whom pretends that she is ill and can be helped only by a piece of the body of *Corna d'Oru* roasted. The shepherd thus yields to pity rather than to the enticements of the flesh. In the imaginary conversation between himself and his master the latter is represented by a succession of trees which the shepherd passes on his way to the king.

Another Italian version is given in the collection called *Le Piacevoli Notti* by Straparola,<sup>4</sup> originally published at Venice in 1550. Here we have a bull with golden horns, the faithful shepherd enticed by a woman who is helping her husband to win his wager, and the shepherd's master represented by the branch of a tree which the shepherd trims a bit, brings into his room and dresses up in some of his poor garments and his cap. He leaves the room, comes back in, salutes his master, and goes through with a dialogue which ends as usual in his confusion. He leaves the room again, and returns for a second attempt which proves as unsatisfactory as the former one; for, if the bull was eaten by wolves, the horns at least should remain; if there was a fight between the bull with the golden horns and the other bulls of the herd, not only the horns but the skin should be producible.

<sup>3</sup> *Fiabe Novelle e Racconti Popolari Siciliani*, raccolti ed illustrati da Giuseppe Pitрэ, Palermo, 1875, II, pp. 191-195.

<sup>4</sup> M. Giovanni Francesco Straparola, *Le Piacevoli Notti nelle quali si contengono le favole con i loro inimmi da dieci donne e duo giovani raccontate, cosa dilettevole*. Riprodotte sulle antiche stampe a cura di Giuseppe Rua, Bologna, 1899, Favola V. delle notte III.

A third Italian version included in the *Dodici Conti Pomiglianesi*<sup>5</sup> is but a pale reflection of the Pitre and Straparola versions. In this case the faithful shepherd, Giuseppe 'A Veretà, represents his master by a cloak thrown over a chair.

A fourth Italian version under the title *Bauer Wahrhaft* is found in a collection of Sicilian folk tales compiled by Laura Gonzenbach and published at Leipzig in 1870.<sup>6</sup> It varies slightly in that the specially prized animal is neither a heifer nor a bull, but a wether. Otherwise the tale is much like the Sicilian version by Pitre. The woman who tempts the shepherd needs the roasted liver of the wether to save her life. The shepherd represents his master by his staff which he sticks into the ground and covers with his mantle.

Next in point of similarity to the *Gesta Romanorum* tale, after the story from the Cambridge manuscript, and the Italian story, represented by four different versions, comes a German folk tale published at Bremen in 1800,<sup>7</sup> under the caption, *Ehrlich waehrt am laengsten*. The compiler remarks that the story is found among the more recent popular tales in the language, belonging to the end of the sixteenth century, and differs considerably both in its object and in its representations from other national traditions. "It is distinguished," he says, "by the more prosaic manner which characterizes the later period, by the absence of the bright fancy which is found in many of the older folk-tales, by the point of view of its content which is significant of the changed attitude toward the common people; here there is no oppressed under class, also no magician, no giant, no dwarf; the persons concerned are ordinary humans." So far have Io, Argus, and Mercury fallen from their first estate! The story tells of two bishops who bet a cask of wine on the truthfulness of Conrad, the shepherd of the first bishop. The flock of which Conrad has the care contains a wether which is his master's greatest joy. After much persuasion Conrad is

<sup>5</sup> *XII Conti Pomiglianesi* compiled by Vittorio Imbriani, Naples, 1876, p. 1. A translation is to be found in T. F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, Boston, 1889, III, 48.

<sup>6</sup> *Sicilianischen Maerchen aus dem Volksmund Gesammelt* von Laura Gonzenbach, Leipzig, 1870, pp. 43-47.

<sup>7</sup> *Volks-Sagen nacherzaehlt* von Otmar (Johann Carl Christoph Nachtigal), Bremen, 1800, pp. 295-310.

induced to give the wether to his sweetheart. She has in turn been bribed by the shrewd servant of the second bishop who has offered her enough money to buy a little home so that she and Conrad can be married, if she will procure the wether for him. Conrad puts his staff in the ground, hangs his coat and hat on it, and addresses it as his master. This is rather close to the Italian version in which the prized animal is a wether, although it is more complex.

The greater complexity and more modern character of the last story are doubtless the reasons why it has been expanded into a longer version which reminds one of a modern short story. This I know only in an English translation, where it bears the title "*The Bet.*"<sup>8</sup> The comfortable affluence of the two bishops, the rather pretty love element, and the modern shrewdness of Peter, the capable servant of the second bishop, give the story a different atmosphere.

In another series of popular tales, published at Munich in 1835,<sup>9</sup> the story shows more divergence in plot. There are two brothers who live near each other, one of whom owns a fine stallion, the other a mare. The two animals are of exactly the same color and the same size, and each brother desires to possess them both. The elder brother, who owns the stallion, has also a truthful servant, Hans, whose praises he continually sings. The younger brother matches these boastful words with praises of the cunning of his maid servant, Grete. The younger brother finally wagers that he will get the stallion, and that his brother's truthful servant Hans, will himself deliver the animal, and, although this is not clearly stated, will lie about it. Grete at the instigation of her master induces Hans to give up the horse, and herself suggests that he can say that the wolves ate it; in case there should be any question about the bones of the horse, she promises to look out for that; there are plenty of bones to be had. When Hans rehearses the scene with his master, he knocks at the door of his own room, enters, and addresses the broom in the corner; but the untruthful words stick in his

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Roscoe, *German Novelists*, London, 1826, II, pp. 179-197. The author, whose name is given as Eberhard, is said to have published a collection of national stories, of which this is one, at Berlin, but no date is assigned.

<sup>9</sup> Ludvig Auebacher, *Ein Volksbuechlein*, München, 1835, 48, p. 154.

throat. After two or three trials he goes to his master, still apparently hoping to tell a lie, but again can't get the words out, and ends by telling the truth. His master suggests, since Hans was persuaded to commit the wrong because of his love for Grete, that he marry her at once and bring her home. This is done and the story ends with the elder brother in triumphant possession of both horses, the truthful Hans, and the cunning Grete. This story is so far away from the classical myth with which we began, that no one would detect a connection if they were brought immediately together and yet their kinship is very apparent if the intervening steps are taken.

Another story in which the prized animal is a horse is found in a collection of Turkish tales—the only version, so far as I know, which comes outside the ordinary range of influence of the Greek and Latin myth. I know it only through the French work, *Les Contes Turcs*,<sup>10</sup> which is said to be an abridged translation of the Turkish romance, *Forty Vesirs*, which was composed 1442-1451. The Turkish author in turn is said to declare that he has composed his work after an Arabian romance referred to as *Livre des Quarante Matinées et des Quarante Soirées*. It is suggested that both Turkish and Arabic authors have gone sometimes to a more ancient source. In this case the truthful servant who keeps the king's stable and especially watches over a fine black horse is enticed by the daughter of a courtier to kill the horse and roast its heart and liver. In the imaginary scene with the king the servant puts his hat on the ground.

The French editor of this tale suggests in a footnote that the Italian story by Straparola to which I have previously referred (published in 1550) shows the influence of the Turkish version. This is a point which I am incompetent to discuss, the question of Oriental influence being at best a difficult one, but it seems quite plain that the Straparola story is closely connected with the Cambridge manuscript story as given by Wright, which in turn shows its connection with the *Gesta Romanorum* tale and the original myth. The bit of dramatization which is found in all of the versions mentioned so far, beginning with the *Gesta* tale, is unique enough to make it very probable that there has

<sup>10</sup> *Les Contes Turcs*, traduits par Petis de la Croix. Edited by A. Loiseleur-Deslongchamps (Louis Armand), Paris, 1840. *Histoire du Grand Ecuyer Saddyk*, pp. 315-318.

been a common origin; in fact the Turkish tale is in essentials practically the same as the Italian versions. It is possible that the allegorical interpretation in the *Gesta Romanorum* by which the music with which Mercury tempts Argus is identified as the enticement of women brought the story into connection with some Turkish tale, perhaps a tale in which a woman's cunning played a part. That the Italian versions are earlier seems almost certain because of the fact that they are nearer in detail—and in a certain way in spirit—to the classic myth.

There are two modern versions of a Spanish folk-tale which in spite of their recent date of publication doubtless represent a story which has come down from the Middle Ages. One of these tales<sup>11</sup> has all of the usual characteristics. A truthful shepherd keeps his master's cattle, chief among which is a bull. When he is tempted by the daughter of an envious courtier he gives her the bull's heart. Later, on his way down the mountain to a conference with his master, he sticks his staff into the ground in front of him and says to it, "Staff, you are my master. Question me." The outcome is, as usual, the determination on the part of the shepherd to tell the truth, and his consequent reward for so doing. The other version,<sup>12</sup> which is much like the first even to some identical wording in the conversation, lacks the dramatization, the only instance of the omission which I have discovered in all the variations of the tale. However, of these two Spanish versions the one with the dramatization is doubtless nearer to the original, and the omission in the other due to some incidental cause.<sup>13</sup>

Was the dramatization which is practically uniform in all of the versions of the Io story during the Middle Ages suggested by the slave's soliloquy in Latin Comedy? I am not sure. There are certain manifest points of similarity. These are made a bit more striking by one other version of the mediaeval tale, a version which differs somewhat from all the others. It is

<sup>11</sup> Aurelio de Llano Roza de Ampudia, *Del Folklore Asturiano*, Oviedo, 1921, pp. 31-32.

<sup>12</sup> Aurelio M. Espinosa, *Cuentos Populares Españoles*, Stanford University, California, 1893, I, 48. *El Toro Barroso*.

<sup>13</sup> I am informed that Professor de Ampudia has other variations of this same tale which he hopes to publish soon, and which may throw more light on the history of the Spanish version.

found in a collection of stories which appeared in 1601 under the title *Wendunmuth*.<sup>14</sup> No help is given as to dates by the compiler who states merely that he has taken his stories from old and present day writings. Here a shepherd has given away a lamb from his master's flock. When he considers that he will have to account for the lamb he does what the author of the tale says shepherds are wont to do, because they are so much alone in the fields, he hangs his hat upon his crook and speaks to it, not as to his master but as to a comrade. He begins, "What am I to do?" He makes replies to himself and rejects different suggestions, occasionally saying to his staff, "That won't do, comrade." The scene comes somewhat near to the scenes in Latin comedy where the rascally slave soliloquizes over the way in which he can make peace with his master. The circumstances are much alike; the master's property has been misused or squandered, and the servant is faced by the necessity of accounting for his actions. It must be admitted, however, that the slave in comedy never arrives at the conclusion that the truth is best. One of the most striking of these scenes in Latin comedy is that of Plautus' *Epidicus*, 81-100. The rascally slave, Epidicus, says, after Threspio, his young master's friend, who has brought him disconcerting news, has withdrawn: (I quote the translation of Nixon in the Loeb Classics) "The fellow's gone. (*meditating*) Here you are alone, my lad. You see the situation, Epidicus: unless you have some strength within you, your hour has come. Above your head is a great big tottering mass; unless you prop it up firmly, you'll not be able to keep your feet, with such mountains of misery toppling down on you.—For let the old man find out he was fooled, and he will strip my dorsal regions with a stick. (*pausing*) Oh well, be on your guard, my lad. (*after a moment's thought, disgustedly*) Oh well—oh hell! It's no use! This head of mine is absolutely adled. You good-for-nothing Epidicus! (*pausing*) Why should I enjoy abusing myself? (*answering in another tone*) Because you leave yourself in the lurch. What shall I do? Do you ask *me*? Why you're the man that before this used to lend counsel to other folks. Some scheme must be found somewhere."

<sup>14</sup> Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, *Wendunmuth* hrsg. von H. Oesterley, *Bibl. d. Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1869, II, p. 141.

It is possible that from the slave's soliloquy, such as the above, the mediaeval scene of the shepherd and his staff has developed. There are definite elements of similarity, as we have seen; but in no case that I can recall in Latin comedy does the slave imagine himself as speaking directly to his master, and in no case does he represent his imaginary interlocutor by his staff or any other object. If on the other hand this part of the scene originated during the Middle Ages it seems strange that no such element is found in mediaeval tales other than in this group from the Io-Argus-Mercury myth.<sup>15</sup>

The other changes in the myth are such as one might expect to find during the Middle Ages. Used first to teach a moral lesson, it kept more or less to this same purpose, changing from myth to folk tale and—a still greater change—to something approaching a short story. Io is consistently throughout the entire series of tales a much prized animal. Argus has become a humble servant differing from other servants not because of his hundred eyes, but, quite in accordance with mediaeval tendencies, because of a moral trait, his truthfulness. The cunning of Mercury with his evil intentions, again quite in the mediaeval manner, is usually represented as a woman.

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<sup>15</sup> An interesting resemblance to the dramatic device in the scene of the shepherd and his staff is to be found in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* II, 3, and in the Launcelot Gobbo scene of *The Merchant of Venice*, II, 2.

## GOTISCH LASIWS 'OPPORTUNUS'

Da got. *w* vor auslautendem *s* nach kurzem Vokal zu *u* wird (vgl. *þiwiſ*: *þius* usw.), scheint beim Adj. *lasiws* diese Regel durchbrochen zu sein.

In seinem Aufsätze "Gotisch W" (Zfda. 36,277) erklärt M. H. Jellinek das *w* in *lasiws* (also in nicht haupttoniger Silbe nach kurzem Vokal), sowie auch das *w* in *lêw*, *gaidw*, usw. (d. h. im Auslaut nach haupttonigem langen Vokal), als analogisches *w* aus den obliquen Kasus.

Jellinek nimmt (a. a. O.) an, dass im Got. urgerm. *u* im Auslaut zunächst überall (d. h. nicht nur nach kurzem betonten Vokal, sondern auch nach langem betonten Vokal und in unbetonter Silbe nach kurzem Vokal) zu *u* (also sonantisch) geworden sei; so z. B. nicht nur *\*triŷ-a > \*triŷ > triu*, sondern auch *\*leŷ-a > \*lêŷ > \*lêu* und *\*lasiŷ-az > \*lasiŷ > \*lasius*. *\*Lê-u* und *\*lasi-us* seien aber resp. zwei- und dreisilbig auszusprechen: "Dass *\*lêu* nicht einsilbig gesprochen wurde, erklärt sich daraus, dass der zweite teil des mit absteigendem accent gesprochenen *ê* an schallfülle dem *u* ebenso nachstand wie ein consonant. ähnliches gilt von dem unbetonten *i* von *\*lasius*."

An die Stelle von *\*lê-u* und *\*lasi-us* seien nun die Formen *lêw* und *lasiws* eingetreten, also mit dem *w* der obliquen Kasus; eine Analogiebildung, die dem Bestreben entsprungen sei, "nach dem muster der reinen *a*-stämme den nominativ und accusativ um eine silbe zu verkürzen." Diese Analogiewirkung habe aber bei den kurzsilbigen *wa*-Stämmen, wie *triu*, *kniu*, usw., keine Anwendung finden können, eben weil hier im Nom.-Akk. sing. wegen der Verschmelzung des *u* mit dem vorhergehenden *i* zum Diphthong *iu* das Wort schon einsilbig (d. h. um eine Silbe verkürzt) war.

Prinzipiell erscheint mir Jellineks Erklärung dieser Frage als richtig. Doch scheint er mir einen wichtigen Punkt ausser acht gelassen zu haben; nämlich er übersieht anscheinend die Tatsache, dass die Form *\*lasi-us* ebenso gut auf lautgesetzlichem Wege (d. h. *\*lasi-us > \*las-jus*, vgl. *\*suniŷ-is > sun-jus*) hätte um eine Silbe verkürzt werden können als auf ana-



logischem Wege durch Eindringen des *w* aus den obliquen Kasus an Stelle des *u* (also *lasiws* statt *\*lasi-us*).

Jellineks Hypothese, das *w* in *lêw* und in *lasiws* sei aus den obliquen Kasus zu erklären, scheint mir allerdings berechtigt zu sein. Die Annahme hingegen, dass das *w* in *lasiws* aus demselben Grunde, wie das *w* in *lêw*, in den Nom. eingedrungen ist, wie dies Jellinek meint, liesse sich kaum aufrecht erhalten angesichts der Tatsache, dass eine lautgerecht entwickelte Form *\*las-jus*, ebenso wie die Form *lasiws*, nur zwei Silben enthielte gegenüber dem ursprünglichen, dreisilbigen *\*lasi-us*. Die Umbildung der Form *\*lasi-us* zu *lasiws* kann also schwerlich auf dem Bestreben beruhen, nach dem Muster der reinen *a*-Stämme den Nom.-Akk. sing. um eine Silbe zu verkürzen, sondern wird vielmehr dem Bestreben zuzuschreiben sein, mehrsilbige und langsilbige *wa*-Stämme gleich zu behandeln, d. h. *lasiws*: *lêw* (gegenüber *kniu*), ebenso wie diese beiden Typen der *ja*-Stämme gleich behandelt sind, vgl. *sipðneis*: *hadrdeis* (gegenüber *harjis*). Wenn wir die Sache von diesem Standpunkte aus betrachten, wird der Grund klar, weshalb altes *\*lasi-us* nicht lautgerecht zu *\*las-jus* geworden ist. Eine Form *\*las-jus* stünde nicht im Einklang mit dem langsilbigen Typus *lêw*; demnach ist die Form *\*lasi-us* nach dem Muster von *\*lêu* zu *lêw* durch die Form *lasiws* ersetzt worden.

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<sup>1</sup> Die Frage nach der Entwicklung von *iu* zu *ju* in unbetonter Silbe bei dem Adj. *âhiug* lasse ich hier dahingestellt.

## THE CONCEPT "GEMÜT" IN NOVALIS

In a brilliant and profound article in Grimms Wörterbuch Rudolf Hildebrand traces the development of the concept "Gemüt" from the Old High German period down to the present time. Originally the word Gemüt was used to denote our inner life in distinction from the body, the two constituting the human being. In Middle High German we find such expressions as *gemüete* und *lip*. The significant thing about the concept "Gemüt" from the earliest times down to the end of the eighteenth century was its comprehensiveness. It was the unity of all of the higher faculties of man. In this sense it was used by practically all of the great writers of this time.

In the twentieth letter of the treatise, "Über die aesthetische Erziehung des Menschen" Schiller writes, "das Gemüt geht also von der Empfindung zum Gedanken durch eine mittlere Stimmung über, in welcher Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft zugleich tätig sind," and in the twenty-first letter of the same treatise he says, "das Gemüt ist bestimmt, insofern es überhaupt nur beschränkt ist; es ist aber auch bestimmt, insofern es sich selbst aus eigenem absoluten Vermögen beschränkt. In dem ersten Falle befindet es sich, wenn es empfindet; in dem zweiten, wenn es denkt."

In Wilhelm von Humboldt's<sup>1</sup> masterful essay on Hermann und Dorothea the following sentences occur. "Was unser Gemüt beständig beschäftigt, den Gedanken und das Gefühl, finden wir hier auf eine wunderbar grosse Weise behandelt und ausgebildet." And "So wie diese Tätigkeit unsrer geistigen Kräfte das sinnliche Gebiet der Natur erweitert, eben so bereichert sie innerhalb unsres Gemüts die Masse unsrer Gedanken und Empfindungen." From these quotations from authors of the classical period of German literature, I think, it is evident that thinking, feeling and reasoning were considered activities or manifestations of the Gemüt which in turn was regarded as a unity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. v. Humboldt's, *Gesammelte Schriften*, V. II, p. 203 and 209. Berlin 1904.

<sup>2</sup> For further quotations from authors of the classical period of German literature I must refer the reader to Hildebrand's article.

During the eighteenth century, however, the modern tendency to limit the *Gemüt* to the feeling side of our nature makes itself felt. We find numerous traces of it in Herder who is inclined to quarrel with Kant because he still uses the word in its comprehensive meaning. Herder assigns the field of religion to the *Gemüt*, i.e. to feeling just as Schleiermacher does later on.<sup>3</sup> In the aesthetic writings of Schiller traces of this tendency can also be found, although to a less degree.

It was the authors of the Romantic school who are primarily responsible for the narrowing down of the concept *Gemüt* to feeling. They were, however, not consistent in their interpretation. Occasionally the old concept was still used, but in most instances the newer and narrower one prevailed. After the middle of the last century, roughly speaking, the old concept of *Gemüt* as the unity of our higher faculties has disappeared. *Gemüt* is now synonymous with feeling, reason is no longer a part of it, but its opposite and very often its antagonist. Nothing expresses the present restriction in meaning better than the words *Gemütsmensch*<sup>4</sup> and *Verstandesmensch*. The former denoting a person in whom feeling and sentiment, the latter one in whom reason and intellect predominate.

The first author attempting to give a definition of the *Gemüt* was Fr. Schlegel in his *Fragmente* which he published in the *Athenaeum* (Berlin 1798). Here it is defined as, "Sinn, der sich selbst sieht, wird Geist; Geist ist innre Geselligkeit, Seele ist verborgene Liebenswürdigkeit. Aber die eigentliche Lebenskraft der innern Schönheit und Vollendung ist das *Gemüt*. Man kann etwas Geist haben ohne Seele, und viel Seele bei weniger *Gemüt*. Der Instinkt der sittlichen Grösse aber, den wir *Gemüt* nennen, darf nur sprechen lernen, so hat er Geist. . .

<sup>3</sup> "Diese Begriffe, wodurch euch die Natur erst im eigentlichen Sinne Anschauung der Welt wird, habt ihr sie aus der Natur? Stammen sie nicht ursprünglich aus dem Innern des *Gemüts* her und sind erst von da auf jenes gedeutet? Darum ist es auch das *Gemüt* eigentlich, worauf die Religion hin-sieht, und woher sie Anschauungen der Welt nimmt." Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern. p. 56 (Ed. by Otto Braun) Leipzig 1920.

<sup>4</sup> At present the word *Gemütsmensch* often has a derogatory meaning. It is used to denote a person who lacks the ability to think clearly and to act decisively because he suffers from an excess of feeling—a morbidly sentimental person.

Gemüt ist die Poesie der erhabenen Vernunft, und durch Vereinigung mit Philosophie und sittlicher Erfahrung entspringt aus ihm die namenlose Kunst, welche das verworrene flüchtige Leben ergreift und zur ewigen Einheit bildet."

"Keine Poesie, keine Wirklichkeit. So wie es trotz aller Sinne ohne Phantasie keine Aussenwelt gibt, so auch mit allem Sinn ohne Gemüt keine Geisterwelt. Wer nur Sinn hat, sieht keinen Menschen, sondern bloss Menschliches: dem Zauberstabe des Gemütes allein tut sich alles auf. Es setzt Menschen und ergreift sie; es schaut an wie das Auge ohne sich seiner mathematischen Operation bewusst zu sein."<sup>6</sup> These vague sentences show that Schlegel's conception of the Gemüt is still very much like the one current among the writers of the classical period. It is constantly associated with Geist and closely related to it and yet distinguished from it. The Gemüt is that part of our inner life by means of which we comprehend life and the world. By nature it is both moral and aesthetic.<sup>6</sup> Schlegel, however, uses the concept Gemüt also in the sense of feeling. "Wie beim Manne der äussere Adel zum Genie, so verhält sich die Schönheit der Frauen zur Liebesfähigkeit, zum Gemüt."

In the preface to the *Altdeutsche Minnelieder* Tieck says,<sup>7</sup> speaking of the necessity of regarding the works of different poets, no matter how excellent in themselves merely as parts of a single art, "denn es gibt doch nur eine Poesie, die in sich selbst von den frühesten Zeiten bis in die fernste Zukunft, mit den Werken, die wir besitzen und mit den verlorenen, die unsere Phantasie ergänzen möchte, sowie mit den künftigen, welche

<sup>6</sup> *Athenaeum*, I, 99-100 and 102-03.

<sup>6</sup> At this point it seems to me that a word must be said about the concepts Geist and Seele which are very frequently used in connection with the concept Gemüt. Gemüt and Geist were for a long time considered identical, the definite separation of the two took place toward the end of the eighteenth century when Geist was limited to the thinking side of our nature and Gemüt to the feeling side. The concepts Geist and Seele stand in much the same relation to each other. They were now used as absolutely interchangeable and again they were separated into two distinct elements. The characteristic thing about these concepts in earlier times is their comprehensiveness, their lack of precision. They contained what we would regard as heterogeneous elements. Only modern times have given them a definite and precise content.

<sup>7</sup> Tieck, *Kritische Schriften* v. I, p. 187-88. Leipzig 1848

sie abnden will, ein unzertrennliches Ganze ausmacht. Sie ist nichts weiter, als das menschliche Gemüt selbst in allen seinen Tiefen, jenes unbekannte Wesen, welches immer ein Geheimnis bleiben wird, das sich aber auf unendliche Weise zu gestalten sucht, ein Verständnis, welches sich immer offenbaren will, immer von neuem versiegt, und nach bestimmten Zeiträumen verjüngt und in neuer Verwandlung wieder hervortritt. Je mehr der Mensch von seinem Gemüte weiss, je mehr weiss er von der Poesie, ihre Geschichte kann keine andere sein als die des Gemüts." . . .

I felt constrained to quote this rather long passage because, to my mind, it brings out some rather significant aspects of the Gemüt. It is evident, at once, I think, that in Tieck's conception Gemüt is synonymous with feeling. The old idea of the Gemüt as the unity of our higher faculties is no longer present. Its indefinableness which from the time of the Romanticists becomes a permanent characteristic of it is brought out. This passage also reveals the Romantic tendency to identify the Gemüt with poetry. Poetry is the Gemüt of the poet revealed to the world. We recall in this connection a sentence quoted above from Fr. Schlegel, "Gemüt ist die Poesie der erhabenen Vernunft", etc.

When we come to Novalis we find that the old concept of the Gemüt as the unity of the higher faculties is still the prevailing one. Although the newer one is also found, especially in the novel "Heinrich von Ofterdingen." In Novalis the concept Gemüt is most intimately bound up with his philosophy. Our interpretation of this concept will therefore vary with the interpretation given to his philosophy and with the context. Nowhere does he give a definition of the Gemüt, in his *Fragmente*, however, where he characterizes the different types of prose he demands that they be "ganz Abdruck des Gemüts, wo Empfindung, Gedanke, Anschauung, Bild, Gespräch, Musik u.s.w. unaufhörlich schnell wechselt und sich in hellen klaren Massen nebeneinanderstellt."<sup>8</sup> The thing worth noting here is that thinking and feeling are regarded as a part of the Gemüt. We find aphorisms in his *Fragmente* which tend to support the assertion made above. "Gemüt—Harmonie aller Geisteskräfte

<sup>8</sup> Novalis *Schriften*, (Ed. by J. Minor) v. III, p. 3. Jena 1907. All quotations from Novalis are taken from this edition.

—gleiche Stimmung und harmonisches Spiel der ganzen Seele."<sup>9</sup> and "Poesie ist Darstellung des Gemüts, der innern Welt in ihrer Gesamtheit."<sup>10</sup>

Just as did Fr. Schlegel and Tieck; thus Novalis also identified the Gemüt with poetry. He says, "Poesie ist Darstellung des Gemüts." This may be supplemented by "Poesie = offenbartem Gemüt—wirksamer (produktiver) Individualität,"<sup>11</sup> and "Poesie ist Gemütsrerregungskunst."<sup>12</sup> The same thought is expressed in the long discussion of poetry between Klingsohr and Heinrich in Chapter seven of "Heinrich von Ofterdingen."

Novalis carried this idea still farther when he simply identifies the Gemüt with the poet himself. In Chapter six of "Heinrich von Ofterdingen" he dwells on this at great length. The man of affairs who is absorbed in practical things and who seldom yields to introspection or gives way to feeling is here contrasted with the poet who lives and has his being in the world of the Gemüt and who is appointed by Providence to play the mysterious role of the Gemüt in the world.

In the introduction to the first edition of Novalis's works (reprinted in Minor's edition) Tieck says, "obgleich diese beiden Bände nicht alles enthalten, was der Bekanntmachung würdig war, so drücken sie doch vollkommen das Gemüt des Verfassers aus, oder seine innere Geschichte." The hero of the novel, "Heinrich von Ofterdingen" remarks, "Oft fühl ich jetzt wie mein Vaterland meine frühesten Gedanken mit unvergänglichen Farben angehaucht hat, und sein Bild eine seltsame Andeutung meines Gemüts geworden ist, die ich immer mehr errate, je tiefer ich einsehe, dass Schicksal und Gemüt Namen eines Begriffes sind. These citations reveal the same thought, namely that the Gemüt is the innermost being of the poet, it is the reflection of his world, the inner as well as the outer. In an aphorism, Novalis says, "Er (der Dichter) stellt im eigentlichsten Sinn Subjekt-Objekt vor—Gemüt und Welt. Daher die, Unendlichkeit eines guten Gedichts, die Ewigkeit."<sup>13</sup> The

<sup>9</sup> v. III, p. 199.

<sup>10</sup> v. II, p. 299.

<sup>11</sup> v. III, p. 299.

<sup>12</sup> v. II, p. 299.

<sup>13</sup> v. II, p. 299.

union of the inner and the outer world takes place in the poet. A really good poem lives forever because the subjectivity of the poet is combined in it with the objectivity of the external world. But how is the *Gemüt* to be presented in a poem, for instance? Novalis's answer is, "Die Darstellung des Gemüts muss, wie die Darstellung der Natur, selbstätig, eigentümlich, allgemein, verknüpfend und schöpferisch sein. Nicht wie es ist, sondern wie es sein könnte und sein muss."<sup>14</sup> These sentences reveal, what in Novalis's opinion, is the real function of the *Gemüt*. It is the spontaneous, synthetic and creative power in man. The thought of the synthetic power is also expressed in an aphorism. "In unserm Gemüt ist alles auf die eigenste, gefälligste und lebendigste Weise verknüpft. Die fremdesten Dinge kommen durch einen Ort, Eine Zeit."<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to see how Novalis makes reason the guiding principle of the *Gemüt*. "Die Einteilung der Gemütskräfte, ihr vereinigendes zentrierendes Prinzip—die Vernunft."<sup>16</sup> And in "Die Lehrlinge zu Sais" reason is called the symbol of the *Gemüt*.<sup>17</sup> (das Sinnbild des Gemüts). He always demands the restraining and steady influence of reason. Klingsohr warns Heinrich against an enthusiasm not tempered by it.<sup>18</sup>

Is the *Gemüt* an aesthetic or a moral force? In Novalis' opinion it is primarily moral. It is very probable that he was influenced by Böhme in this.<sup>19</sup>

Böhme, too, regarded the *Gemüt* as being above all moral. His whole attitude toward the world was shaped by this view.<sup>20</sup> The *Gemüt* occupied a central position in his philosophy, it furnished him the key to life and to the universe. "Des Menschen Gemüt ist ein Gegenbild der ewigen Kraft Gottes," he says. This sentence contains the idea of the creative force of the *Gemüt*, which as we have already seen was also a very important element of it in Novalis' conception. In the "Fragmente" Novalis avers, "Das Herz ist der Schlüssel der Welt und des

<sup>14</sup> v. II p. 300 also v. III, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> v. III p. 293.

<sup>16</sup> v. III p. 277-78.

<sup>17</sup> v. IV p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Chapter seven.

<sup>19</sup> Feilchenfeld Walter, *Der Einfluss Jacob Böhmes auf Novalis*, p. 96-97. Berlin 1922.

<sup>20</sup> Feilchenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Lebens." Without doing violence to the meaning of the sentence we might substitute the words *das Gemüt* and in so doing give expression to the central thought of Böhme's philosophy.

According to Novalis' philosophy it is the purpose of Nature to become moral, to develop to that degree of perfection where it will harmonize with God. "Gott hat gar nichts mit der Natur zu schaffen. Er ist das Ziel der Natur, dasjenige, mit dem sie einst harmoniren soll. Die Natur soll moralisch werden," thus runs an aphorism.<sup>21</sup> We have just seen that according to Novalis' view the *Gemüt* is primarily a moral force and with Nature becoming more and more moral we can understand how Novalis can ask the peculiar question, "Wird nicht die Welt am Ende *Gemüt*?"

Profound as Novalis' conception of the nature and the function of the *Gemüt* is, he still feels that we do not yet fully understand it, that unknown powers are still slumbering in it. He would therefore have us study it, as for instance, a physicist studies his science.

He speaks of an *Experimentalphysik des Gemüts* by means of which he desires to find out the various and as yet unknown powers of it.

"Sonderbar, dass das Innre des Menschen bisher nur so dürftig betrachtet und so geistlos behandelt worden ist. Die sogenannte Psychologie gehört auch zu den Larven, die die Stellen im Heiligtum eingenommen haben, wo echte Götterbilder stehen sollten. Wie wenig hat man noch die Physik für das *Gemüt*, und das *Gemüt* für die Aussenwelt benutzt. Verstand, Phantasie, Vernunft, das sind die dürftigen Fachwerke des Universums in uns. Von ihren wunderbaren Vermischungen, Gestaltungen, Übergängen kein Wort. Keinem fiel es ein, noch neue, ungeahnte Kräfte aufzusuchen, ihren geselligen Verhältnissen nachzuspüren. Wer weiss, welche wunderbare Vereinigungen, welche wunderbare Generationen uns noch im Innern bevorstehen?"<sup>22</sup>

Feilchenfeld<sup>23</sup> is inclined to attribute the frequent use of the word *Gemüt* in the final chapters of "Heinrich von Ofterdingen" to Böhme's influence. Chapters six and seven especially abound

<sup>21</sup> v. II, p. 288.

<sup>22</sup> v. II, p. 190-191.

<sup>23</sup> Feilchenfeld, op. cit., p. 71.



with it. I think, it is evident from the following passage that the old concept is no longer prevalent, "Wie man das nimmt, versetzte Klingsohr; ein anderes ist es mit der Natur für unsern Genuss und unser Gemüt, ein anderes mit der Natur für unsern Verstand, für das leitende Vermögen unserer Weltkräfte."<sup>24</sup> Verstand is here no longer a part of the Gemüt as formerly, it has become its opposite. It is impossible to give an interpretation that will hold true in every instance, but Gemüt is here almost without exception synonymous with feeling or even with heart. Heinrich says to Mathilde, "O! könntest du durch meine Augen in mein Gemüt (i.e. heart) sehen! Aber du liebst mich und so glaubst du mir auch."<sup>25</sup> When Heinrich awakens from the terrible dream in which he sees Mathilde perish in the deep blue stream, Novalis tells us, "Er wusste nicht, wie ihm geschehen war. Sein Gemüt (i.e. his feeling) war verschwunden."<sup>26</sup> In speaking of the requirements which a poet must possess Klingsohr gives as the first and most important, "ein reines, offenes Gemüt." (i.e. heart).

Extremely interesting are the figures of speech in which the word Gemüt occurs, they serve to elucidate its nature and significance. Striking are the applications of the concept Gemüt to impersonal objects. We then have the figure of personification. Thus the world and nature are endowed with Gemüt. In the beautiful dedication to "Heinrich von Ofterdingen" Novalis writes,

"Du hast in mir den edeln Trieb erregt  
Tief ins Gemüt der weiten Welt zu schauen."

In the poem introducing the second part of this novel we find the passage,

"Und so das grosse Weltgemüt  
Überall sich regt und unendlich blüht."

In the "Lehrlinge zu Sais" where he contrasts the method of the scientist with that of the poet in studying nature, Novalis says, "Wer also ihr Gemüt (i.e. natures) recht kennen will, muss sie in der Gessllschaft der Dichter suchen, dort ist sie offen und ergiesst ihr wundersames Herz."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> v. IV., p. 165-166.

<sup>25</sup> v. IV., p. 176.

<sup>26</sup> v. IV., p. 162.

<sup>27</sup> v. IV., p. 11

In keeping with the desire of the Romanticists to transcend time and space is Novalis' practice of attributing space to the Gemüt. In the "Hymnen an die Nacht" this beautiful sentence is found, "Ins tiefe Heiligtum, in des Gemüts höhern Raum zog mit ihren Mächten die Seele der Welt."<sup>28</sup>

Novalis is especially fond of imagining the Gemüt to be an edifice, perhaps a temple, into which we may withdraw from the world in order to come to a fuller realization of our Self. When the merchants expatiate on the nature of poetry and of the poet, Novalis makes them express this thought: "Es ist alles innerlich, und wie jene Künstler die äussern Sinne mit angenehmen Empfindungen erfüllen, so erfüllt der Dichter das inwendige Heiligtum des Gemüts mit neuen, wunderbaren und gefälligen Gedanken."<sup>29</sup> Heinrich commenting on Mathilde's love says, "deine Liebe wird mich in die Heiligtümer des Lebens, in das Allerheiligste des Gemüts führen."<sup>30</sup> In the "Hymnen an die Nacht" where our author praises and glorifies the soothing but also the quickening influence of Night, he asks, "Hast auch du ein Gefallen an uns, dunkle Nacht? Was hältst du unter deinem Mantel, das mir unsichtbar kräftig an die Seele geht? Köstlicher Balsam träuft aus deiner Hand, aus dem Bündel Mohn. Die schweren Flügel des Gemüts hebst du empor."<sup>31</sup> The Gemüt is here imagined to be a huge bird which raises its heavy wings only during the night and then soars and hovers far above the world.

To trace the changes in meaning which a given concept undergoes is a most instructive task. The general tendency will be found to be a restriction of the meaning. It is quite generally true that the nearer we approach modern times the narrower do concepts become. This is, no doubt, due to the keener analysis to which we subject our inner life. And so the history of a concept is very frequently only a condensed history of the mental and intellectual development of a people.

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<sup>28</sup> v. I, p. 35.

<sup>29</sup> v. IV, p. 73.

<sup>30</sup> v. IV, p. 177.

<sup>31</sup> v. I. p. 9.

## ÆLFRIC'S LIVES OF ST. MARTIN OF TOURS

The industrious Ælfric was not the man to shrink from the labor of re-writing, as anyone knows who has taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the self-revealed personality of that extremely intelligent homilist and teacher. It was like him, if for any reason he saw fit to treat the same theme twice over, to deal with the material differently the second time. Comparatively few persons, I fear, realize what an attractive figure Ælfric is. Better than any other man, he illuminates, by the gentle glow of his mind and heart, the turn of the millennium in England. Study of him is always rewarding, in that it brings the tenth century close to one. What Dunstan and Æthelwold did for learning and for religion is made clear in the works of their follower.

A comparison of Ælfric's two lives of St. Martin of Tours, one in his second series of *Homilies*<sup>1</sup> and the other in his *Lives of Saints*,<sup>2</sup> serves to show not only his conscientiousness in re-fashioning the material that he adapted for English readers, but his skill in avoiding verbal repetition when working out a story he had told before. It shows, furthermore, if I am not mistaken, that he had widened the scope of his reading in the years between the composition of the two works.<sup>3</sup> Some comment on the sources he used and the way he used them may therefore have its value.

The basis for both lives, as has been pointed out before,<sup>4</sup> is the *Vita S. Martini* by Sulpicius Severus,<sup>5</sup> who wrote from

<sup>1</sup> Ed. B. Thorpe, 1844-6, II, 498-518.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. W. W. Skeat, 1881-1900 (E.E.T.S. 76, 82, 94, 114) II, 218-312. Skeat (II, 453) makes the misleading statement that Ælfric wrote three accounts of St. Martin. For some reason, he chose to regard the conclusion of the homily printed by Thorpe as a separable unit, which of course it is not, though it has the rubric "De eius obitu."

<sup>3</sup> For the reader's convenience, it may be well to recall that the second series of *Homilies* must have been completed by 994 and the *Lives of Saints* between 996 and 998.

<sup>4</sup> For the first, see Thorpe II, 613, and M. Foerster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfric's Homiliae Catholicae*, 1892, pp. 41-2. For the second, see Skeat II, 452. See also Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, 1916, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. C. Halm, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, 1856, I, 109-137. The text in Surius is an abridgment, despite *Bibl. Hag. Lat.*

personal knowledge of the saint and only a few years after his death. In addition to the *Vita*, however, other sources were drawn upon. Let me indicate the state of things, briefly, in regard to the two accounts.

For that in the *Homilies*, as Foerster showed in 1892, Ælfric used the *Letters and Dialogues* of Sulpicius, as well as the *Vita*, and also the *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours.<sup>6</sup> Since Foerster was right in the main, but somewhat careless in detail, I had better set down exactly what Ælfric did with his material. For the first two hundred and thirty-one lines he followed the *Vita* straightforwardly, except for a single sentence (lines 160-163), which he took from the *Dialogues* (iii, 2).<sup>7</sup> This part of the homily may be described as a conscientiously made abridgment rather than a translation. Ælfric used the very words of Sulpicius in so far as he could do so while achieving the brevity for which he was working, but he was evidently quite satisfied to state events baldly instead of decking them out with the circumstantial detail found in his source. From this point onward, he made a patch-work. Lines 232-233 came from cap. 20 of the *Vita*; lines 233-240 from the *Dialogues* ii, 13; lines 240-251 from the *Vita* again (cap. 24); lines 252-281 from the *Dialogues* once more (lines 252-256 from ii, 1; lines 256-262 from ii, 2; lines 263-270 from ii, 5; lines 271-273 from ii, 8; lines 273-276 from ii, 9; lines 276-279 from iii, 3; and lines 279-281 from iii, 9). It will be seen that this part of the work is a mere summary, although Ælfric managed to make it a readable summary. Lines 285-331 contain an account of the saint's death freely translated from an *Epistle* by Sulpicius.<sup>8</sup> The conclusion (lines 332-346) is an abstract of the story by Gregory of Tours<sup>9</sup> of the struggle between Tours and Poitiers for the body of St. Martin. The entire homily is a plain tale in rapid, unadorned prose of the saint's life and death, as brief as was consistent with clarity yet by no means ill fashioned.

Ælfric's later version is altogether different. It is in the first place much longer, and accordingly gives details of event

<sup>6</sup> Ed. W. Arndt, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* I, 31-450, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Halm I, 152-216.

<sup>8</sup> *Epist.* iii, ed. Halm I, 146-151.

<sup>9</sup> *Historia Francorum* i, 48, ed. Arndt I, 55-6.

and setting that were omitted in the earlier text. It is, besides, written in the curious style to which Ælfric more and more tended, as he went on with his work of translation and adaptation: a manner of writing that has been generally regarded as a free form of alliterative verse, though I am trying to show in another place that it was a studied kind of prose—something quite different.<sup>10</sup> Yet as Ælfric himself stated, and as has already been said, the chief source was still Sulpicius Severus.

The first six sections (lines 1-253) correspond to chapters ii-vii of the *Vita*. Into section 7, however, which was taken from chapter ix, Ælfric introduced a passage (lines 294-309) of which the source was chapters xxvi and xxvii. Sections 8 to 21 (lines 366-649) then follow chapters xi to xx without a break. With section 22 begins a new series of adaptations. This section (lines 650-681) is from ii, 5 of the *Dialogues*; and section 23 (lines 682-705) is from ii, 13 of the *Dialogues*, except for the first two lines, which are taken from chapter xxi of the *Vita*, the rest of that chapter being omitted at this point. Section 24 (lines 705-748) corresponds to chapter xxii of the *Vita*, and section 25 (lines 749-774) to the last part of chapter xxiv, passing over xxiii and the first part of xxiv. Section 26 (lines 775-791) returns to chapter xxi, and section 27 (lines 792-844) to xxiii. With section 28 (lines 845-900) an incident is introduced from one of the *Epistles* by Sulpicius.<sup>11</sup> There follows a long series of miracles from the *Dialogues* (sections 29-50), not taken wholly in sequence, as will be seen from the note below,<sup>12</sup> but somewhat rearranged according to notions of the translator. Section 51 (lines 1306-1327) and part of section 52 (lines 1328-1370), which deal with the last days and the death of the saint, come from the *Epistles* again.<sup>13</sup> At this point Ælfric turned to material not used by him before, a work by

<sup>10</sup> *Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose*, to appear in *Mod. Phil.*

<sup>11</sup> *Epist.* i, ed. Halm I, 138-141.

<sup>12</sup> 29 (lines 901-939) = *Dial.* ii, 1; 30 and 31 (lines 940-964) = ii, 2; 32 (lines 965-1010) = ii, 3; 33 (lines 1011-1037) = ii, 4; 34 and 35 (lines 1038-1065) = ii, 9; 36 (lines 1066-1102) = ii, 11; 37 (lines 1103-1118) = iii, 2; 38 and 39 (lines 1119-1134) = iii, 3; 40 (lines 1135-1142) = iii, 14; 41 (lines 1143-1177) = iii, 4; 42 (lines 1178-1197) = iii, 8; 43 (lines 1198-1214) = iii, 6; 44 (lines 1215-1228) = iii, 7; 45 (lines 1229-1244) = iii, 8; 46, 47, and 48 (lines 1245-1266) = iii, 9; 49 (lines 1267-1276) = iii, 10; 50 (lines 1277-1305) = iii, 14.

<sup>13</sup> *Epist.* iii, ed. Halm I, 146-151.

Gregory of Tours that he can hardly have known when he wrote the epitome in the *Homilies*, else he would have taken from it the account of the manifestations after St. Martin's death, which he did not find in the soberer narrative of Sulpicius. The work in question is that entitled *De virtutibus S. Martini*.<sup>14</sup> This book formed the basis for the latter part of section 52<sup>15</sup> and of sections 53 and 54.<sup>16</sup> For his final section 55 (lines 1441-1495) Ælfric then returned to the passage in Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*,<sup>17</sup> which he had summarized in his earlier account of the saint.

The analysis in the preceding paragraphs makes clear, I hope, three things. In the first place, Ælfric did not content himself with making a mere outline when he treated the life of St. Martin for the second time, but gave himself sufficient space to tell the story on about the same scale as Sulpicius. There is thus more actual translation than in the earlier account, although at least equal freedom was used in rearranging materials. In the second place, Ælfric had apparently read more widely in the works of Gregory of Tours during the interval, and had found the book specifically devoted to St. Martin. He did not extract from it, one notes with interest, anything more than what must have seemed to him important corroborative evidence as to Martin's sanctity: namely, the angelic voices heard at his death—not only by the men of his circle but by Bishop Severinus in distant Cologne—and the revelation that came to Ambrose in Milan. The fact that Ælfric did not borrow more from Gregory's amazing collection of wonders indicates both his scholarly temper, which rejected the later for the earlier and soberer account, and his instinct to round out a biographical sketch without overloading it with extraneous matter. In the third place, trying to give English readers the equivalent of what more learned men could find in Latin, he was not content with plain prose but wrote in the alliterative style that he had used only occasionally in the *Homilies*, but was adopting for most of the *Lives of Saints*. Whether verse, or

<sup>14</sup> Ed. B. Krusch, *Script. Rerum Merovingicarum* I, 585-661, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*

<sup>15</sup> Lines 1370-1384 = *De virtutibus* i, 3.

<sup>16</sup> 53 (lines 1385-1411) = i, 4; 54 (lines 1412-1440) = i, 5.

<sup>17</sup> i, 48.

prose as I now believe, this style was a heightened one, intended to lift the narrative to a higher plane of interest and significance. Of that, there can be no doubt whatever.

As to the changes that Ælfric introduced, they are not extensive. Place-names that would have had no meaning to Englishmen he omitted for the most part, but preserved those that might have been recognized. Thus "in pago Æduorum" disappears, but Treves and Paris and Cologne remain. Notable as a bit of interpretation is the passage in the second version (lines 714-717), in which Ælfric glossed the names of the heathen gods: Jove as Thor, Mercury as Othon, and Venus as Frig. It will be observed that he knew the old gods by the Scandinavian forms of their names, which is an interesting bit of evidence as to the extent to which the influence of the Northmen had permeated England. Such additions were obviously intended by Ælfric to make his narrative clearer; very rarely did he amplify for the sake of emphasis, though he must have done so in line 465, when he described an idol as "swiþlice," for which Sulpicius gave him no authority. In only one passage have I noted anything that indicates clearly a misunderstanding on Ælfric's part of his Latin source. In section 22 of the account in the *Lives of Saints*, however, he was misled when he described Valentinian as "casere," and when he translated "uxor Arriana" as "his manfulla ge-bedda mid arrianiscum gedwylde dweligende lyfode."<sup>18</sup>

Any such detailed comparison as the one of which I have given the results leaves the student more than ever impressed with Ælfric's intelligence as well as his pious fervor. No other man of his age, or any age, has shown more enthusiasm for teaching, whether he was compiling a Latin grammar or narrating the life of a great spiritual leader like St. Martin. I suppose that is the reason why one finds genuine refreshment in him, for he was otherwise capable rather than inspired.

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<sup>18</sup> It seems to me that scribe or editor must be at fault, rather than Ælfric, in line 802. The Latin reads: "Clarus tamen nequaquam ad credendum cogi poterat"; and Skeat's text: "ac him gelyfde clarus." As the context shows no misunderstanding, the negative has somehow dropped out, I think.

## BODMER AND YOUNG

Bodmer was an omnivorous reader. He was also an inveterate literary borrower. To borrow, and to borrow freely from the writings of others, he regarded as not only permissible but as even highly meritorious.<sup>1</sup> Certain it is that to have deprived him of the opportunity of plucking at pleasure whatever in the wide field of literature appealed to his fancy, would have made impossible many of his writings in the form in which we know them. Indeed one may well go a step further and assert that to have thus thrown him wholly upon his own inadequate literary resources would surely have made him, *schreiblustig* though he was, less ready to launch forth upon some of his longest and withal most characteristic productions such as, e.g., his *Noah*.<sup>2</sup>

Next to *Paradise Lost* Young's *Night Thoughts* represents one of the most important sources of the *Noah*.<sup>3</sup> Indeed so numerous are Bodmer's direct borrowings from Young's poem that Ebert, who was then the recognized German authority on Young, in his running commentary on the *Night Thoughts* undertook to list such parallels as he had noted.<sup>4</sup> His record however, comprising some thirty-five entries, is incomplete.<sup>5</sup> From such notes of my own as I have on hand I shall attempt to supply some of the deficiencies. But before doing so one or two preliminary statements seem called for.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article *Bodmer as a Literary Borrower* in the *Philological Quarterly* vol. 1, No. 2, pages 110-116.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my *Bodmer and Milton* in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (1918) pp. 589-601; also my *Dryden's Tempest as a Source of Bodmer's Noah* in *Modern Philology* Aug. 1917, pp. 247-253.

<sup>3</sup> Milton and Young also exerted an important influence upon Klopstock's *Messias*. This fact naturally accounts for some of the resemblances between the *Messias* and the *Noah*; with these and other resemblances between the two German epics I hope to deal on another occasion.

<sup>4</sup> In a letter to Schinz of Aug. 30, 1765 Bodmer writes: "Da Sie die Noachide haben, so haben Sie einen wichtigen Teil von mir bei sich. . . . Sehr bitte ich, dass Sie mir Ihre Joungs (*sic*) Nachtgedanken von Ebert mit desselben Anmerkungen gütig mitteilen. Ich wollte gern nachsehen, wie viel Male und wie genau ich Joun nachgeahmt habe." Cf. Josephine Zehnder: *Pestalozzi* (1875) p. 467.

<sup>5</sup> Ebert's list is given by Vetter in the *Bodmer Denkschrift* p. 379 ff.



Johannes Barnstorff in his *Youngs Nachtgedanken und ihr Einfluss auf die deutsche Literatur* (1895) presents on page 56 the results of his investigation of Young's influence upon Bodmer's *Noah*, but his own personal contribution to the question is disappointingly meagre, as he was able to add but one or two new parallels of importance. In view of this fact one is forced to question somewhat J. L. Kind's thoroughness when he declares that he found "after a thorough investigation, that Barnstorff's dissertation had virtually exhausted the subject of verbal correspondences in the influence of the *Night Thoughts* upon German writers."<sup>6</sup> Nor can one with approval refer to the work of W. Thomas who, far from augmenting the list of Bodmer-Young parallels as far as the *Noah* and the *Night Thoughts* are concerned, seems even unaware of either the number or the importance of the correspondences which Ebert had previously reported.<sup>7</sup>

The Bodmerian passages which I present below as additional items are quoted, unless otherwise indicated, from the *Noah* of 1765; they are, however, as I have subsequently satisfied myself, virtually identical in the version of 1752, the edition from which Ebert prepared his list.

In the conversation between Bodmer's Sem and Japhet we come upon the passage

"Selbst gelehrt übte sich unsere Hand zum Umarmen und faszte  
Statt des Körpers, die Schatten der mitternächtlichen Träume"  
(*Noah* p. 84)

which recalls Young's lines

"I clasp'd phantoms and I found them air.  
O had I weigh'd it ere my fond embrace."<sup>8</sup>  
(*Night* I line 201 f.)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. his *Edward Young in Germany* (1906) page X.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. W. Thomas: *Le poète Edward Young* (1901), p. 506, footnote.

<sup>8</sup> These two lines of Young left their mark also upon the following passage in Bodmer's *Die gerechtfertigte Trauer* (1754)

"... ich ... breite mit den Armen  
Mich gänzlich nach ihm aus, ihn küssend zu umarmen,  
Doch ich ergreife nichts als eine Hand voll Wind."

Though Franz Servaes in his chapter on Bodmer and Breitinger (Cf. *Quellen und Forschungen*, vol. 60, p. 125) quotes these Bodmerian lines, he does not suspect the influence of Young.

When the Almighty, as he informs Noah of the coming of the flood, makes use of the phrase "ihr Herz umgürtet mit Erze" we note the resemblance with Young's

"with her heart  
Wrapt up in brass." (Night I l. 242 f.)

Sem's words

"Alle vom Weibe Geborne sind Söhn' und Erben des Schmerzens."  
(*Noah* p. 311)

are parallel to the English

"Fate [has] entail'd  
The mother's throes on all of woman born." (Night I l. 238 f.)

When Bodmer wrote

"Durch ihn (*sc.* den Tod) bekomm' ich das Wesen  
Für den Schatten den Leib" (*Noah* p. 111)

he imitated the similar passage

"All, all on Earth is shadow, all beyond  
Is substance." (Night I l. 119 f.)

Noah conversing with Sipha declares

"Oftmals war mein Verstand in Gefahr in Pfützen zu sinken,  
Weil der Zuspruch ihm fehlte, der ihn vom Boden erhöhe"  
(*Noah* p. 117)

a passage modeled after Young's

"Hast thou no friend to set thy mind abroad?  
Good sense will stagnate." (Night II l. 465 f.)

On page 97 of his epic Bodmer puts into the mouth of Noah these words:

"Vormals erschlich uns der Abend an Perats kühlenden Ufern,  
Wann wir die Wahrheit in ihre geheimen Winkel verfolgten,  
Wo sie, in wechselnden Reden gesucht, in dem freundlichen Streite  
Leichter erhascht wird, indem sie dem einsamen Denker entfliehet."<sup>a</sup>

Obviously this passage is but an adaptation of the English lines

"How often we talk'd down the summer's sun,  
And cool'd our passions by the breezy stream!  
How often . . . . ."

<sup>a</sup> Quoted in part by Vetter.

By conflict kind . . . struck out latent truth,  
 Best found, so sought; to the recluse more coy."  
 (Night II l. 450 ff.)

In his treatise on the *Noah* Wieland quotes the following Bodmerian passage:

"Dennoch ist dies tiefsinnige Denken ein Irren durch Wüsten,  
 Trucken und elend, wenns nicht freundschaftlicher Regen erquicket.  
 Sollen die strengen Gedanken nicht in der Irre verwildern,  
 Musz sie der Umgang des Freunds zurechte weisen und sammeln.  
 Sipha, du hast mich selbst den Wert des Kleinods gelehret,  
 Das ein Freund in sich faszt. Wie die Bienen Nektar in Blumen,  
 Also saugte der Mensch in der Freundschaft Weisheit und Freude,  
 Zwillinge von der Natur verknüpft, die geschieden bald sterben."  
 (*Noah*, ed. 1752 IV l. 551-8)

Wieland's comment on these lines begins thus: "Dieser letzte Gedanke ist unvergleichlich. Er enthält die ganze grosze Kunst glücklich zu sein" etc., but in vain do we look for any hint that the admired portion of the passage is well-nigh a literal translation of the *Night Thoughts* II l. 462-5 where we read:

"Know'st thou, Lorenzo! what a friend contains?  
 As bees mixt nectar draw from fragrant flow'rs,  
 So men from friendship, wisdom and delight;  
 Twins tied by nature, if they part, they die."

The entire passage, in fact, which Wieland cites—I have quoted only a portion of it—is based on various minor borrowings from the *Night Thoughts*.<sup>9</sup>

In view of his intimate acquaintance with the *Night Thoughts* it seems likely enough that Bodmer's "eherne Stimme der Glock" (*Noah* p. 74) was suggested by Young's figure "Death's toll, whose . . . iron tongue calls daily." (Night I l. 171 f.)

At the appearance of the comet in the *Noah* the people wonder:

"Ob er (sc. der Stern) unter andern schon lange gestanden, doch dunkel,  
 Bis er erst kürzlich das Licht von der Hand der Allmacht empfangen,  
 Die ein entschlafenes Feuer aus seinem Kiesel geschlagen"  
 (*Noah* p. 191)

a passage which recalls Young's

"O Thou, whose word from solid darkness struck  
 That spark, the sun." (Night I l. 38 f.)

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Bodmer *Denkschrift* page 382 f.

In his epic Bodmer makes frequent reference to weeping; in fact more than once we find Bodmer devoting a passage of considerable length to the subject of tears.<sup>10</sup> Weeping was one of the characteristic symptoms of eighteenth century sentimentalism in its elegiac aspect. As is clearly reflected in the literature of the period, tears, both the wept and the unwept, were regarded with considerable favor as marks of a highly sensitized temperament and of a refined, thoughtful attitude toward life.<sup>11</sup> Tears have their place also in several of Bodmer's English sources, notably in *Paradise Lost* and the *Night Thoughts*. Indeed the distinction of having devoted to the subject of tears a formal poetic passage of no fewer than seventy-five lines belongs to Young, whose "philosophy of tears," as he is pleased to call it, is to be found in Night V ll. 516-591. That in this matter we may again discern a guiding influence of Young upon Bodmer is obvious.

Not only did Bodmer borrow frequently from Young but in the following passage he sought to give expression to his admiration for the English poet. We read:

"Aber wie klein ist die Zahl der Edeln, der Freunde des Himmels,  
Welche die göttliche Frucht bei dem Tod der Verstorbenen sammeln  
Wie sie der britische Sänger mit vollen Händen gesammelt,  
Der in dem Moder des Kirchhofs den Staub Philanders gesungen,  
In der Tiefe der Nacht, die ins Dunkel des Todes sich kleidet,  
Still wie die Reiche des Todes. Ihm tat der tote Philander  
Noch den freundschaftlichen Dienst, und er wusste von ihm ihn zu nennen."  
(*Noah* p. 176 f.)

Bodmer while writing this passage had in mind particularly Night II ll. 12 ff. where we read:

"Lorenzo! let me turn my thought on thee,  
And thine, on themes may profit; profit there

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Noah* page 196 f. and page 256 f. In the latter passage Bodmer refers to tears as "Kinder des Mitleids" (page 257), a phrase which Wieland seems to have imitated in his

"Tränen . . . . ."

Diese Kinder der Menschheit (i.e., des Gefühls)." Cf. his *Briefe von Verstorbenen*, Hempel edition, vol. 39 p. 310.

<sup>11</sup> In this connection we need only recall such authors as Bodmer, Klopstock, Wieland, Goethe. But tearfulness was by no means confined to German literature. Rousseau, for example, confesses to having wept copious tears. Nor are tears to be met with only in modern literature, for well might Nietzsche exclaim: "In welchem Gedichte wird so viel geweint wie in der Odysee?"

Where most thy need; themes, too, the genuine growth  
 Of dear Philander's dust. He thus, though dead,  
 May still befriend—what themes? Time's wondrous price,  
 Death, friendship, and Philander's final scene."

Friendship, virtue and the life hereafter were congenial themes to Bodmer; they are also met with in several of his more important sources, notably in Milton, Young, Klopstock and others. Price in his *English-German Literary Influences*, page 232, quotes from my article *Bodmer and Milton*<sup>12</sup> as follows: "Like Milton, Bodmer sings the praise of liberty, righteousness, the simple life, the beauties of virtue, and the glories of the life hereafter." His comment is this: "No doubt Ibershoff is right in seeing a Miltonic influence here, yet most of these new notes were being wafted from England at the same time from other English poets, notably from Thomson. . . . The same remark applies to the theme of friendship."<sup>12a</sup> I fear this, to say the least, is misleading. It seems ill-advised, in discussing Bodmer, thus to single out Thomson with reference to some of these "new notes" rather than Young. Certain it is that after Milton, as already stated, Young represents one of the most important sources of the *Noah*; and it will be well for the sake of clarity and emphasis to recall at this point that Bodmer was also greatly influenced by his friend Klopstock, who in turn was indebted both to Milton and Young, and much more deeply indeed than to Thomson.<sup>13</sup> The subject of friendship, which

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1918, pp. 589-601.

<sup>12a</sup> At this point Price adds another statement which, if I understand him correctly, is likewise misleading. Following immediately after his reference to Thomson's influence upon Bodmer, I naturally assume that he implies here Thomson's influence also upon Haller when he says: "Haller too had given expression to them with seeming spontaneity." This remark would seem to be disposed of by the fact that, as Price himself admits (page 213), there is a lack of any convincing evidence of Thomson's influence upon Haller's poetry; I am not sure, however, that this holds equally true regarding Milton and Young.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. note 3 above. It will perhaps not be amiss here to remind the reader of a previous statement of mine that for the "Bremer Beiträger friendship was a kind of cult, as it was for the members of the Hainbund," the literary coterie which centered about Klopstock. He it was who once characterized himself as a "Seele zur Freundschaft erschaffen." Cf. his poem "An Ebert." Before sending to Bodmer a copy of this passionate ode on friendship, Klopstock was careful to insert a few lines appreciative of Bodmer's helpful friendship—lines which so delighted Bodmer that he wrote to his friend Zellweger: "In dieser Ode sind

Price specifically refers to, has its place in *Paradise Lost*. But as appears even from the parallel passages cited above, friendship was also one of the common, congenial themes of Bodmer and Young; this, I may add, I have previously pointed out elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> In fact Night Second of Young's poem bears the special descriptive title "*On Time, Death, and Friendship*." Though the new notes which Price has in mind, as well as others, have their interest also for other English poets of the period which concerns us, they are particularly characteristic of Young's *Night Thoughts*. Thomson's influence upon Bodmer, who was deficient in descriptive power, was far inferior to that of Young.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, as compared with Milton's amazing influence upon the *Noah*, Thomson's must needs be regarded as so slight as to be almost negligible. Presenting the matter in another form: Milton's influence upon Bodmer was vastly greater than the combined effect of Young—important as this was—Thomson, and several other English sources. Quite apart from the mass of literary parallels which I have succeeded in bringing together in connection with my study of the *Noah*, perhaps the greatest weight in the particular matter under discussion must attach to the fact that upon Bodmer his great English master Milton began to exert his extraordinary, prolonged influence long before Thomson's *Seasons* were even written. Moreover, at no period in his life was Bodmer in his relation to Thomson under an influence even remotely resembling a spell; never, in other words, did Thomson become for Bodmer a veritable cult as Milton most assuredly did.<sup>16</sup> Whatever, therefore, his idolized Milton, not to forget his deeply esteemed Young, had to offer to him for his epic *Noah*, Bodmer

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etliche Zeilen für mich, die ich nicht für die Souveränität im Lande Appenzell geben wollte." Cf. Kürschner's D. N. L., vol. 47, p. 38, footnote. This particular ode betrays an unmistakable influence of Young. It would be difficult, I believe, to find among Continental poets one who wrote with more profound feeling on the theme of friendship than did Klopstock. It is my impression that he, like Bodmer, was more deeply influenced by Young than by Thomson.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. my *Bodmer and Milton* page 595, footnote.

<sup>15</sup> On another occasion I hope to deal with some of Thomson's influence upon Bodmer.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. my article *Bodmer and Milton*; also my *Bodmer as a Literary Borrower*.

certainly imbibed from them rather than from a source of decidedly minor importance like Thomson.

In conclusion I feel compelled to take issue with Price in one other matter.<sup>17</sup> The *Night Thoughts* were translated into over half a dozen European languages. Such an extraordinary success must surely have had a more profound psychological basis than Price seems to ascribe to it when he hints in his chapter on Young—I trust I am not misinterpreting him—that Young's vogue was something of a "fad";<sup>18</sup> I am assuming, of course, that he is employing the term with its usual disparaging connotation. Originally and essentially, the vogue of the *Night Thoughts* was rather, it would seem, a striking proof of a perfectly natural and by no means discreditable spiritual response of many souls in many lands including, above all others perhaps, eighteenth century Germany. A fad? Not, surely, unless man's serious attitude toward life and death be ever a fad.

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<sup>17</sup> Elsewhere I shall have to take issue with him in still another matter.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. his *English-German Literary Influences*, p. 238. Apparently he is here following the lead of another, for cf. on page 240 his quotation from Kind. As a matter of fact, for many readers both in England and in other countries the *Night Thoughts* became a favorite book which was not only read but re-read at frequent intervals.

## A POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION OF THE MISFORTUNES OF ARTHUR

The interpretation of Elizabethan plays in the light of sixteenth century history needs no introduction. Since Leonard H. Courtney published his article on *The Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex* in *Notes and Queries* for 1860, many other scholars have pointed out possible parallels between Elizabethan dramatic characters and familiar figures of contemporary history. Lyly's *Midas* and *Endimion* and Johnson's *Epicoene* have furnished material for parallels of this kind; and of recent years historical allegory has been found in many Shakespearian plays, including *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *A Mid-summer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, and *A Comedy of Errors*.

So many extravagant ideas have been broadcast in this curious game of historical-dramatic identification that it may seem both absurd and futile to continue the pastime. If James the First on the stage is equivalent both to Bottom the Weaver and to Hamlet, what parallels remain to be suggested? Since the literary quality of the plays is responsible for their survival, presumably, why do we not judge them on that basis alone? Furthermore, we know that nothing can be definitely lost nor gained in this strange interpretation game. The results of an investigation may seem "a hit, a very palpable hit"; but in the final analysis we must recognize that the outcome is really "nothing, neither way."

In spite of this realization it seems to me that the work of attempting to interpret an historical drama in the light, not of the period with which it purports to deal, but of the period in which it was written, is not entirely wasted. Three hundred years from now how much of Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln* and Shaw's *Saint Joan* will readers of those two plays understand if they know nothing of 1918 and 1923 but busily look up the American Civil War and the fifteenth century Siege of Orleans? We, who see these plays in the first quarter of the twentieth century, need no explanation of their innumerable references to current history; but three centuries hence it may be well for our descendants to know something of the social,



religious, and political conditions which surrounded Drinkwater and Shaw.

In the sixteenth century we find additional reasons for being well versed in Elizabethan history in the then close connection between state and theatre, which no longer exists, and in the absence of modern methods of spreading information. Plays and masques took the place of the modern newspaper in forming public opinion, both in public and Court presentations. "That the methods used were both direct propaganda and satire is shown by the evidence; and that the system was closely related to the patronage of dramatic companies by noblemen there is good reason to believe."<sup>1</sup> That the Queen was particularly interested in this introduction of political themes into the drama we know from several sources, among which is a letter, dated February, 1595, from Burghley, who writes of Elizabeth, "I thinke never a ladye besides her, nor a deciphere in the courte, would have dissolved the figure (explained the allegory) to have found sense as her Majestie hath done."<sup>2</sup>

The authorship and presentation of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* are peculiarly interesting when we consider the idea that the play may be full of political allusions. Written by seven gentlemen of Gray's Inn, performed before Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, at Greenwich on the twenty-eighth of February, 1588, and printed by one Robert Robinson evidently within the following month, for its title page bears the date of 1587, this play seems well worth a careful study. No record of it has been found in the Stationer's Register; but there seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of its title page, on which it is described as "Certain Devises and shewes presented to her Maiestie by the Gentlemen of Grayes-Inn at her Highnesse Court in Greenewich, the twenty-eighth day of Februarie in the thirtieth yeare of her Maiesties most happy Raigne."<sup>3</sup>

That Elizabeth was at Greenwich at that time we know from the following statements found in the documents of the Revels' Office. "The Quene's Majestie being at Grenewich ther were shewed presented and enacted before her highnes betwixte

<sup>1</sup> Rickert in *Political Propaganda and Satire in A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Modern Philology, 1923—Vol. 21 pp. 136-7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Cunliffe Edition in *Early English Classical Tragedies*—p. 219.

Christmas and Shrovetide vii playes besides feattes of Activitie and other Shewes by the Children of Poles her Majesties own servants and the gentlemen of Grayes In on whom was In-ployed dyverse remnanttes of clothe of goulde and other stuffe oute of the Store."<sup>4</sup> This and the fact that the play is listed in the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books<sup>5</sup> are the only official documents that I have been able to find concerning *The Misfortunes of Arthur*; but they seem sufficient evidence to corroborate printer Robinson's title page.

If we may trust the printed Quarto as to the date and circumstances of the performance of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, perhaps we may also trust the information given therein as to its authorship. Thomas Hughes is declared to have written most of the play, but he was fortunate in being assisted by a number of worthy colleagues. Nicholas Trotte wrote the introduction, a somewhat wordy apology for the poetry of the play and an explanation of the fact that five gentlemen students, whose realm was law, were captured and instructed in "The Poet's lore" because they were

"... specially desirous to present  
Your Majestie with fruits of Province newe."<sup>6</sup>

William Fulbecke "penned" two speeches to be "pronounced in steade of Gorlois his first" and "his last speache" written by Thomas Hughes. Master Frauncis Flower "penned a Chorus for the first act and an other for the second acte"; while "the dumbe shewes were partly deuised by Maister Christopher Yelverton, Maister Frauncis Bacon, Maister John Lancaster and others, who with Maister Penroodocke and the said Maister Lancaster directed these proceedings at Court."<sup>7</sup>

Not much information concerning any one of these gentlemen has survived, with the exception, of course, of Francis Bacon, whose connection with the play I purpose to consider in some detail later on. "Thomas Hughes, a native of Cheshire, was matriculated as a pensioner of Queen's College in November, 1571, and proceeded B. A. in 1575-6. On 8 September,

<sup>4</sup> Feuillerat—Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth—Louvain, 1908, p. 378.

<sup>5</sup> British Museum Catalogue, Vol. 36, p. 181.

<sup>6</sup> Cunliffe Edition, p. 221.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. pp. 293-296.

1576, he was elected a fellow of his college under a royal mandate."<sup>8</sup> He proceeded M.A. in 1579. Soon after leaving Cambridge Hughes was admitted to Gray's Inn,<sup>9</sup> and there ends his recorded history. Hughes seems to have been a patent lawyer, for the following entry is found in the State Papers: "1588. October 23. Burghley to Mayor of Carlyon and others. Complaint of Thomas Hughes of interruption in executing office of alnager and sealing of new draperies in the County of Monmouth. Burghley utterly dislikes of it, knowing the patents to Mr. Fitzwilliams and Mr. Delves to be good."<sup>10</sup>

Of Nicholas Trotte little is known. Collier writes, in discussing the play in which we are interested, "At this date Nicholas Trotte (who is not known to have written anything but the introduction of this tragedy) was probably on intimate terms with the family of Lord Bacon. Lady Bacon, widow of Sir Nicholas Bacon, in 1594, had given him a horse, which Trotte for some cause sold; and in the Harl. MS, No. 88, arts. 21, 22, and 24, we learn that in 1601, Lord Bacon was in debt to Nicholas Trotte to the amount of 1800 pounds. His creditor had applied for the payment of the money, but could not obtain it. Lord Bacon (then Mr. Francis Bacon, and a Member of Parliament) in his letter enters into some explanation on the subject of his debt, and on certain conditions, Trotte consented to allow him time."<sup>11</sup> These letters can all be found in Spedding's *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, wherein is listed an additional letter bearing the date of 1593, concerning a sale in which Bacon's brother and Alderman Spencer were involved and in which Trotte is spoken of as a representative of the Bacon Family.<sup>12</sup>

Yelverton and William Fulbecke are familiar figures to the student of Elizabethan times. The former was apparently the only one of the collaborators who had ever had any real connection with the drama before 1588. Yelverton, twenty-two years before, had written a prologue to *Jocasta*, a play by George Gascoigne, then a resident of Gray's Inn, and performed by the

<sup>8</sup> Cooper, *Atheniae Cantabrigiensis*, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 28, p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1581-1590*, p. 554.

<sup>11</sup> Collier, J. P., *Annals of the Stage*, 3 vols. Vol. 1, pp. 267-8.

<sup>12</sup> Spedding, Vol. 1, p. 248.

gentlemen in 1566. Yelverton first entered Gray's Inn in 1552, was apparently there in 1566, served as a reader in 1574 and again in 1583 and was promoted "to the degree of coif" in 1589. Nine years later he was distinguished at Court for he was "promoted to Queen's sergeant, and this capacity took a prominent part in the indictment of Essex for treason in 1600." Yelverton also gained the favor of James the First, for he held several court positions during that monarch's reign and was made by him Knight of the Bath.<sup>13</sup>

William Fulbecke studied at Oxford, proceeding B.A. in 1581 and M.A. in 1584. At the close of that year he entered Gray's Inn. He was devoted to law and philosophy and in 1587 published *A Book of Christian Ethics, or Moral Philosophie*. His best known work appeared in 1600 and was entitled *Direction or Preparation to the Study of Law*. He wrote several other legal works and a treatise on Roman history. Fulbecke's "classical allusions are often happy, and his remarks sound, notwithstanding his euphuistic style."<sup>14</sup> It is not unnatural, therefore, to find him collaborating in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, although that seems to be his only dramatic venture.

No biographical notes on Francis Flower are available; but there are two entries in the State Papers which prove that the said gentleman existed and that he followed the profession of law. The first of these is dated July 27, 1581, and is to the following effect. "Francis Flower and Edward Dodge to Sir William Catesby. Have sent to Thomas Tresham to know his pleasure for taking of fine from Lady Catesby. Desire a day may be fixed for that purpose."<sup>15</sup> The second entry, bearing the date of January 9, 1584, is the record of an examination of Thomas Fells, footman to the Earl of Northumberland, over the delivery of a letter from Lord Paget, signed by Robert Beale and Francis Flower.<sup>16</sup>

No records of John Lancaster and Master Penruddock seem to be in existence. There is no particular reason for doubting that these gentlemen lived and participated in the writing and the directing of the play; but in any case they are of no great

<sup>13</sup> Pollard in D. N. B., Vol. 63, pp. 315-6.

<sup>14</sup> Francis Watt in D. N. B., Vol. 20, pp. 303-4.

<sup>15</sup> Cal. State Papers, Dom. Series, 1581-90, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

importance to our present investigation. Little is known of Robert Robinson, the printer, except the fact that he was properly licensed and printed divers books and pamphlets, many of which were of a political nature. The two most interesting seem to have been *A Ballad of the Commons Crye of England against the Queen's Majesties Enemies*, "authorized by the wardens and Master Hartewell"<sup>17</sup> and "A Sermon Preched at Paules Cross the 17 of November, 1589, in Remembrance and Thanksgyving for her Majesty's Reign; now thirty-two yeres by Thomas White, professor of divynyty."<sup>18</sup> Evidently Robinson was a loyal subject of Her Majesty's.

In dealing with *The Misfortunes of Arthur* the history and position of Gray's Inn deserve consideration as well as the biographies of seven of its inhabitants. In 1506 Lord Grey sold the manor of Purtpole, otherwise Gray's Inn, "to one Hugh Denys, to whom, with several other persons (some, presumably, members of Gray's Inn) it was conveyed by bargain and sale. . . . accompanied by a Recovery, a Fine and by Deeds of Release, from the same Edmund, Lord Grey, and his brothers, Richard Grey, clerk, and John Grey."<sup>19</sup> Ten years later "the survivors of the persons to whom the manor was so conveyed obtained the King's license to alienate to the prior and convent of Skene 'the manor of Portepole' and appurtenances, estimated at the annual value of 6 pounds, 13 shillings, sixpence. . . . On the dissolution of the monasteries, the possessions of Skene passed to the Crown, and Dugdale states that the manor or inn was granted by the King unto the Society in free farm, by the yearly payment of the sum above named, which they continued to pay until the year 1733, when they purchased this rent of the persons deriving title from Sir Philip Matthews."<sup>20</sup>

The Inn, during Elizabeth's reign, was inhabited by expert lawyers, who lived together in true community fashion. It was

<sup>17</sup> Arber, ed., *Transcript of the Staioners' Register 1554-1640*, 5 vols. Vol. 2, p. 460.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 534.

<sup>19</sup> Foster, Joseph, *Collectanea Genealogica*, 4 vols., London, 1883. Vol. 3, p. v. This volume is devoted to registers of admissions to and marriages in Gray's Inn).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. v-vi.

their custom to devise some sports each year at Christmas and Shrovetide, as did their friendly rivals, the lawyers of the Inner Temple. These masques, pageants, and plays were generally elaborate affairs and were frequently connected in some way with the Court. The Christmas of 1571 was celebrated by the Inner Temple with "a splendid masque in which Lord Robert Dudley played the part of Palaphilos, the Marshall,"<sup>21</sup> and to which Gray's Inn sent an ambassador "Because our State of Graya did grace Templaria with the presence of an ambassador about thirty years ago."<sup>22</sup> The following year the tragedy of *Gordoduc or Ferrex and Porrex* was presented first at the Temple and three weeks afterwards before the Queen at her command.<sup>23</sup> This play was discovered, as far back as 1860, to possess "a laboured argument in favour of Lady Katherine Grey's" right to the succession of the English throne.<sup>24</sup> It was first produced "about four months after the birth of the Suffolk heir and two weeks before the appointment of the commission by which he was later declared illegitimate." The play was printed in 1565, 1570, and 1590, all years during which there was a great deal of heated discussion concerning Elizabeth's successor.<sup>25</sup>

In 1566 George Gascoigne's *Jocasta* was performed by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn at their revels; and the following year the Inner Temple responded with *Gismond of Salern*, probably hoping to excel its rival's production of the previous year. On January 16, 1587-8, Gray's Inn produced "a play of which Catiline was the hero, and a mask. . . represented in the Hall before Lord Burghley and other courtiers. The Lord Treasurer has registered the fact of his presence on the occasion, as an indorsement on the list of the characters, and of the performers of them, which he left behind him among his papers."<sup>26</sup> *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, as we have already seen, was presented by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn the following

<sup>21</sup> Hatton, Christopher, Letters, edited by Harris Nicholas, London, 1847, p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Brown, Basil, Law Sports at Gray's Inn, N. Y., 1921, p. x.

<sup>23</sup> Courtney, L. H., Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex in Notes and Queries (2nd series) 1860, Vol. 10, pp. 261-3.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 263.

<sup>25</sup> Rickert, op. cit., pp. 138-40.

<sup>26</sup> Collier, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 266.

month; and the Inner Temple retaliated the next year with *Tancred and Gismonda*, revised from *Gismond of Salern*.<sup>27</sup>

For our present investigation it is of prime importance to remember that the bond between Gray's Inn and the Court was extremely close. The account of the Revel Week in 1594 is particularly illuminating as an illustration of the Court's interest in the Inn. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* was performed on December 28 by the gentlemen lawyers;<sup>28</sup> but the pièce de resistance of the week was the *Gesta Grayorum*, a masque and allegory of their own existence. One of their number was chosen prince, and around him their festivities centered.<sup>29</sup> "On the third of January at night there was a most honourable presence of great and noble personages, that came as invited to our Prince; as namely, the Right Honourable Lord Keeper, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Northumberland, Southhampton, and Essex; the Lords Buckhurst, Windsor, Mountjoy, Sheffield, Compton, Rich, Burleigh, Mounteagle, and the Lord Thomas Howard; Sir Thomas Henneage, Sir Robert Cecill, with a great number of knights, ladies, and very worshipful personages; all of which had convenient places, and very good entertainment, to their good liking and contentment."<sup>30</sup>

At Shrovetide the Prince and his entourage went to Court and performed a masque before Queen Elizabeth at her request, at the close of which "Her Majesty willed the Lord Chamberlain that the gentlemen should be invited on the next day, and that he should present them to her. Which was done and Her Majesty gave them her hand to kiss, with most gracious words of commendation to them particularly, and in general to Grey's Inn, as an House she was much beholden unto, for that it did always study for some sorts to present unto her."<sup>31</sup>

The Queen was "beholden unto" Gray's Inn; the revels of the Inn were closely followed and even participated in by members of the Court; the Inner Temple, Gray's legal and social rival, produced at least one play, as early as 1561, which almost

<sup>27</sup> Klein, David, *According to the Decorum of These Days* in P.M.L.A., 1918. Vol. 33, pp. 244-268.

<sup>28</sup> Brown, op. cit., p. xliii.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. ix.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. xxvii.

certainly contains political propaganda for the rights of Lady Katherine Grey's heir as successor to the English throne; Elizabeth loved hidden political allegory of this type; some of the authors of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* had close Court connections. Are we justified in thinking that Hughes' play, which was actually presented at Court, it must be remembered, may be, in some respects at least, topical in its allusions? Or did seven lawyers, only one of whom had ever taken an interest in the drama before, write a play centering around the Arthurian tradition merely to "lose their wits all in unwoonted walkes"?

There are, of course, numerous obvious references to affairs of a political nature. The usual Elizabethan compliments to the Queen are paid by Gorlois' ghost in the opening scene.

"The whiles O Cassiopaea gembright signe  
Most sacred sight, and sweete Coelestiall starre,  
This Clymat's ioy, plac'd in imperiall throne  
With fragrant Oliue Branche portending peace;  
And whosoe'r besides ye heauenly pow'rs  
(Her stately trayne with influence diuine,  
And milde aspect all prone to Bryttaines good)  
Foresee what present plagues doe threate this Isle:  
Preuent not this my wreake. For you their rests  
A happier age a thousand yeares to come:  
An age for peace, religion, wealth, and ease,  
When all the world shall wonder at your blisse:  
That, that is yours. Leaue this to Gorlois ghost."<sup>22</sup>

The most significant line in this complimentary speech, is the one in which it is admitted that Elizabeth and her attendants may "Foresee what present plagues doe threate this Isle."

There is constant reference throughout the play to usurpation, theft, exile, flight, and civil war. The Kingship is continually spoken of in various ways. The Irish and the Scotch are referred to frequently; Denmark makes several appearances, as do Norway and the Orkneys, France, and Rome, all portions of the globe in which Britain was considerably interested in February, 1588. "Rebels," "traitors," "the commons," "the will of the subjects," "the countries' good" are mentioned countless times and are all subjects in which one would expect Elizabeth to have been vitally interested.

<sup>22</sup> Cunliffe edition, p. 228.



It is not with these manifest references to political affairs that I wish to deal, however, but with the possibility of the existence of a hidden political allegory running throughout the play. If *The Misfortunes of Arthur* does possess this hidden political significance, where can we find the key to its historical interpretation? There are several periods and personages in English history that might seem to be reflected in the Elizabethan play that we are considering, the main theme of which is, of course, civil war. It is difficult to select particular individuals from the civil wars of England and to say, "Behold the valiant Arthur and the miscreant Mordred," because many historians and chroniclers are apt to describe those whose side they favor as great heroes and their opponents as despicable traitors. Consequently we could take almost any civil strife in England and find therein the counterparts of Arthur and Mordred; and we must proceed with caution.

It seems worth while, however, to mention a few of the possible parallels between tradition and history for which we seem to have some evidence. Sebastian Evans suggests that the Arthur of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle was drawn from Henry the First, while Mordred's treachery was suggested by the treachery of Stephen.<sup>33</sup> Between Henry and Arthur there seem to be certain obvious parallels, but no closer bonds than would exist between any two heroes; while the only connection between Mordred and Stephen that I can discover is the fact that they were both traitors. Another historical example that occurs to us as an interpretation of the play is the struggle between Henry IV and Hotspur during the end of the fourteenth century, as Mordred is called the "Hot spur'd youth"<sup>34</sup> and displays many of the characteristics attributed to Harry Percy. Here again, however, the resemblance extends only to broad outlines with no parallel details whatsoever.

There is another interesting historical line of investigation that seems worthy of consideration in attempting to discover the political significance of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*; and that is a study of the Arthurs that have figured in English history. There were two of these between the sixth century legendary hero and the reign of Elizabeth. The first was a twelfth century

<sup>33</sup> Evans' note on Geoffrey's Chronicle—Temple Ed. p. 361.

<sup>34</sup> Cunliffe ed., p. 333.

character, the son and heir of Geoffrey, the third son of Henry II; and the second was the son of Henry VII. As both of these Arthurs seem to have been named after the legendary hero, there are naturally certain resemblances between them and the protagonist of our play. These parallels are not close enough, however, to make it at all probable that the play was built around either one of the prince Arthurs.

The next line of investigation is naturally a survey of the personages and situations in which Elizabeth was vitally interested in February, 1588, to see whether we can here find any direct parallels to the characters and situations of our play. One of the chief centers of political comment at that time was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. He has been identified to some extent as the Arthur of Spenser's *Faery Queene*; but I can see no parallels whatsoever between the Arthur of Hughes' play and the Earl of Leicester. When, two years before the production of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, Leicester had imprudently accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands, Elizabeth was extremely angry;<sup>35</sup> and her rage would have known no bounds at the very idea of seeing him on the stage as ruler of Britain. But Elizabeth was not sufficiently enraged against Leicester to have him portrayed as the villain, Mordred. He was recalled from the Low Countries in November, 1587, and did not regain the Queen's favor for several months; but on the tenth of February, 1588, shortly before the presentation of our play, a show was given at Court in Leicester's honor,<sup>36</sup> and thereafter the Queen once more placed "increased confidence" in him.<sup>37</sup>

Although the question of war with Spain was of great importance at this time and Elizabeth was fond of seeing Philip satirized on the stage, I can find no character that seems a possible parallel for him in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. Of course the possibility of Philip's being portrayed as Arthur is too ridiculous to mention; and were he shown as the traitor Mordred, Elizabeth would have had to see herself reflected in the rôle of

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Elizabeth's letter to Leicester, given in Camden's *Historie of Elizabeth*, 3 vols., London, 1630, Vol. 3, p. 64.

<sup>36</sup> Chambers, E. K., *Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1923, Vol. 4, p. 103.

<sup>37</sup> Sidney Lee, *Biography of Robert Dudley* in D.N.B., Vol. 16, p. 119.

Arthur. This would have been, to say the least, a dubious compliment for the worthy lawyers to pay the Queen!

The question of prime importance to Elizabeth during the early months of 1588 is one which I have not yet discussed, namely, the situation in Scotland. Mary, Queen of Scots, had been executed at Elizabeth's command on the eighth of February, 1587, just a year before the performance of our play. Her death had been planned for many years, and her enemies had long been waiting to rid themselves of her obnoxious presence. Before the execution took place James and Elizabeth exchanged several letters on the subject. In January, 1587, we find Elizabeth writing as follows: "You may see whither I kipe the serpent that poisons me, when the confes to haue reward. By sauing of her life she wold haue had mine. Do I not make myselfe, trowe ye, a goodly pray for euery wretche to deuour? Transfigure yourselfe into my state, and suppose what you aught to do, and thereafter way my life, and reiect the care of murdar, and shun all baites that may untie our amities, and let all men knowe, that princes knowe best their owne lawes, and misiuge not that you knowe not. For my part, I wyl not lieue to wrong the menest. And so I conclude you with your owne wordes, you wyl prosecute or mislike as much thos that seake my ruine as yf the sought your hart bloud, and wold I had none in myne if I wolde not do the like; as God knoweth, to whom I make my humble prayers to inspire you with best desiars."<sup>28</sup>

James was not quite so docile as Elizabeth supposed that he would be. He replied to her letter on the twenty-sixth of January: "Quhat thing, Madame, can greatlier touche me in honoure, that both is a King and a Sonne, then that my nearest neighbour being in straightened friendship with me, shall rigorously putt to deathe a free Souveraigne Prince, and my naturall Mother, alyke in estaite and sexe to her that so uses her, albeit subject, I grant, to a harder fortune, and touching her nearlie in proximitie of bloode."<sup>29</sup>

Elizabeth responded about the first of February with another long letter, telling James that it was impossible for both Mary and herself to be safe, "which wold God wer true," and

<sup>28</sup> Bruce, J., ed. *Letters of Queen Elizabeth and James VI of Scotland*, Camden Society, 1849, pp. 42-3.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

that she was not one to trust her life to another's hands and to send it out of her own.<sup>40</sup> James had no chance to answer this letter, for the execution took place within a week at Elizabeth's command. "By far the most dreadful reproach that posterity has to bring upon her is that, a week before the execution, Elizabeth made one last attempt to induce Sir Amyas Paulet and Sir Drue Drury to kill Mary Stuart privately. Paulet, 'with great grief and bitterness of mind,' made answer to the detestable proposal: 'God forbid,' he wrote, 'that I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or have so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law or warrant'."<sup>41</sup> Elizabeth "repented not that the deed was done, but that she had been the doer of it."<sup>42</sup>

In spite of his extreme indignation and vow of vengeance, James managed to write Elizabeth a diplomatic letter in March, 1587, during which he expressed the hope that Elizabeth would by her honorable behavior at all times "fully persuade the quhole worlde" of her "inncoentie."<sup>43</sup> The relationship between the two monarchs at this period was anything but satisfactory, however, for it was not until fourteen months later, in May, 1588, that the Queen could "drinke most willingly a large draught of the rivar of Lethe" after her pen "hathe remained so long dry" that she "supposes hit hardly wold have taken ynke again."<sup>44</sup>

During these fourteen months affairs between England and Scotland were in a critical state. Elizabeth certainly did not prove her innocence in regard to Mary's execution to the "quhole world." Even the English Court was divided in its opinion. Burghley occasioned Elizabeth's severe displeasure for several months by writing sentences "occasioned upon the death of Mary Queen of Scots."<sup>45</sup> As for the outside world—abroad "The news of Mary's death was received at first with incredulity and then, when rumor passed into certainty, with a cry

<sup>40</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>41</sup> Jessopp, A. *Biography of Elizabeth* in D.N.B., Vol. 17, p. 221.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>43</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>45</sup> Nichols, *Progresses, Public Processions, and Pageants of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols., London, 1823, Vol. 2, p. 521.

for vengeance. In Paris people raved against the perfidious queen; at Rome the pope solemnly proclaimed a crusade against the heretic monarch; in Spain preparations were made for a holy war against the archenemy of the Catholic faith."<sup>46</sup> In Scotland, as we have seen, James was vowing vengeance in one breath and attempting to keep up diplomatic relationships in the next. If James had decided to join Philip against Elizabeth at this time, civil war would have complicated matters considerably. The nobility of both England and Scotland spent the fall of 1587 in speculating as to what the final outcome would be and in attempting to conciliate the two monarchs; but in the following February, when *The Misfortunes of Arthur* was produced, the result was not yet known. The succession to the English crown was naturally involved; and in the previous October we find Justice Clerk writing to Mr. Archibald Doublas: "And first I man agree with you that youre firste ground—which is to bringe his majestie with quietnes to enjoy the right of that crowne after that Queenes deathe—is the best peece of service can be done him by anie man."<sup>47</sup>

We can see from these entries, many more of which might have been quoted, that the Scottish situation was of vital importance to Elizabeth in February, 1588. It would seem possible, then, that a play presented at Court during this month, the theme of which was civil war and the state of Britain, might contain allusions to contemporary affairs in Scotland. An interesting point that presents itself at this point in our investigation is the connection of Francis Bacon with *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. He is given credit for "partly devising the dumbe showes." This would imply a knowledge of the entire play as the dumb shows presented before each act set forth the exposition of the plot. There is no way of telling, of course, how much of the play was planned by each one of the seven gentlemen involved in its construction, but Bacon, unlike the other authors, helped in several dramatic performances<sup>48</sup> and "in the Sports and Revels at Gray's Inn, he was always head and front."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Terry, Benjamin, *History of England*, Chicago, 1901, p. 608.

<sup>47</sup> *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots*, 1547-1603, 9 vols. Vol. 9, p. 491.

<sup>48</sup> Grumbine, H. C. *The Misfortunes of Arthur in Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1900, p. 56.

<sup>49</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, p. x.

Another reason for supposing that Bacon was greatly interested in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* is the fact that the play was actually presented at Court. From the death of Bacon's father in 1579 he became "the most importunate and most untiring of suitors. . . . He began, what he never discontinued, his earnest and humble appeals to his relative the great Lord Burghley, to employ him in the Queen's service, or to put him in some place of independence."<sup>60</sup> In the entries for 1585 we find a summary of one of Bacon's appeals to Walsingham: "Francis Bacon to Walsingham. Desires him to remember his suit to Her Majesty. Thinks the objection of his years will wear away with the length of his suit. By the stay, he is hindered from taking a course of practice, which by the leave of God he must and will follow."<sup>61</sup> Bacon accordingly sought to gain royal favor and to influence royal opinion by any means whatsoever." He must very early have got into the habit of entertaining thoughts for which persons in authority were not yet ripe, and for looking about for some means by which he might alter their judgment. The way now was not open then. He could not stir up opinion by public writing or public speaking. . . . Not only did the one way of influencing the course of affairs lie in his ability to win the Queen and those immediately around her, but Bacon was well content that it should be so. . . . (He) must look to achieve a statesman's ends by the means of a courtier, to gain access, to offer services, to watch the rise and fall of favorites. To do so became a habit with him."<sup>62</sup>

Another interesting and important fact that I should like to call to mind in discussing Bacon's connection with the play is that he possessed the means of being kept in close touch with the situation in Scotland. In 1576 Bacon went abroad with Elizabeth's ambassador, Sir Amias Paulet, "to be bred a statesman, according to the wishes of his father, whose favorite son he was."<sup>63</sup> From that time on he was in close touch with Sir Amias and with Mr. Thomas Phelippes, the well-known

<sup>60</sup> Church, R. W. *Francis Bacon, English Men of Letters Series*, Ed. by J. Morley, London, 1907, p. 8.

<sup>61</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1581-1590*, p. 262.

<sup>62</sup> Fowler, *Francis Bacon in D.N.B.*, Vol. 2, p. 329.

<sup>63</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

decipherer of Mary's correspondence.<sup>54</sup> Probably these two men knew more about the Scotch situation from 1585 to 1588 than any other persons in Scotland or England. So well known are their positions that it is unnecessary to do more than mention their names here. An entry in the State Papers under the date of January 25, 1586, reads as follows: "Sir Amias Powlet to Mr. Thomas Phelippes. Respecting desire of one Reynolds to leave his (Powlet's) service. Hearty commendations to be made to their good friend, Mr. Francis Bacon."<sup>55</sup>

Bacon could easily have familiarized himself with current events in Scotland through either or both of his "good friends," Sir Amias Paulet and Mr. Thomas Phelippes; he was anxious to gain Elizabeth's favor by any and all means; he had a part in devising *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. A play presented at Court in February, 1588, dealing with civil war and asking the Queen to

"Foresee what present plagues toe threaten this Isle"

may well have contained allusions to Scotland, a vital problem in Elizabeth's mind at that time. I cannot say whether these facts are significant or whether they are merely coincidences, leading to idle speculations; but the probabilities seem against chance.

In seeking an interpretation of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* in late sixteenth century Scotch history, we cannot hope to find exact parallels between the characters of the play and the nobles of the Scottish Court. In England "in the year 1581 was passed the so-called 'Statue of Silence' which made it punishable by death to discuss the rights of any heir";<sup>56</sup> and James was certainly considered one of the most important candidates for the English throne in 1588. Even if we consider the play not as propaganda either for or against James, but simply as a picture of the condition of contemporary Scotland, as I propose to do, the historical symbolism will not be obvious, for it was illegal at this period even to present any living Christian monarch on the

<sup>54</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Scottish Series, 1509-1603, 2 vols., Vol. 2, pp. 943-8.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 981.

<sup>56</sup> Pollen, J. H., *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*, Edinburgh, 1922, p. XIII.

stage.<sup>57</sup> Therefore we must expect to find the political significance of the play, if indeed there be any, rather obscure. In the suggestions that I shall make nothing, of course, can be taken as positive proof that my theory is correct. All that I am attempting to do is to point out a possible interpretation of the play.

In the first scene of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, the ghost of Gorlois enters, demanding revenge for his foul treatment on earth. Addressing himself he says:

"Since thus through channels blacke of Limbo lake,  
 . . . . .  
 To former light once lost by Destnies doome:  
 Where proude Pendragon broylde with shamefull lust,  
 Dispoylee thee erst of wife, of land, and life;  
 Now (Gorlois) worke thy wish, cast here thy gaule,  
 Glutte on reuenge; thy wrathe abhors delays."<sup>58</sup>

After stating that this vengeance will annihilate all the survivors of Pendragon's race, Gorlois concludes with obvious compliments to the Queen.

The ghost of Darnley might well return to demand exactly the same revenge that Gorlois seeks. The details of the Darnley murder are too familiar to need any comment and have certainly been overworked in the field of dramatic symbolism. However, it is safe to say that Darnley was "dispoylee of wife, of land, of life," and might reasonably have demanded vengeance. Furthermore, we can safely assert that Elizabeth at this particular time had the murder of "our so nere cousin and kinsman"<sup>59</sup> well in mind. In April, 1586, we find her writing to James to plead with him to receive Archibald Douglas, who was supposedly one of the conspirators against Darnley and who later betrayed Mary to her enemies.<sup>60</sup> Elizabeth tells James that she is now convinced of Douglas' innocence in the Darnley affair, to which she refers several times as the "horrible" or "detestable" murder.<sup>61</sup> During the period of the composition and production of our play, which was also for the Queen a

<sup>57</sup> Winstanley, L., *Macbeth, King Lear, and Contemporary History*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 20.

<sup>58</sup> Cunliffe edition, p. 227.

<sup>59</sup> Bruce, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 36..



period of intense interest in Scottish affairs, as I have previously pointed out, it would be impossible for Her Majesty to forget the disgraceful murder of James' father.

Guenevere appears only in the first three scenes of the Hughes' play; but her character seems reminiscent of Mary Queen of Scots in several respects. Guenevere has deserted her husband, Arthur, and given her love to the traitor, Mordred, as Mary repudiated Darnley and clung to Bothwell. Guenevere threatens in the first scene to kill Arthur but is dissuaded from this purpose by her excellent confidante, Fronia. She then decides to commit suicide, but this plan is thwarted by her loving sister, Angharat. Mary, of course, was believed by many people to have had a hand in the Darnley murder; and soon after her marriage to Bothwell she threatened to end her own life. "The Queen said 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful; because I never will be so and wish for nothing but death,'" reports a member of her Court. "Yesterday when they were both in a room," he continues, "with the Earle d'Aumerle, she called aloud for a knife to kill herself; the persons in the ante-chamber heard it."<sup>62</sup>

Guenevere's love for Mordred certainly brings to mind the love between Mary and Bothwell.

"Unlawful love doth like when lawful loathes"<sup>63</sup>

as Guenevere gently expresses their state of mind. Her conversation with both her lady in waiting and her sister constantly turns to her capacity for love; and it is especially to be noted that most of these love speeches have no Latin sources, which have been so admirably traced by Mr. Grumbine, but are the inventions of the authors of the play.

"My loue, redoubled loue, and constant faith  
Engaged unto Mordred workes so deepe:  
That both my hart and marrow quite be burnt,  
And synewes dried with force of woontlesse flames,  
Desire to ioy him still, torments my mynde:  
Feare of his want doth add a double grieve,  
Loe here the loue, that stirres this meanlesse hate."<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Rait, R. S. Ed. *Mary Queen of Scots*, London, 1900, p. 21. Letter from Duc de Croc to Catherine de Medici in Von Raumer's *Elizabeth and Mary*.

<sup>63</sup> Cunliffe edition, p. 231.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

There seem to be analogies between Mary and Guenevere not only in their attitudes toward their husbands and lovers, but also in the political situations and religious beliefs. Guenevere certainly reflects the Catholic faith here:

"The way, that leads to good, is ne'er to late:  
Who so repents is guiltless of his crimes."<sup>65</sup>

The political position of Arthur's Queen is summed up when she says:

"At lest exyle thy self to realmes unknown,  
And steale his wealth to help thy banisht state,  
For flight is best. O base and heartlesse feare.  
Theft? exyle? flight? all these may Fortune sende  
Unsought: but thee beseemes more high reuenge."<sup>66</sup>

Theft, exile, and flight were also Mary's lot. She was carried off by Bothwell on the nineteenth of April, 1567,<sup>67</sup> soon after Darnley's murder, and was forbidden the freedom of her country during the regency of the Earl of Murray, which began the following year. Mary fled to England in May, 1568, in the hope of obtaining Elizabeth's aid; but the Queen refused to receive her until she had been cleared of the evil charges against her.<sup>68</sup> The proceedings of Mary's trial lasted for several months; but finally on the tenth of January, 1569, Elizabeth's Council declared that "there had been nothing sufficiently produced nor shown . . . against the Queen (Mary), . . . whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the Queen, her good, sister, for anything yet seen."<sup>69</sup> Elizabeth did not feel so kindly toward her "good sister" in February, 1588, one year after the execution of the Scottish Queen, however, and would have welcomed seeing Mary on the stage in the guise of Guenevere, a flightly, faithless woman, entirely governed by her own passions.

Guenevere has no real part in the development of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. She appears only in the first three scenes of the first act, as I have noted before, and then retires to a con-

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 235.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>67</sup> Henderson on Bothwell in D.N.B., Vol. 36, p. 383.

<sup>68</sup> Rait, op. cit., pp. 132 et seq.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

vent for the remainder of her life. It would certainly have been convenient for Elizabeth had Mary done likewise! Of course the authors of the play were wise enough not to refer to the execution, a delicate subject at that time; as they hoped by their production to gain the Queen's favor. But we must now turn to a consideration of Arthur and Mordred, the chief characters in the drama. There seems at the outset to be some reason in the madness of identifying Arthur with James VI of Scotland. James liked to consider himself the restorer of the Arthurian Empire. One of the entries in the Venetian State Papers gives us this information concerning the King: "It is said that he is disposed to abandon the titles of England and Scotland, and call himself King of Great Britain, and like that famous and ancient King Arthur to embrace under one name the whole circuit of 1700 miles which includes the United Kingdom now possessed by his Majesty in that island."<sup>70</sup>

Both the Arthur of the play and the James of history are superstitious to an extreme degree; both are given to philosophizing at every opportunity about life, fate, chance, and death. But these characteristics are so common in individuals of the late sixteenth century that they do not seem sufficient evidence for any theory. Two things only seem to me of great significance among many possible analogies between James and Arthur; and these are the attitudes of both characters toward the kingship and toward their enemies. It is also interesting and important to note that in connection with these two topics practically no classical sources have been used by the authors of the play and that Arthur here differs radically from all the pictures drawn of him in the chronicles and romances. To the best of my knowledge in all the previous versions of the story Arthur was first and foremost a King. He loved power of all kinds, accepted the royal prerogatives, and exercised his authority without question. War and conquest he always welcomed. But in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* the King's attitude is different.

"Let me be thrall, and leade a priuate life:  
None can refuse the yak his Countrie beares.  
But as for warres, insooth my flesh abhorres,  
To bid the battayle to my proper bloud."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Winstanley, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>71</sup> Cunliffe edition, p. 257.

He then goes on to meditate as follows:

"How hard it is to rule th'aspiring minde,  
And what a kingly point it seems to those,  
Whose Lordlie hands the stately Scepter swaies,  
Still to pursue the drift they first decreed:  
My wonted mind and kingdome lets me knowe."<sup>72</sup>

Throughout the play Arthur's speeches ring with echoes of the same tone. His counsellors constantly instruct him in the kingly state of mind. Howell says to him:

"The noble necke disdains the seruite yoke,  
Where rule hath plesde, subiection seemeth strange,  
A King ought always to preferre his Realme,  
Before the loue he beares to kin or sonne."<sup>73</sup>

Cador also continually tells him that:

"The name of rule should moue a princely mind."<sup>74</sup>

Compare these speeches with the advice that Elizabeth was constantly sending to James, whose conception of the kingship in 1588 seems to have been totally different from his famous Divine Right of Kings doctrine. "Since God hath made kings," Elizabeth writes in January 1575-6, "let them not unmake ther authoritie, and let brokes and smal riuers acknowledge ther springes, and flowe no furdar than the bankes. I praie God that you uphold euer a regal rule."<sup>75</sup> A few months before that the Queen had written James, "Albeit I must confesse that it is daungerous for a prince to irritast to muche, through iuel aduise, the generalitie of great subiectz, so might you or now haue followed my aduise, that wold neuer betray you with unsound counceil."<sup>76</sup>

Even more striking than this advice offered to both James and Arthur about their "regal rules" was the specific advice given to those two monarchs to punish rigorously all traitors within their realms, advice which would seem unnecessary to most rulers of the sixteenth century. In the chronicles and romances Arthur needs no urging to punish Mordred; indeed he

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>75</sup> Bruce, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

can scarcely wait to give him what he well deserves. In the Elizabethan play, however, Arthur hesitates to be too severe with

"... the fruit of Mordreds forward youth,  
And tender age discreet beyond his yeres."<sup>77</sup>

Cador is obliged to tell him that

"The time (puissant Prince) permits not now  
To moane our wrongs, or search each seuerall sore.  
Since Arthur thus hath ransackt all abroad,  
What meruaile ist, if Mordred raue at home?  
When farre and neere your warres had worne the world,  
What warres were left for him, but ciuill warres?  
All which requires reuenge with sword and fire,  
And to pursue your foes with present force.  
In iust attempt Mars giues a rightfull doome."<sup>78</sup>

This advice is reiterated throughout the play:

"Wherefore since Mordreds crime haue wronged the Lawes  
In so extreame a sort, as is too strange:  
Let right and iustice rule with rigours aide,  
And worke his wracke at length, although too late:  
Let sword, let fire, let torments be their end.  
Seueritie upholds both Realme and rule."<sup>79</sup>

Again Cador warns Arthur:

"Attonement sield defeates, but oft deferres  
Reuenge: beware a reconciled foe."<sup>80</sup>

Perhaps the most noticeable thing about the correspondence between James and Elizabeth is the manner in which she constantly chides him for his leniency to his enemies. As early as 1582 Elizabeth wrote James to have a trial and examination of the principals in the Ruthven Raid "which manner of proceeding, besides that it will fall out greatlie to the general satisfaction of the world, in a matter subiect to so many dyverse iudgments and construccions, youe shall also thereby shewe yourself not to inclyne to make yourselfe a partye of any faction within your owne realme (an inconvenience most daungerous

<sup>77</sup> Cunliffe edition, p. 256.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

ether for yourselfe or for any other prince to faule into) but to have a care, as prince and soueraigne among your subiects, to minister iustice indifferentlye unto them, and to punishe thos that shal be founde to have forgotten themselves in duty towards you. In so doing, you shall cleen and remoue all daingers and inconveniences that maie hereafter followe by a kind of smothering of such daingerous sparks that of late have appeared within your realme, and may in time breake out into a more daingerous flame, yf yt be not aduisedlie preuented: wherein we geeue you no other aduice then we ourselues wold put into execucion, yf the state of our realme stood in lyke termes, of whos well doing we pray you to assure yourselfe we are no less carefull then of our owne."<sup>81</sup>

In March, 1586, Elizabeth writes James to beware of all intriguers. "First, I wil, as long as you with iuel desart alter not your course, take care of your owne safety, helpe your nide, and shun all actes that may damnifie you in any sort, ether in present or future time; and for the portion of relife, I minde neuer to lessen, thogh, as I see cause I will rather augment."<sup>82</sup> In the following October Elizabeth writes James not to harbor any Jesuits. "For God's loue regard your surety aboue all perswasions, and account him no subiect that intertaines them. Make no edictz for skorne, but to be obserued. Let them be rebelles, and so pronunsed that preserue them."<sup>83</sup> This similarity between the advice given to Arthur by his counsellors and that offered to James by Elizabeth may, of course, be only coincidence. But why did the authors depart in these scenes from their sources both classical and chronicle?

If Arthur is to be identified with James, Mordred is probably to be equated with the arch-traitor of Scotland, the younger Bothwell. It is interesting and possibly significant for our purposes to note that Mordred was connected with Scotch history as far back as the fourteenth century.<sup>84</sup> The chronicles of that period and for some time thereafter openly adopted Mordred as a Scottish hero. Of course in the play Mordred is anything but

<sup>81</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>84</sup> Fletcher, R. H., *Arthurian Material in Chronicles*, Vol. 10 of *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, pp. 241 et seq.

a hero, but *The Misfortunes of Arthur* was written by Englishmen, who may well have been aware of this early Scotch attitude toward Mordred and may have been attempting to overthrow one of the idols of the Scottish nobility. Bothwell was certainly supported by many Scotchmen of noble rank in his opposition to James. He was, of course, as the eldest son of an illegitimate child of King James V, one of the four heirs to the Scotch throne named by James at a secret convention with his nobility at Glasgow during the fall of 1581.<sup>85</sup>

The enmity between Bothwell and the King was of long duration. Bothwell soon after his entry into the court circle in 1582, partly because of his likeness to his uncle, the murderer of James' father and partly because of his own behavior, incurred the fear and hatred of James.<sup>86</sup> After the execution of Mary, Bothwell became very obstreperous in demanding vengeance. Here we find one of the reasons for thinking possible an identification of Mordred with Bothwell. So loud were Bothwell's denunciations of Elizabeth at the time of the production of our play that the Queen would certainly have enjoyed seeing her enemy in the guise of the villainous Mordred. Elizabeth refused Bothwell a passport through her country in 1587;<sup>87</sup> and after hearing of Mary's execution, he swore that he would wear no mourning until the Queen's death was avenged.<sup>88</sup> James, in spite of his own fear and hatred showed for a long time the same reluctance to punish Bothwell that Arthur showed to punish Mordred. In July, 1587, the Earl of Mar wrote that although Bothwell bore honors at Parliament he would not go "because he had no place before Lord Crawford, and Bothwell rests greatly discontented against the Secretary and has vowed to make a sacrifice of him, which is come to the King's knowledge, who made answer that there was no sacrifice made that was punished as yet."<sup>89</sup> In November of that year matters grew serious. Lord Hunsdon wrote to Walsingham: "The Chancellor and Justice Clerk should have been killed at Edinburgh by the Earl Bothwell and others. . . . If the Chancellor (Maitland)

<sup>85</sup> Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland etc., Vol. 6, p. 55.

<sup>86</sup> Henderson on Bothwell in D.N.B., Vol. 26, p. 141.

<sup>87</sup> Lang, A history of Scotland, 4 vols., N. Y., 1903, Vol. 2, p. 325.

<sup>88</sup> Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland etc., Vol. 9, p. 483.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 452.

had not been secretly warned the thirteenth of this month, Bothwell had slain him in Court."<sup>90</sup> But still the King did nothing. In February 1587-8 it was reported that there "were outrageous words in the King's Chamber between Bothwell and Glamis."<sup>91</sup> James did interfere in this quarrel, but not effectively apparently, for Bothwell continued to make trouble.

No wonder that Elizabeth warned him to punish his enemies, as Arthur's advisers counselled him to be severe with Mordred! It would seem that Elizabeth had Bothwell particularly in mind in her forceful advice to James; for after Bothwell had nearly succeeded in an attempt to capture James in January 1591-2 Elizabeth hastened to write: "My deare brother, Thogh the heringe of youre most daungerous peril be that thing that I most reuerently rendar my most lowly thanks to God that you, by his hand, had skaped, yet hathe hit bin no other hazard than such as both hath bin forsien and fortold; but Cassandra was neuer credited till the mishap had rather chaunced than was preuented. I see you haue no luk to helpe your state nor to assure you from treasons leasur, You giue to muche respite to rid your harme and shorten others hast, Wel, I wyl pray for you, that God wyl unseal your yeas, that to long haue bin shut, and do require you thinke that none shall more ioy therat than myselfe, that most I am sure grives the contrary."<sup>92</sup>

There seems to be another rather curious parallel between Mordred and Bothwell, perhaps too fanciful to be given any weight. Bothwell was regarded by the King and many of the Scotch people as chief of the witches or the Devil himself come to life.<sup>93</sup> He was actually confined to prison in Edinburgh Castle in 1591 to be tried for witchcraft, and on being told the charge, "surrendered himself, alleging that the Devil's sworn witches were, like their father, necessarily liars."<sup>94</sup> Mordred, of course, in the chronicles and romances, although not specifically termed "witch" nor "devil" is clearly the embodiment of all evil.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 507.

<sup>91</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Scottish Series*, previously cited, Vol. 1, p. 549.

<sup>92</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>93</sup> Murray, Margaret, *Organization of the Witches in Great Britain in Folk-Lore*, 1917, Vol. 28, p. 234.

<sup>94</sup> Henderson, T. F., *James I and VI*. London, 1904, p. 104.



If Arthur is James, Guenevere Mary, and Mordred Bothwell, where does Elizabeth enter into this play? It seems to me possible that the authors have followed the examples set by Spenser and Lyly in flattering the Queen in the guise of several characters rather than assigning to her any specific role. I have already pointed out how Fronia and Angharat turned Mary aside from her evil purposes of killing first Arthur and then herself. Much of their advice sounds like the good, loving-sisterly advice that Elizabeth sent Mary from time to time; and surely Elizabeth would have enjoyed flattery of that particular kind one year after Mary's execution. It is also probable that the Queen took great pleasure in hearing Arthur's loyal counsellors repeat to him almost the same words that she was in the habit of writing to James. It may be objected that Her Majesty would not have enjoyed taking a subordinate role; but certainly she would not have coveted any one of the main roles in this particular play! By being reflected in the minor roles of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, the Queen stands for all the good influences that are evident in the drama.

The conclusions to be drawn from this investigation of the Elizabethan play are fairly obvious. The relationship between the Court and the theatre of the sixteenth century was a very close one. Political affairs were constantly discussed on the stage, both public and private, for there were no newspapers in those days. It is generally admitted that Lyly's *Midas* and *Endimion*, to mention specific examples, were almost entirely based on political propaganda. It is also conceded that *Gorboduc*, produced before Her Majesty by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple in 1561, centered around the succession to the English throne. The Inner Temple and Gray's Inn were constant rivals in giving dramatic entertainments before the Queen; and it seems conceivable that the lawyers of Gray's Inn should also choose a political subject. Francis Bacon, who is known to have collaborated in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, was at that time striving to gain Elizabeth's favor and is known to have used many indirect methods. He was also in a position to gain private and detailed information concerning the condition of contemporary Scotland. The subject chosen by the authors was one dealing with the unity of Britain, a question of grave concern to the English Court in

February, 1588. The Arthur of the play differs radically in several respects from the British King of the chronicles and romances; and the characteristics wherein he differs from the traditional Arthur are those imputed to James by Elizabeth. In the frequent discussions of civil war and the deportment of a king the authors depart entirely from the classical sources used in the construction of the play; and the speeches of their characters bear a decided resemblance to the letters exchanged between the English and Scottish sovereigns. There seem also to be many parallels between the traditional and historical traitors Mordred and Bothwell. Coincidence alone may be responsible for all these circumstances; but the results afford some interesting speculations.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

**THE PLACE-NAMES OF LANCASHIRE.** By Eilert Ekwall, Manchester: Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CXLIX. 1922. Pp. XV+280.

While the study of English place-names is a rather young field of inquiry as yet, it has attracted the efforts of many scholars who have done much good work, especially during the last dozen years.<sup>1</sup> The systematic study of the subject began in 1901 with W. W. Skeat's *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*. In the following years Professor Skeat made investigations of no less than five additional shires, namely Huntingdon, 1902, Hertford, 1904, Bedford, 1906, Berkshire, 1911, and Suffolk, 1913. These were published in neat and convenient little volumes by various antiquarian and archaeological societies. Skeat recognized the fundamental principles of place-name study laid down by Scandinavian investigators, where the study of place-names had been put on a scientific basis several decades before; he emphasised the need of the completest possible listing of recorded forms of the names investigated, especially the earliest ones; he knew the importance of ascertaining the local dialectal pronunciation of the names to-day, and he seems to have understood, that a knowledge of the topography of the places for which the names stand is also necessary. He discussed the manner in which the names are formed, called attention to the various elements that appear as the second component part; in the volume on Berkshire he presents all the material on the basis of an alphabetical arrangement of the second element of the names. And without doubt he first ascertained the correct explanation of a considerable number of names. But Skeat often disregarded the principles that he acknowledged; he repeatedly offered etymologies suggested by quite inadequate listings of forms; and he was concerned only with explaining the isolated names and the formation. Little or no attention was given to other kinds of information that the names may offer. Nevertheless Skeat's work laid the foundation and inspired efforts elsewhere by other scholars.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The earliest publications, so far as I can find, were: *A Catalogue of Place-Names in Teesdale*. By D. Embleton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1887; *Place-Names in the Hundred of Wirral*. By W. F. Irvine. 1893; and *The Place-Names of the Liverpool District*. By H. Harrison, London, 1898. W. G. Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* appeared in 1897 (Cambridge).

<sup>2</sup> Skeat was already an old man when I visited him at his home in Cambridge in 1898. Travels for the purpose of studying the topography of the places for which the names stood would certainly have been too arduous for him in the period in which his books on place-names were written.

Among these W. H. Duignan has been most active; he published already in 1902 *Notes on Staffordshire Place-Names*, which was followed by a volume on Worcestershire in 1905 and one on Warwickshire in 1912. Duignan's studies are exceedingly valuable; here old forms are listed rather extensively, but there is the defect of merely presenting all the names in alphabetical order, so that one can get no idea of the distribution of the different kinds of names. Aside from the material itself he offers in the preface a discussion of the suffixes, and in the Worcestershire volume there is a good introductory account of the sources of forms and the general nature of the names. Similar in plan is the work of W. St. Clair Baddeley on *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, 1913. This work has an excellent Introduction, and it is an especially fortunate feature of Baddeley's account that he includes, and emphasises the importance of including in such investigations, old but now lost names; for, whether we are concerned only with the linguistic side of the subject or would wish to know what light the names may throw on the date, nationality, and course of settlements, the names that are now no longer in existence but were part and parcel of the original name-stock of the region in question, are surely of equal importance with those names that happen to have survived. The question of personal and family names that appear in the place-names of Gloucestershire are given some attention in an appendix in Baddeley's work, where the words that occur as first elements and those that occur as second component parts are again listed, with citations of the main examples.

Other investigations from about the same years, which follow the same simple plan of presentation are F. W. Moorman's *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 1910; F. M. Stenton's *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, 1911; H. Alexander's *The Place-Names of Oxford*, 1912; A. Goodall's *Place-Names of Southwest Yorkshire*, 1914; H. Mutschman's *Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, 1913; B. Walker's *Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts I and II*, 1914-1915; R. G. Roberts on *The Place-Names of Sussex*, 1914; and A. T. Bannister's on the *Place-Names of Herefordshire* in 1916. In addition, there appeared two works on the names of Lancashire: in 1911, one by H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *The Place-Names of Lancashire, Their Origin and History*, and the other in 1913 by J. A. Sephton, *A Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names*.<sup>3</sup> It is surprising that in this rather considerable literature on the subject the importance of the study of the topography of the places along with the names is almost wholly disregarded; and sometimes that importance is apparently denied (Wyld). And yet most of these men must

<sup>3</sup> In Sephton's volume (256 pages) all the material is presented under the endings arranged in alphabetical order. Chapter II discusses the adjectival or first themes, pp. 4-7.

have known the great work of Oluf Rygh: *Norske Gaardnavne*, begun some thirty years before, the work with which the scientific investigation of place-names began in the North. Nevertheless, in spite of many errors on etymological matters, and a failure to get out of the materials of the names all the information that they contain, we should be ready to acknowledge that these studies have been exceedingly valuable, and have in many points smoothed the way for other investigators.

In this connection I may mention particularly the work of two English scholars: W. J. Sedgfield and Allen Mawer. The former is the author of an exceedingly valuable volume entitled *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland*, Manchester, 1915. In his introduction Sedgfield attempts to point out the distribution of the Norse settlements and the course of settlement; he also notes the presence in Cumberland and Westmoreland of mixed names of Celtic and Teutonic elements. Sedgfield, following his alphabetical arrangement of the names discussed, gives, finally, tables of personal names occurring, words that enter into the names as first or second element, and a brief phonology. There are etymological errors, but the author's method is sane, and his knowledge of the literature on the subject outside of England is extensive. The highest point in thoroughness and accuracy among English investigators of the subject is reached by Allen Mawer. Professor Mawer's first contribution to the subject, so far as I am aware, was a paper on Northumberland published in *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, pp. 306-314, in 1913. There followed then an article entitled "Scandinavian Influence in the Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham," which appeared in the *Saga Book of the Viking Society*, for 1914, pp. 172-210. The scarcity of early documents made the task a difficult one here (as, e.g., also in the case of Cumberland and Westmoreland). For Northumberland Mawer offers a list of 48 names, not a very large number, therefore. There is no name in *-thwaite*, *-lund*, *-with*, *-beck*, *-holm*, or *-garth*, only one in *-toft*, and one in *-by*, but there are a number in *-ker*, while the ending *-biggin* is especially frequent (p. 194). It seems likely that the word *bigging* was simply in regular use in the dialect of the English population, and, hence, that names with this ending may have been given by English settlers; that is, this group of names tell us nothing about whether the place was the home of a Norseman or an Englishman, but merely about Norse influence upon the local dialects. Mawer notes the fact that the settlements are markedly confined to the river-valleys and to the neighborhood of the coast (page 194). For Durham there are 49 names, so that considering the relatively much smaller size of this county, the proportion of Scandinavian settlers was evidently here much larger than in Northumberland. There are here several ex-

amples of *-by*, *-toft*, *-holm*, and *-crook*, and the names are scattered over the whole county. With regard to the difficult ending *-thorp*, the author concludes that it is here evidence of Scandinavian settlements (as in most places where it is found in England), though the word is also native English. (Baddeley showed, e.g., that there are 17 names in *-thorp*, or *-thrip*, in Gloucestershire, where it must be of native origin, at any rate prevailing). In 1920 Mawer published a larger work on *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, issued by the Cambridge University Press.<sup>4</sup> As I hope to consider this work somewhat more fully elsewhere, I shall leave it here with the bare mention. Of other English works are to be mentioned especially W. G. Collingwood's *Scandinavian Britain*, London, 1908, the same author's *Angles, Danes, and Norse in the District of Huddersfield*, 1921, and S. W. Partington's *The Danes in Lancashire and Yorkshire*, 1909.

It is an interesting fact that next to the work of English scholars almost everything that has been done in the field has been by Swedish writers, men from the Universities of Lund and Upsala. These investigations have been inspired by the active English philological interest of the two professors of English in these universities, Eilert Ekwall and Erik Björkman. There is first the study on *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*, by R. E. Zachrisson, Lund, 1909; then there was the investigation into *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin*, Part I. by Harald Lindkvist, Upsala, 1912.<sup>5</sup> Then there came, from Upsala in 1917, E. Ekblom's work on the *Place-Names of Wiltshire*, and in 1918 Professor Ekwall's *Scandinavians and Celts in Northwestern England* (from Lund). These works, excellent in method, and based on exhaustive gleaning of the early sources by men with sound philological training and a knowledge of all the critical literature on the subject, have aided materially in placing the study of English place-names on a much firmer foundation than it had before. But it would be unjust in this connection to leave unmentioned the equally scholarly work, in a closely related field, by Erik Björkman in Upsala: *Nordische Personennamen in England*, Halle, 1910 and *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, Halle, 1912. Also should be named here T. Forssner's *Continental Germanic Personal Names in England*, Upsala, 1916.

The latest contribution to the subject is the volume before us. The author has had the advantage of many earlier studies, of which three, as we have seen, treat of the place-names of Lancashire. One can hardly say too much for the importance of this work, in method or results obtained; it belongs with the two or three most valuable works so far published on the sub-

<sup>4</sup> 28+271 pages.

<sup>5</sup> Part II has not appeared.

ject of English place-names. We learn from the Preface that Ekwall began preparatory studies for such a work some twelve years ago. It was his intention at that time to include a full study of Lancashire place-names. But the appearance in 1911 of the volume on the subject by Professor Wyld (see above), and in 1913 of still another, the *Handbook* by Sephton, led to a considerable change in the scope of the work, though the plan of the present work seems to have been worked out already then. I cannot help feeling that it is unfortunate that these three scholars could not have known of each other's investigations, being, as they were, in precisely the same field. Wyld had the right of priority evidently; he must have begun his studies several years earlier than the other men; both Wyld and Sephton had the advantage of familiarity with the locality, and the dialect and history of the region. Ekwall knew the Scandinavian literature on the subject, and had made its methodology his own. If the three men could have worked together, why could we not, in place of three works, each incomplete, have had an exhaustive and complete record of all Lancashire place-names, combining the best features of all three works, and so far as plan of presentation is concerned, following mainly that of the present study? But I am glad that Ekwall did not drop the subject upon the appearance of the earlier works, as was his first thought; there is so much that is added here in the explanation of names, so much that is new also in the historical parts, that every student of the subject will be grateful for its appearance. A word must be said about the scope of the work as compared with that of Wyld. The latter scholar aimed to offer an etymological study of, 1, names found in early sources, and 2, those later names given in the one-inch Ordnance Survey Maps. A serious defect in Wyld's work, called attention to by Ekwall, is that the majority of rivers and hills are missing, and that many early sources are not included;<sup>6</sup> Wyld's concern is only with the etymology of the names.

While earlier investigators for the most part give the material in alphabetical order of the names, Ekwall gives all the names by parishes, and under these again in groups of townships. In scope he has aimed to give all names only of parishes and townships; beyond that a selection has been made, namely by limiting it to those names from early sources which are now or were recently in use, 'provided they offer sufficient interest' (p. 3). Names not found in early sources are generally omitted. But even within these limits, the author has thought it best to make a selection; the principle followed has been to deal especially with such names as need explanation and such as denote fairly important places; and important names, though

<sup>6</sup> In spite of this, however, Wyld's book is an exceedingly valuable contribution.

late, have sometimes been included, for purposes of illustrating the types of names used in the district. This delimitation is, of course, due to the fact that much has already been published; even of the names in early sources examples have been omitted, if they have already been cited by previous investigators. The user of the book then who would look for all the material under any one name, or who would wish to secure an idea of the totality of names for any parish or township, or of any type of names for the county as a whole or for its various parts, must use the present work together with those of Wyld and Sephton both.

Ekwall's purpose has been, in the first place: 'to offer not only a phonetically acceptable explanation of each name, but to determine as nearly as possible the exact etymology'; in the second place he has aimed at giving a fairly accurate idea of the distribution of names of various provenance, and thereby at throwing light on the early history of the county, the distribution of the population, the survival of the Celtic element, the Scandinavian immigration, etc. (p. 5). There is first presented an account of the elements found as the second component part of the names of Lancashire (pp. 7-22). The major portion is, of course, English, *-ton* (OE *-tun*) leading with 185 examples; next follows *-ley* (OE *-leah*) with 102. Important, but relatively much less so, are *-den* (OE *denu*), with 55; *-haw*, *-all*, and various other forms of OE *halh*, 51; *-thwaite* (ON *þveit*), 39; *-hill* (OE *hyll*), 38; *shaw* (OE *scaga*), 39; and *-holm* (ON. *holmr*, *holmi*), 37 times. In all, there are 203 different second elements, most of which occur but once, or only a very few times; but the endings ON *bakki*, *bekkr*, *brekka*, *byr*, and *haugr* and OE *feld*, *ford*, *ham*, *heafod*, *hlāw*, *hyrst*, and *worþ*, (*wyrþ*), are of considerable frequency. It is, of course, impossible to determine whether the endings *-dale* in Lancashire is from OE *dæl*, or ON *dalr*; similarly the ending *-barrow* (and variants) may be from OE *beorh* or ON *berg*. As endings the Norse words: *a*, *bót*, *botn*, *kleif*, *eng*, *eyrr*, *fiall*, *geil*, *grund*, *grein*, *hreysi*, *lundr*, *melr*, *myrr*, *oddi*, *satr*, *skarð*, *sker*, *sletta*, *staðr*, *stigr*, *tiorn*, *þorp*, *vað*, and *vik*, now and then appear, some of them in a dozen examples or more.

The place-names then follow, with discussion of various forms early and late, pp. 23-223. The 'Summary of Results,' pp. 224-264, considers the three national elements, Britons, Angles, and Scandinavians, in the county, their respective extent in the different hundreds and parishes, and the course of settlements, in the light of what the place-names seem to tell. Here a few remarks on method and certain names suggest themselves:

1. Since the primary importance of such studies is philological and historical the earliest records must be given chief attention. But there is often a scarcity of early records (though



Lancashire is in this respect better off than Cumberland Westmoreland, and Durham, for example), and even where the sources are fairly extensive the absence of a name may be purely accidental. Quite recent names are of relatively small importance, but it seems to me that the search should be carried down through later periods than is usually done; possibly 1700 would, in most counties, be a satisfactory date. The futility of dealing with incomplete listings of names is well illustrated in the name *Oldham*, in Salford (p. 50). The present form or an approximation to it goes back to 1347, when it is written, *Oldum*<sup>1</sup> and in 1547 it is written *Owdam*. In view of these and other forms of the time, the derivation of the name *Oldham* from *ald*+*ham* in this case would seem quite correct; and yet the two oldest forms: *de Aldholm*, 1222, and *de Aldhulm*, 1227, show that its source is *ald*+*holmr* (or *Ald*+*holmr*). On the other hand, there is *Kirkham* in Amounderness (p. 152). Here we meet with the 12th and 13th c. forms *Kirkeheim*, 1196, *de Kyrkeym*, 1243, *Kyrkheym*, 1246, and *Kyrkhaaym*, 1246; hence the name is apparently Norse in origin (ON *kirkiuheimr*). But as early as 1279 we meet with the form *Kyrkham* and after that always the ending *-ham*; then with these additions, one might still justly assume that it is Norse, but was anglicized in the 13th century. But the oldest forms *Chicheham*, and *Chercheham*, 1094, and *Chircheham*, 1130, make it pretty certain not only that the ending is English, but that the whole name is English, and that it was Scandinavianised in this bilingual community, in the 12th century. And the modern *Kirkham* derives directly from this no doubt (i.e., is not a survival of the Eng. ending *-ham*), as the Scandinavianised ending *-heim*, *-haym*, would become *-ham* (*-hum*, *-um*, *-hem*) through lack of stress.

2. The modern dialectal pronunciation of names should always be considered, unless it is perfectly clear that all we have before us is a spelling-pronunciation. In England the case is, of-course, somewhat different from what it is in the Scandinavian North, where no one would for a moment think of discussing the origin of a name without a transcription of the local pronunciation of it before him. Even though dialectal pronunciation to-day often tells very little about the names in England, I am inclined to think that the author, as almost all writers on English place-names, has disregarded it too much. For instance Ekwall notes the fact that in Blackburn, north of the Ribble, a secluded district, the local dialect seems very well preserved (p. 233); possibly information on the exact local pronunciation of the names in this Hundred would be of real value.

3. The question of the nationality of a name, judged by its second component part, is a matter of real difficulty. Of-course

<sup>1</sup> The usual pronunciation, to-day, in standard English, is also about this, that is: *Oldem* or *Old'm*.

if the first part is a Scandinavian personal name, that will usually settle it. I find in the volume before us forty two endings that are apparently not used in the dialect of Lancashire as separate words, and most of them are used as endings of place-names in Norway. These cases also are then perfectly clear. But I find some 18 endings of Norse or Danish source, which are now in use (and probably were at the time most of the place-names in question originated) in the dialect of Lancaster or immediately contiguous districts to the North and the East. But if in such a bilingual region words, borrowed from the Scandinavian element, were regularly used also by the English element the appearance of the ending tells us nothing beyond the fact of influence on the dialect. In such cases one may find the solution in other considerations; but in many cases it must remain quite uncertain whether the place was either named or inhabited by a Scandinavian, even though the second element is certainly Scandinavian. Space forbids entering into these matters here, however.

I shall now briefly comment on a few names, and finally speak of the author's conclusions on the three racial elements in Lancashire.

Pp. 13, 31, 33, and 244 and 246. The form *hulm* seems to be more Swedish than Danish; I am far from convinced that the ending *-hulm* in place-names is evidence of Danish nationality. The word always shows the vowel *o* in Old Norse (*holmi*, *holmr*); it is also practically always *o* in Denmark (Kalkar gives no instance with *-u-*). It appears to be a fact that Norse or Danish *holmi*, *holmr*, or *holm*, is recorded with a *u*-vowel practically only in Latin, Norman, and English examples. It is also a fact that English place-names in *-holm*, often show writings with *-hulm*, or *-hulme*. Examples: p. 31, *Lewyneshulm* by the side of *Levensholme* and *Lensom* (1587); the modern *Rusholme*, written *Rusholme*, written *Rysholme*, 1551, by the side of *Ryssshulme*, shows also the forms *Russum*, *Rysum*, and *Ryssham*; p. 36, the modern *Kirkmanshulme*, shows in all the citations from 1292-1590, always the vowel *-o-*; p. 61, *Wolstenholme*, written so in 1180, and also elsewhere with *-o-*, appears as *de Wlstanhulm* in 1193, and *de Wolstaneshulm*, 1200; p. 177, *Torrisholme* appears many times with the ending in *-o-* from 1201-1327 (once *-ham*), but *Torryshulme* 1557; and I have no doubt there are other cases.<sup>8</sup> I think, therefore, that the word *hulm* had best be eliminated from the criteria of Danish nationality in this case. The Scandinavians of Lancashire were mainly Norwegians the author holds,<sup>9</sup> but he finds in the *-hulm* names, and one name in *-both*, the proof of the fact that there was a small Danish colony

<sup>8</sup> P. 33, *Ouerholm* and *Overhulm*, and p. 38: *Davyhulme*, *Defehulme*, by the side of *Deuelhom*, *Deuaholme*, and *Devisholme*.

<sup>9</sup> Page 247.

south of Manchester. The names in *-hulm*, *-holm*, do not seem to me to tell us anything definite on this point.

Pp. 28 and 59. The river name *Spodden Brook* in Salford shows the form *Spotbrok* in the earliest occurrence (13th c.). For 1577 there is the variant *Sprotton Water*. These forms suggest strongly that the element *spot-* is the same as Engl. *spout*, OE. *spūtan*, Norw. *sputa*, MSw. *spula*, 'spout,' sputter,' 'spurt'; and that the element *sprot-*, of *Sprotton* in the second example, is the same as Engl. '*spurt*' (by metathesis of) OE *sprȳtan*, Gmc. *sprūtan*, Norwegian *spruta*. Hence the meaning would be 'Spurting' or 'Spouting Brook' (Norw. *Sprutende Bæk*). Any connection with ON *spotti*, 'piece,' 'particle,' does not seem likely to me. As the author suggests *Spotland* in Rochdale Parish of Salford no doubt takes its name from the river. The oldest occurrences here are with one *t* (cf. also *Spotbrok* above); of eight occs. only one has *-tt-*. The vowel may then originally have been long; the various other forms (*spott-*, *spodd-*, *sprott-*.) being due to contamination with other dialect words of somewhat similar meaning, but with short vowel. The ending *-en*, *-on*, would seem to be the present-participial ending. In spite of the difficulty of the vowel *-o-* I am strongly of the feeling that these are the connections of the two names in question.

There are other names about which something might be said (*Ovangle*, p. 176, can hardly have anything to do with ON *ofan*; nor *Turnagh*, p. 56, anything with the vb. 'turn'); but I have already used much more space than I intended. It is only natural that where the difficulties are so numerous, there should be things with which one does not agree. But I owe it to add here that it has been a genuine delight to peruse a work on English place-names in which, as in this case, the etymological, as well as the historical, portion has been given adequate treatment. As to the various national elements of which the names tell, by far the larger part of the names are Anglian, as we should expect; the British element is relatively small; the Scandinavian factor is considerable all through Lancashire, it is extensive in West Derby Hundred proper, in Leyland Hundred, in Amounderness Hundred, and in Lonsdale north of the Sands. Ekwall sums up, p. 255, that the place-names tell us that before the Norman Conquest, the coast districts all the way from the Mersey estuary to the Duddon and some inland districts must have had a considerable Norse population"; the immigrants came, he thinks, not straight from Norway, but from Norse colonies in Ireland, Man, the Hebrides, and Scotland. The Scandinavian immigration into the north-west of England was in part a carrying out of systematic conquest, but in part it was of a peaceful nature (p. 256). The time of it was from ca. 900 and on. There is some evidence that the Norse

language continued in living use into the 12th century. The book is well printed and attractively gotten up; it has been carefully read in proof, and there are very few misprints or inconsistencies (ON *hvǫll* is printed *hvǫll* twice on p. 76). There are few omissions from the Index, a brief search would indicate. (*Clakerkelde*, p. 252, is lacking, as *Wyndscarthmire*, p. 254).<sup>10</sup>

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**BEITRÄGE ZUR GERMANISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT**, Festschrift Für Otto Behaghel, Carl Winters  
Universitätsbuchdruckung Heidelberg, 1924. 338 pages. Sprachen

Here thirteen German scholars unite to celebrate the seventieth birthday of Professor Otto Behaghel of Giessen by presenting to him their latest contributions to Germanic philology, the field of study in which he has been for many years one of the foremost leaders. The position he has occupied in this field of research is eloquently defined by the mere enumeration of the titles of his books, contributions to learned magazines, book reviews, etc., which fill the first thirty four pages of this publication.

Then follow the thirteen contributions, which by reason of their inner content represent a worthy tribute to the distinguished scholar whom they were designed to honor.

Among these contributions is one that deserves wide attention: "Beobachtungen über Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion" by Professor Wilhelm Horn of Giessen. In an earlier publication on the same subject, *Palästra* 135, the author aroused considerable interest and discussion. This revised treatise confirms the earlier favorable impression. Professor Horn explains the reduction or entire disappearance of grammatical forms by their loss of function. In Old English, nouns needed case endings to indicate the part they played in the sentence. But later, when the word-order gradually came to indicate the relations that in the earlier period had been shown by case endings, the case endings lost their function and as useless forms for the most part disappeared. Many interesting cases of the operation of this principle are discussed in this contribution.

Another contribution has attracted the attention of the reviewer: "Zur Anfangstellung des Verbs in Deutschen" by Friedrich Maurer. Here Dr. Maurer attempts to prove that the position of the verb in the first place, as in Goethe's "*Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein steh'n*" has resulted in large measure

<sup>10</sup> A complete elimination of the grouping of names by endings with page references is, I think, to be regretted.

from Latin influence. He admits that this position of the verb was common in Old High German, but claims that it disappeared in Middle High German and in New High German came into use again largely under Latin influence. Maurer sees a second influence in the position of the verb before its subject after direct quotations: "Dies ist sehr schön," *sagte der Mann*. This, Maurer believes, led to *Sagte der Mann*: "Das ist sehr schön."

A modern construction that corresponds closely to a much older construction is usually a survival of the older form of expression. The evidence of foreign influence in such a case must be very plain to be convincing. In the case at hand it seems clear to the reviewer that the position of the verb in the first place in such a sentence as "Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehen" is a survival of older usage. In formal language we now in plain prose say here: Es *sah* ein Knab ein Röslein stehen. The principle in the two sentences is exactly the same. The verb stands at or near the beginning of the sentence because in narrative the idea of activity is prominent. In the literary language, we now usually insert a formal particle, *es*, *da*, etc., before the verb to mark the utterance as a declarative statement in contradistinction to a question with the verb in the first place. In the Middle High German period, it was likewise customary in the literary language to insert here some formal particle. In Old High German, this was not necessary. While in the literary language of the M. H. G. period there was always a formal particle here, the older usage with the verb in the first place was doubtless wide-spread in popular speech. There are few documentary evidences of this because we have no literature reflecting accurately the speech of the common people at this time. But the use of this construction in New High German in popular speech with all the characteristic features of the construction as found in Old High German gives us the assurance that it is a survival of older usage. Its liveliness of tone has led in the present period to its employment in poetic language and elevated discourse: *Wandle der König sein Antlitz ab, und wieder zum Fenster, und versuchte Hilfe beim höchsten Herrn zu erlangen* (Frenssen, *Bismarck*, p. 198).

In contrast to German, the original construction with the verb in the first place was in Middle English still in use in the literary language: *Ran* Colle our dogge, and Talbot, and Gerland, *Ran* cow and calf, and eek the verray hogges (Chaucer, *The Nonne Preestes Tale*, 563). It still not unfrequently occurs in spirited narrative: *Came* Christmas by which, at the outset, everybody knew it (i.e. the war) would be over and it was not over. *Came* June 1915" (Hutchinson, *If Winter Comes*, p. 256), *Came* days of storm, days and nights of storm, when the ocean

menaced us with its roaring whiteness and the wind smote our struggling boat with a Titan's buffets (Jack London, *The Sea-Wolf*, Ch. XXVIII).

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*DER BAUER IN DER ENGLISCHEN LITERATUR.* By Paul Meissner. Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie. Heft XV. Verlag von Peter Hanstein. Bonn: 1922.

This book is a survey of the literature of farm life from the fourteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, and contains, as well, in a kind of appendix, a history of the peasant in English painting. The word "Bauer" is used in a very broad sense to indicate any one who gains his livelihood from the country. It includes landlord, the man who owns and works his own farm, the tenant farmer, and the landless farm laborer, as well as those laborers who, though not actually farmers, live in farm villages, like Jude the stone-cutter in Hardy's novel. If we were forced to rely upon one word, the word peasant would come nearest to indicating the type most frequently described. I am unable to supply any biographical material concerning the author of the book. Whoever he is, he brings to his task strongly developed powers of organization and concentration. I am impressed not only by the extent of his knowledge, but by the restraint which he exercises in rejecting everything irrelevant. What he has to say, however, is the significant thing, not his manner of saying it. I shall, therefore, confine myself almost exclusively to a summary of the contents.

In the aristocratic literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance the peasant finds small place. When he does appear, it is usually (Chaucer and Langland are exceptions) as a raw, fat, country bumpkin, tight-fisted but gullible, as in the Townely play of "Cain" in the fourteenth century, and the comedies of the Elizabethan period. In the pastorals, of later date, the country may be said almost to have been lost sight of, so far removed are these artificial shepherds from anything real, whether comic or tragic.

It is to Scotland that we must turn for the beginnings of real peasant poetry, a fact not unreasonably explained on social grounds. In England, owing to the development of the enclosure movement after the Black Death, land had passed out of the hands of the small free-holder and had accumulated in the hands of the great landowners who lived in the city. In Scotland, the nobility were neither so numerous nor so wealthy as in England; the country was relatively more important; the farmer more independent. The farmer and laborer were often the same person and the opportunities for culture were greater.

The influence of Presbyterianism fostered the study of ethical questions, and the introduction of compulsory education in the seventeenth century made the conditions of rural poetry still more favorable.

Thus, so early as the fifteenth century, we find the story of "Rauf Coilyear" as told by King James less a comic portrayal of rustic failings than a record of honesty and pride, while in "Christ's Kirk on the Green" we have a powerful representation from real life of rustic festivities. In the eighteenth century, at a time when such absurd pastorals as Pope's could be taken seriously in England, Allan Ramsay, in his continuation of "Christ's Kirk" (1716), was showing a freshness of touch in the presentation of rural life that was far removed from classicism. The greatest of the Scotch poets of this category was Robert Ferguson whose "Farmer's Ingle" was the prototype of Burns's "Cotter's Saturday Night." Here we find the tired but contented farmer, the knowing housewife, household customs and habits, and realistic conversation about events that actually affect the farmer's life and occupy his mind.

Before Burns had made the Scotch peasant famous, however, certain changes had taken place in England which were not unfavorable to the development of his genius. The adverse comments of critics on the unreality of the English pastorals, Rousseau's attacks on the corruption of society and his eulogy of the "natural" man, the pressing problem of poor relief, all tended to bring Arcadian poetry into disrepute. The lament of Young and Grey and Goldsmith is that happiness is no more. What true virtue is left, however, is to be found in the huts of the poor, as witness "The Vicar of Wakefield" and Inchbald's "Nature and Art."

It is the virtuous simplicity of the peasant as contrasted with the over-refinement and hypocrisy of the city dweller that strikes Thomson. His positive contribution, however, is small, and consists in his descriptions of nature. His best artistic creations are those in which he confines himself to the rural milieu where its charm is evident to the city man; when he gets away from the joyous side of farm life he is at his worst. The actual hard labor of the farmhand is scarcely touched on. The peasant, indeed, is a mere figurehead in his poetry. Cowper puts more life into his pictures than Thomson, but is no more capable of appreciating rural labor. Nevertheless, by yielding to his feelings, he was pointing the way to romanticism as epitomised in Wordsworth and was making further progress possible.

Hitherto the country has been presented by the townsman; now the countryman himself wields the pen and criticizes civilization from his point of view. Farmers are not the dolts or impassive creatures of an earlier literature. From the point

of view of Burns, the culture of the farmer is decidedly superior to that of the city inhabitant. It is not the landscape that fascinates Burns, but life and action,—life in the home, in the fields, in the market-place, at fairs and in taverns. The characteristics which he ascribes to the villagers are simplicity, piety, patriotism, and love of family. They sometimes drink too much and are often superstitious, but Burns describes these traits goodnaturally without a suggestion of blame. It will be seen, however, that the poet over-estimates the peasant; he says he is noble, but does not show him so. It is also noteworthy that Burns describes types, not individuals. Individualization waited upon romanticism.

Looking backward, we see the peasant of comedy, of the pastoral, and the peasant to whom Burns ascribes the highest ethical importance in national life. Individualism begins to work with these materials, and out of them arise two conceptions. The one is charming, shot through with humor, beginning with Scott and culminating in Eliot. The other is a deep and earnest conception, and may be traced through Wordsworth, Scott, and Emily Brontë.

Wordsworth retains many of the traditional elements of Thomson and Cowper and describes, like Burns, a limited district where peasants own the soil and cling to it. Seen collectively, his peasants are patriotic, pious, and conservative. They love the soil. No peasant will voluntarily leave the soil; if driven away he will be unhappy. Here is sounded the tragic note which re-echoes in later writings. There is nothing tragic in the way the peasant has to work, however. Wordsworth regards work as a blessing; out of it flow the peace and contentment of the man linked to the soil. Wordsworth is not altogether objective here, any more than he is in rendering the farmer as fundamentally good. He sees what he wants to see and depicts the country in the light of his philosophy. What is new in Wordsworth is the romantic element, the individualizing of the farmer. Michael is Michael; he is not a type. Neither is the Leech-gatherer. Moreover, Wordsworth so describes his peasants physically that they can be visualized and their spiritual qualities read in their features.

Scott's point of view is that of the Laird. He does not exalt the peasant as Burns does, but he is, nevertheless, sympathetic. His peasants show marked loyalty, great strength, love of animals, family pride, and the piety noted in other writers. They are out of their element in the city and rather ridiculous, for Scott does not shun the comic or hide his peasants' mistakes. If they are superstitious, they are bold enough when no fears of the supernatural are aroused. If they are fond of alcohol, they are also friendly and always willing to help those who suffer. Scott presents the peasant in a greater variety of circumstances,



facing a greater variety of problems, than any writer before him. His peasants are, however, always in the background, never the heroes of a novel. If Deans is an exception, it is Deans the Puritan, not Deans the farmer. Even Jeanie Deans is romanticized.

Crabbe is credited with the realistic discovery of the peasant. Before his time peasant literature had been prevailingly optimistic. As country parson he is familiar with actual conditions and feels called upon to dispel the optimistic illusion for reform purposes. He sees the real misery of the farm laborer. Work in the fields is oppressive, want stalks in the cottages, hope has fled. As a result, the peasant is sensual, stupid, and vicious. Nothing else can be expected as long as conditions remain unchanged. The relationship between man and nature is not, as Wordsworth thinks, ennobling, but debasing. Significant as he is historically, however, Crabbe is not altogether a realist. He sees only that which is sombre. He is one-sided.

So far no one has made the farmer the central figure of a novel and subordinated the facts of life to an artistic conception. This advance was made by Emily Brontë in "Wuthering Heights." The hero is a gentleman farmer who in the end is also a landlord, but he has in his youth performed the hardest kind of work on the farm. Taking for granted all the conditions which Crabbe depicted and tried to explain, dropping all generalization, Miss Brontë seizes on a single instance, unites the realistic and romantic elements, and creates a novel in which "the animal passions of the peasant overpower all else, and, because of their tragic effects, create the background for a terrible soul struggle." In Crabbe, Wordsworth, Brontë, Meredith, and Hardy demonic love, greed for possessions, or removal to the city, plays a fatal part in the life of the peasant.

Neither perfect realism nor triumph in execution is reached, however, before Eliot and Hardy. Of the two, Hardy is the greater artist, since he lets no desire to teach interfere with the selection of facts, and the facts are in harmony with his philosophy. Neither of these artists is unaffected in his portrayals of life by his philosophy, but we feel that Hardy's philosophy is largely the result of such facts as he presents.

Eliot is an optimist. Passing over her powers of execution and pausing only on the phases of life and the qualities of the rural inhabitants that she represents, we find that work is neither ennobling, as in Burns, nor debasing, as in Crabbe, but something healthy and needful, like daily bread. The tenant respects the master, but is not blindly loyal; he stands up for his rights. Family pride and family honor are strong. The peasant is religious, but his religion is a matter of form. Tradition, in fact, rules his life. He opposes Methodism partly because he thinks it wicked, partly because he is too happy for Methodism

to make an appeal. He can with difficulty see anything good in persons who think differently from himself. The peasants want education, however, if not Methodism, and plod stubbornly if dully to master book learning. Eliot's figures are strongly individualized and what she describes is realistic. But she shuns that which is oppressive.

In Hardy the wheel has swung full circle. In the eighteenth century man was but a puppet in the hands of nature. The romanticists individualized him. Hardy, the realist, unites man and nature once more. But he goes further and gives nature a soul; and in doing so takes man's soul from him. Individual portraits he presents, to be sure, but the will of the individual is sunk in the will of nature. Unfortunately, nature is not always friendly. The soil may give but a scanty life to the peasant as to a tree, but neither will grow in another soil. If transplanted, the peasant dies. He fails if he goes to the city; he fails if he tries to educate himself; he fails if he tries to control his passions; self-assertion is futile. He is doomed to his environment and the environment permits but the meagerest spiritual life. In his earlier novels, Hardy took the same view as Eliot and Wordsworth, but in the later ones he sees the crushing effects of labor and poverty. Life is a struggle. Though the peasant professes Christianity he is also superstitious, and at heart materialistic. He prefers a funeral to a wedding because there is more to drink. He loves feasts. But alcohol is always the enlivening element. The peasant, in fact, needs alcohol. It is his only escape from hard work and he seeks forgetfulness. Burns showed his peasants fond of drink, but not for the same reason. Again in describing the peasants as dull and as failing whenever they try to measure themselves by the same standards as the higher classes, Hardy is at the opposite pole from Burns as he is, likewise, in his pictures of family life. Families are tending to separate; many children make many troubles; there is no pride left. Tess is the only peasant girl in literature who goes unproved by her parents for losing her virtue. Hardy shares the pessimism of Crabbe, but he is more the pure artist. He is separated from Wordsworth and Eliot by their optimism.

Such, in substance, is the work of Paul Meissner. In a work as extensive as this, one wonders why the peasant poetry of Ebenezer Eliot, which was strongly influenced by both Goldsmith and Crabbe, is omitted, and why nothing is said of "Tom Jones." Squire Western is certainly as deserving of notice as any figure in "Yeast," and the daughter of Black George is an exception to the statement that Tess is the only peasant girl in literature who goes unproved by her parents for the loss of her virtue. On the other hand, there is some question as to whether Heathcliff, in "Wuthering Heights," should be given

such prominence as an example of demonic passion in the peasant. Miss Brontë has rather marked him off from the general run of rustics by shrouding his birth in mystery (he is found in the city) and by intimating that he is of gipsy descent. Nor, as a matter of fact, is Crabbe to be disposed of quite so easily as in this study. His works, to be sure, give the general impression that the peasant is what he is because of the neglect of those who have his well-being in their hands, but this impression is not always the one that the poet intends to give. The contrast between Wordsworth's view of the peasants collectively and as individuals suffers somewhat from obscurity or confusion, as does the explanation of Hardy's symbolism and his merging of man in nature. Where there exists a struggle between man's will and nature there cannot be said to be, in the ordinary sense, a unity. But these are peccadillos in a work which, because of the extent of its survey, the compression of its style, and the novelty of what it presents, is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of literature. What we survey is a pageant. To the workers in special fields be the glory of disputing the correct shade of individual garments.

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**RAABE-LEBEN-WERK-WIRKUNG**, von Heinrich Spiero.  
Sammlung Geisteshelden, Darmstadt, Ernst Hoffman & Co.,  
1924.

Seit dem ersten schuechternen Versuche Paul Gerbers der Einfuehlung in das Gemuets- und Gedankenleben Wilhelm Raabes (Wilhelm Raabe, Eine Wuerdigung seiner Dichtungen, Leipzig, 1897) ist manches feine und tiefschuerfende Buch ueber diesen Dichter geschrieben worden. Es fehlte jedoch bis heute das eine, das uns den Dichter in der Totalitaet seines Wesens vor die Seele gestellt; denn auch Brandes Werk (W. Brandes, Wilhelm Raabe, Sieben Kapitel zum Verstaendnis und zur Wuerdigung des Dichters, Wolfenbuettel, 1906) leidet trotz hoher Vorzuege an einem gewissen Schematismus der Ausfuehrung, der das Letzte vermissen laesst. Und was an Einzeluntersuchungen ueber Raabe im Laufe der Jahre erschienen, vermag im Grunde doch nur das bedingte Bild eines Dichters zu geben, zu dessen voelliger Erfassung neben sympathischem Kennertum auch noch eine besondere seelische Verwandtschaft treten muss. Diesen oft empfundenen Maengeln hilft nun Spieros neues Buch ab, in dem wir die erste eigentliche Biographie Raabes besitzen, die in ihrer Einheitlichkeit der strengen Regelmaessigkeit inneren und aeusseren Geschehens, unbedingt als beste Leistung auf dem Gebiete der Raabeforschung bezeichnet werden muss.

Mit dem alten Braunschweiger Dichter innerlich wie aeusserlich verbunden und von dessen hohen Bedeutung fuer das

Geistesleben seines Volkes durchdrungen hat Spiero schon vor elf Jahren ein Raabebuch in die Welt hinausgehen lassen. (Heinrich Spiero, *Das Werk Wilhelm Raabes*, Leipzig, 1913.) Was aber in diesem Buche nur Umriss war, das wird in der eigentlichen Biographie ueber seine Grenzen hinaus weit ausgebaut, der grösseren Perspektive gemaess, so wie es der Abstand der Jahre und rastloses Erforschen der Lebensarbeit des Dichters mit sich brachten. Es ist dem Verfasser nicht immer leicht geworden die glueckliche Mitte zu halten zwischen wissenschaftlicher Gruendlichkeit und gemeinverstaendlicher Volkstuemlichkeit wie es den Herausgebern der Sammlung "Geisteshelden" als Ziel vorgeschwebt; man merkt es ihm gelegentlich an, dass er sich in der Behandlung seines Gegenstandes eine gewisse Reserve auferlegt hat. Im Ganzen aber ist es ihm gelungen seine Aufgabe geschickt durchzufuehren. Jedem tieferen Raabekenner ist es ohne Weiteres klar, dass die Bedeutung dieses Dichters nicht durch das Auessere seiner Lebensfuehrung, sondern durch jene Imponderabilien bedingt ist, die bei ihm vielleicht noch mehr wie bei seinen Zunftgenossen sein eigenstes und tiefstes Wesen bestimmen. Denn der Weg zu Raabe fuehrt nach innen; aus der laermvollen Zeitlichkeit in die zeitlose Stille hoher Ewigkeitsgedanken. Und nur wer seines Wesens einen Hauch verspuert, wird den Schluessel zur tiefsten Eigenart dieses wortkargen, grueblerischen und so grundguetigen Niedersachsen finden koennen. Und auf dieser Basis der Seelengemeinschaft baut sich das feine, tiefschuerfende Kennertum Spieros auf. So fliessen denn auch seine Berichte ueber Raabes auesseren Lebensgang—uns was waere hier auch besonders zu sagen!—bei aller Vollstaendigkeit nur spaerlich; um so mehr aber bemueht er sich, den Meister seelisch zu erfassen. Wie sehr Spiero die Bedeutung Raabes erkennt, zeigt das kaum drei Seiten fuellende Vorwort, wo uns dessen geistige Eigenart, seine Bedeutung fuer Gegenwart und Zukunft plastisch schoen und tief ueberzeugend vor die Seele gerueckt wird. Gewiss: aeusserlich hat Raabe das Leben eines echten deutschen Philisters gefuehrt! Wer aber tiefer in den Geist seiner Werke eindringt, den wird bald das faustisch empfundene Ethos dieses Dichters gefangen nehmen. Wie Spiero es empfand: "Nicht ruhsames Behagen, sondern tiefe, leidenschaftlich gefuehlte Verantwortlichkeit stroemt auss seinen Schoepfungen." (Eingang, S. 2.)

Was Spiero ueber die Jugend Raabes zu sagen weiss, deckt sich in der Hauptsache mit seinen fruerehen Ausfuehrungen (Spiero, *Das Werk Wilhelm Raabes*, Leipzig, 1913.) und denen anderer Raabeforscher. (Hermann Anders Krueger, *Der junge Raabe*, Leipzig, 1911) Nur dass Spiero hier unter voelliger Waehrung seines Standpunktes der inneren Erfassung Raabes sich bemueht neue Brunnen aufzudecken, wie er auch die bei

Raabe schon frueh sich bemerkbar machende Neigung zur Geschichte psychologisch zu motivieren sucht. (S. 13) Leider faellt auch der Verfasser in seinem Berichte ueber die Lesewut Raabes gelegentlich seines Aufenthaltes in Magdeburg im Jahre 1849 als Lehrling der Kretzmann' schen Buchhandlung in die so oft geruegte Manier, den Einfluss des einen oder anderen Schriftstellers a tout pris nachweisen zu wollen. Vermutungen sind noch lange keine Beweise und besonders bei einem Dichter wie Raabe schlecht angebracht, dessen besondere Eigenart ihn wie von selbst auf eigene Bahnen wiess. So bilde ich mir ein, dass Raabe damals Dumas und Sue, Scott und Thakeray so gelesen hat, wie sie von den meisten jungen Leuten seines Alters auch heute noch gelesen werden: ganz im Stoff, in der Spannung der Situationen aufgehend. Dabei ist natuerlich durchaus nicht ausgeschlossen, dass der keimende Kuenstler in Raabe nicht damals schon auf gewisse ihm entgegretende geistige Affinitaeten reagierte. Das gibt aber Spiero noch lange nicht das Recht zu sagen: „Der Realismus dieses Meisters der Gesellschaftsschilderung (Thakeray), sein manchmal scherzend spielender, manchmal wieder aetzender Humor liessen den jungen Leser nicht wieder los.“ (I, 15) Raabes Humor ist nicht der Art, wie wir ihn bei Thakeray finden, der zog seine Kraefte aus Quellen, zu denen der Brite keinen Zugang fand und auch seiner ganzen Natur nach keinen finden konnte.

Auch waere es wohl bald einmal an der Zeit aufzuhoeren den Schatten Jean Pauls in Verbindung mit Raabe zu beschwoeren. Raabe hat sich selbst ausdruecklich gegen diese Gegenueberstellung verwahrt (Fritz Hartmann, Wilhelm Raabe, wie er war und wie er dachte, S. 14) und das sollte genuegen. Es waere zeitgemaesser gewesen, wenn Spiero gar nicht auf dies Thema eingegangen waere; dass er es doch tut, wird wohl lediglich dem Umstande zuzuschreiben sein, dass selbst neuere Literaturhistoriker wie Adolf Bartels noch immer von Jean Paul als dem „Klassiker“ Raabes sprechen, den er, wie Bartels wissen will, „gruendlich studiert,“ wenn er auch kaum mehr von ihm uebernommen habe „als hier und da etwas Stimmung und den Tonfall seiner Reflexion.“ (Adolf Bartels, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur, II, 413). Und die neueste Auflage der Literaturgeschichte von Vogt und Koch nennt sogar Jean Paul den „unmittelbaren Stammbaum“ Raabes und faehrt dann fort; „Diese Verwandtschaft verlaeugnet sich fast nirgends, wenn sie auch am staerksten zutage tritt in Raabes fruehestem und bekanntesten Werke, der „Chronik der Sperlingsgasse“ von 1857. (Vogt und Koch, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur, III, 163). Diesem gedankenlosen Nachplaerren einer Scheinwahrheit haette Spiero scharf entgegretreten, ihm ein fuer allemale ein Ende bereiten sollen und es ist bedauerlich, das er es nicht getan, sondern sich damit begnuegte zu widerholen, was

er schon fruher ueber diesen Dichter gesagt. (Heinrich Spiero, Das Werk Wilhelm Raabes, S. 29).

Das nach Inhalt und Ausstattung vorzuegliche Werk gliedert sich in 18 Kapitel, die uns das Werden Raabes von den ersten tastenden Anfaengen bis zur vollendeten Meisterschaft anschaulich vor die Seele fuehren. So konnte nur ein Mann schreiben, der Raabe in sich selbst erlebt, der selbst „raabisch“ fuehlt und denkt, und nun mit feinsinnigem Stifte in liebevoller Versenkung sich bemueht, ein grosses Menschen- und Dichterleben zu bannen. So sind denn auch Spieros Analysen der Werke Raabes Kabinettstuecke psychologischer Erforschung geworden. Ich wenigstens kenne keine Schrift ueber Raabe, die sich in dieser Hinsicht mit der Spieros messen koennte. Nicht als ob dieser alles was Raabe geschrieben unterschiedslos lobte! Er weiss recht gut, wie viel verschwommene Romantik in den Jugendwerken dieses Dichters lebt; wie Raabe immer wieder in das Requisitenkaestchen jener wundersuechtigen Ritter der blauen Blume greift, um sich seinen Stoff geschmackhaft zuzustutzen. Zu gleicher Zeit weist aber Spiero ueberzeugend nach, dass auch durch diese Werke „Stroeme rauschen auf denen Raabe nach falscher romantischer Umklammerung seinem Eigenleben, seiner ganzen Aussprache zustrebt.“ (S. 60). Immer wieder bemerken wir auch in diesen „Kinderbuechern,“ wie sie der Dichter ungerechterweise nannte, das bald mehr, bald weniger starke Vibrieren eines tiefen, in die Zukunft weisenden Untertons, der ganz „raabisch“ ist.

Als Mittel- und Knotenpunkt raabischer Weltanschauung werden wohl immer die Romane der Trilogie (Der Hungerpastor; Abu Telfan; Der Schuedderump) gelten muessen, die Raabe in der Stuttgarter Zeit von 1862 bis 1870 schuf. Ihre Zusammengehoerigkeit hat der Dichter selbst am Schlusse des „Schuedderump“ ausdruecklich betont: „Es war ein langer und muehseliger Weg von der Hungerpfarre zu Grunzenow an der Ostsee ueber Abu Telfan im Tumurkielande und im Schatten des Mondgebirges, bis in dieses Siechenhaus zu Krobebeck am Fusse des alten germanischen Zauberberges.“ (Werke III, 1,418). In demselben Sinne auch in den „Gedanken und Einfaellen,“ wohl aus dem Gefuehl der Verbitterung ueber langjaehrigen Verkennen heraus: „Kauft euch den Hungerpastor, das schoene Buch Abu Telfan und den Schuedderump, damit doch die armen Verleger etwas davon haben, wenn auch nicht der arme Autor, dem ja aber zu seinem Trost, so oft er kommt, der Himmel offen steht.“ (Werke III, 592). So gibt uns denn auch Spiero eine erschöpfende Charakteristik dieser Meisterwerke. (S. 139-159). Er ist wohl der erste unter den Raabeforschern, der auf den Einfluss Feuerbachs in jener kritischen Periode des kuenstlerischen Schaffens von Raabe hingewiesen hat. Hatte Raabe doch diesen Philosophen schon in Magdeburg

heisshungrig gelesen. So sagt Spiero von „Abu Telfan,“ dass der hier so in bruenstig, ja dithyrambisch verkuendete Preis des Lebens „feuerbachsches Gut“, wie es feuerbachisch gedacht sei, wenn die Wahrheit auch bei Raabe „nie mit Dekorationen auf die Welt gekommen, nie im Glanze eines Thrones unter Pauken und Drommeten, sondern stets im Dunkel der Verborgenheit umter Thraenen und Seufzern geboren worden ist.“ (S. 151 f).

Wie wenig sich Raabe aber auch hier den Lehren Feuerbachs zu verschliessen vermag: es ist Schopenhauer mit seiner Negierung des Willens zum Leben der in der Trilogie schliesslich den Sieg davontraegt. Aber doch wieder nur im begrenzten Sinne. Ueber Raabes Verhaeltnis zu Schopenhauer ist schon viel geschrieben worden; Oberflaechliches (Ernst Ahlefeld, *Das Duestere und Melancholische in Raabes Trilogie*, Greifswald, 1912) und tiefer Schuerfendes (Walter Silz, *Pessimism in Raabes Stuttgart Trilogy*, Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXIX, 3, 458-469). Wie Spiero nun den sogenannten Pessimismus Raabes auffasst, habe ich schon in der Besprechung von Spieros erstem Raabe buche klarzulegen versucht. (*The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIII, 3, 458-469). „Frei durchgehn,“ war das Lieblingswort Raabes und ist zum Motto vieler seiner Helden geworden die, wie Antonie Haeussler im Schuedderump, wohl auesserlich der Kanaille unterliegen, innerlich aber Sieger bleiben. Denn der Wert eines raabischen Helden haengt nicht davon ab, ob er im Kampfe mit der Welt siegt oder untergeht. Und frei durchgehen koennen nur die, die das Leben mit allen seinen Wechselfaellen willkommen heissen und sich zur rechten Zeit zu bescheiden wissen. Justine et abstine! Wie mancher und manche Edle und Feine bei Raabe drueckt sich nicht selbst im Unterliegen gegen die „kalte mitleidslose Welt“ die Ehrenkrone selbst aufs Haupt! Mit Recht weisst darum auch Spiero (S. 154f) auf die beruehmte Stelle im 16. Kapitel von Abu Telfan hin; das „hohe Lied des Lebens,“ wie Heinrich Goebel diese wunder, vollen Worte bezeichnet (Goebel, *Raabe Gedachtnisschrift*, Leipzig, 1913). „Wohl dem, der eines Menschentumes Kraft, Macht und Herrlichkeit kennt und fuehlt durch alle Adern und Fiebern des Leibes und der Seele! Wohl dem, der stark genug ist, sich nicht zu ueberheben, und ruhig genug, um zu jeder Stunde dem Nichts in die leeren Augenhohlen blicken zu koennen! Wohl dem vor allen, dem jener letzte Ruf ueberall und immer der erste ist, welchem der ungeheure Lobgesang der Schoepfung an keiner Stelle und zu keiner Stunde ein sinnloses oder gar widerliches Rauschen ist und der aus jeder Not und jeder Verdunkelung die Hand aufrecken kann mit dem Schrei: Ich lebe! denn das Ganze lebt ueber mir und um mich!“ (Werke II, 1,202). So spricht kein Pessimist, kein mueder Nir-

vanasucher, wie denn auch Spiero ausdruecklich betont, dass Raabe keinen seiner Helden durch Selbstmord aus dem Leben scheiden laesst. Gleich weit entfernt vom „suendhaft lebenswuerdigen Optimismus kleiner Seelen“ wie buddhistischer Das-einsflucht stellt Raabe seine Helden mitten in den Lebenskampf und laesst sie im Vertrauen auf ihr Herz den Streit mit den dunklen Maechten selbst ausfechten. Wie es Spiero schon frueher ausgesprochen und in seiner neuen Arbeit mehr oder weniger wortgetreu wiederholt: „Nicht der Pessimismus, sondern jene Weltanschauung, die mit glanzlosem Idealismus die Welt weiter fuehrt, die das Leben erst wirklich leben lehrt—sie spricht aus dieser Reihe von Meisterwerken, die Raabe auf der Hoehe seines Lebens abschloss.“ (Spiero: Das Werk Wilhelm Raabes, S. 98). Wenn Spiero nun in seiner Besprechung der Meisterwerke Raabes „Abu Telfan“ mit Freytags „Verlorener Handschrift“ zum Vergleiche heranzieht (S. 123, 124, 150) so ist es allerdings richtig, dass hier eine gewisse Zusammengehoeerigkeit besteht, besonders im Milieu und der Charakterzeichnung. Es ist auch unbedingt richtig, dass „Abu Telfan“ dieses Werk „an Lebensfuelle und Kuenstlertum bedeutend uebertrifft.“ (S. 150). Wenn schon einmal solche Verbindungslinien gezogen werden muessen, so waere der Ertrag viel reicher gewesen, haette Spiero den „Hungerpastor“ mit „Soll und Haben“ zusammengestellt. Und was Spiero als Weiterentwicklung des Kuenstlertums Raabes wieder im Hinblick auf Freytag erwaehnt: „Schaerfe der Beobachtung, Fuelle des Lebens und der Anschauung“ so kann dies Charakteristikum wieder in weit hoeherem Masse auf Charles Dickens bezogen werden. Wie mir Frl. Margarethe Raabe erzaehlte, war „David Copperfield“ eins der Lieblingsbuecher Ihres Vaters, der es sicher schon waehrend seiner buchhaendlerischen Taetigkeit in Magdeburg gelesen. Denn als NEU gelesen wird das Buch im Tagebuch Raabes erwaehnt nach einer Eintragung vom Januar 1868. Auch Wilhelm Brandes bezeugt, dass Raabe den englischen Dichter sehr geschaezt, und Krueger gedenkt der besonderen Vorliebe der Mutter Raabes fuer Dickens. (Krueger, Der junge Raabe, S. 35). Waehrend nun Spiero dem Verhaeltnis Raabes zu Dumas „Grafen von Monte Christo“ eine ganze Seite widmet (S. 132), wird Dickens nur mit einigen wenigen Worten abgespeist (ibid). Und doch geht bei einer Vergleichung von Raabes „Hungerpastor“ und Freytags „Soll und Haben“ mit Dickens’ „David Copperfield“ die gemeinsame Quelle beider deutschen Autoren deutlich hervor. Soweit dies beim „Hungerpastor“ der Fall ist, habe ich schon frueher mit Wilhelm Fehse in einer Studie ueber das Verhaeltnis Dickens’ zu Raabe darzulegen versucht. (Doernenburg und Fehse, Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der geistigen Gestalt Wilhelm Raabes, Magdeburg, 1921, S. 16-19). Ich will daher hier nicht noch



einmal darauf zurueckkommen.—Auch in der Besprechung von Raabes „Drei Federn“ haette Spiero Gelegenheit gehabt auf manches anregende Motiv aus „David Copperfield“ hinzuweisen. Unzweifelhaft hat im letzteren Romane Uriah Heep das Urbild zum Pinnemann der „Drei Federn“ abgegeben, wie auch Ehrental und Veitel Itzig in „Soll und Haben“ in demselben Verhaeltnis zu einander stehen wie Wickfield und Uriah Heep in „David Copperfield.“—

Von den Analysen der uebrigen Werke Raabes ist die der „Akten des Vogelsangs“ besonders hervorzuheben. „Gutmanns Reisen“ dagegen wollen mir weniger gefallen. Unzweifelhaft geht Spiero hier zu weit, wenn er zu viel Persönliches in dieses Werk hineinzulegen sucht wie auch in der Behauptung, dass Raabe „im Grunde immer das schwarz-rot-goldene Baendchen aus der Paulskirche im Knopfloch getragen habe,“ (S. 295). Im Schlusskapitel „Der Dichter und sein Werk“ gibt uns Spiero noch einmal ein hinreissendes Bild der menschlichen und dichterischen Persoenlichkeit Wilhelm Raabes. Feinsinnige Bemerkungen ueber Sprache und Stil wechseln ab mit Betrachtungen ueber das Universalwissen des Dichters und der daraus hervorgehenden Stellung zum kuenstlerischen Schaffen. Wenn Spiero dann schliesslich Raabe, den Deutschen, zusammen mit Flaubert, den Romanen, und Dostojewski, den Slaven, einen „der unvergleichlichen psychologischen Meister innerhalb des Jahrhunderts der realistischen Kunst“ nennt, so ist diese Gegenueberstellung ja interessant genug, ohne jedoch voellig zu ueberzeugen.

Dem Buche als wertvolles Material zur Raabeforschung beigelegt ist ein Verzeichnis der Einzelschriften ueber Raabe. Ebenso ein ausgezeichnetes Register.

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**CAVALIER AND PURITAN.** Ballads and broadsides illustrating the period of the Great Rebellion 1640-1660. Edited by Hyder E. Rollins, Ph.D. New York University Press. New York: 1923, Pp. xvi+532. 8°.

Here is a volume which every student of the ballad will welcome, and which the "general reader" as well will find entertaining and informative. Under the blanket title of *Cavalier and Puritan* Professor Rollins has gathered together seventy-five ballads from the years 1640-1660, few of which have ever been reprinted, has edited and annotated them adequately but not with needless copiousness, and has prefaced the collection with an historical sketch of the art of balladry during the years in question. The entire job has been well done.

It is to the Introduction that the student of ballads will turn first, and in its seventy-one pages he will find much to repay him. In making this study Mr. Rollins has reinterpreted material already available, and has laid under contribution much that has heretofore been overlooked. His accounts of his sources, and comments on earlier collections, indicate the breadth of his investigation, and make it possible for the student to pursue special lines of study suggested by the present work.

Of particular interest to the reviewer are Mr. Rollins's accounts of the work of Martin Parker and Laurence Price, uncrowned laureates among the stall balladists, and the clearing up of the haze concerning the famous Crouches. In describing the Parliamentary opposition to the balladists Mr. Rollins has given ample evidence to show how unrelenting was the attempt to suppress the loyal songsters, and at the same time has made clear the astonishing skill with which the ballad mongers evaded the Parliament's acts and eluded its agents. The history of the News-books (both loyalist and Parliamentary), the account of the part the rise of the pamphlet played in the gradual decline of the ballad—these come as valuable additions to our store of information concerning the popular literature of this turbulent period.

The collection of ballads is less significant than the Introduction, for the obvious reason that many ballads of the type here published have long been available. Nevertheless the seventy-five here reprinted are deserving of the honor Mr. Rollins has accorded them, and a few are of unique and compelling interest. Of the group thirty may be classed as definitely Cavalier songs; nine represent the anti-Cavalier position; two are virtually neutral; the remaining thirty-four are non-political, a miscellaneous offering showing the varied interests of ballad makers and ballad readers during the period.

In reprinting these waifs and strays of long ago Mr. Rollins has followed the best editorial tradition. "In every essential particular the texts of the broadsides have been reproduced exactly. No notice has been taken of broken or blurred type or of apostrophes that are turned the wrong way or printed upside down, but all other misprints are duly indicated."<sup>1</sup> Eighteen reproductions of woodcuts found in the original broadsides, and a double-page facsimile of possibly the most interesting ballad in the collection, "An exact description of the manner how his Majestie and his Nobles went to the Parliament, on Monday, the thirteenth day of Aprill, 1640," add a pleasant touch to the work as a whole.

The only adverse criticisms it seems just to suggest are three: the glossarial index is needlessly elaborate and overloaded; the

<sup>1</sup> Preface, p. |viii|

expurgation practised once or twice in the interests of public decency was unnecessary in a work of this sort; the binding is unworthy of so well edited and beautifully printed a volume.

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**AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION: A TEXT-BOOK OF PHONETICS FOR STUDENTS OF ENGLISH.** By John Samuel Kenyon, Ph.D., Professor of English in Hiram College. George Wahr, Publisher. Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1924. Pp. vii + 200.

Within the compass of a small, modest-looking volume, Professor Kenyon offers a comprehensive study of the difficult subject of American pronunciation. The first thirty pages he devotes to a short bibliography, some comments on the practical value of phonetics and on the history of the English language, a list of phonetic symbols, a lengthy passage in phonetic transcription, and a few paragraphs on stress. After the presentation of these preliminary topics, he gives a description of the organs of speech, a detailed analysis of the sounds of American English, and chapters on the nature of syllables, spelling-pronunciation, accent, sense-stress, and gradation. He closes with an index of words and subjects.

Comprehensive as the author has made his book, he is likewise remarkably accurate in his transcriptions of American English. These he has based on a study of the cultivated speech of the Western Reserve of Ohio, a speech which he believes to be typical of the dialect of the North. Nor has he failed to point out the chief characteristics of the Eastern and Southern dialects.

Although Professor Kenyon speaks a dialect in many respects different from mine, he has practically no pronunciations that I should be disposed to find fault with. The vowel æ, indeed, impresses me as being exceptional for the second syllable of *grammarian*, p. 106; and *pankin*, p. 29, if not downright vulgar, would at least provoke a smile from many a cultivated Southerner. Furthermore, I miss the vowel ʌ among the variants in the first syllable of *sirup*, p. 112; and I wish that Professor Kenyon had recorded for the dialect of Southern England the ə-glide in *Mary*, *vary*, etc., p. 94, as well as the shorter endings without ə of words like *cemetery*, *laboratory*, *necessary*, pp. 160-162. The form *multri*, p. 160, I take to be a misprint for *multri*.

If Professor Kenyon is trustworthy in his transcription of American English, he is almost equally so in his discussion of phonetic laws. In these, it is true, I have observed here and there a lack of completeness and accuracy.

Thus he does not comment on point-teeth *t*, *d*, *n*, and *l*, as found respectively in such words as *eighth*, *width*, *panther*, and *health*. Certainly, in the phrase "open the door," p. 44, the advanced *n* is at least as common as is the assimilation of *n* to syllabic *m*; and in the pronunciation of the phrases "Smith'll go," "that lathe'll do," p. 68, syllabic *l* is obviously drawn forward to the point-teeth position. Again, Professor Kenyon has not mentioned the retraction of *d* when it is in contact with *r*, as in *hard*, *dry*; the lip-rounding, by no means rare, of *r*, as in *root*, *rode*; the lip-rounding of *k* and *g* under the influence of *w*, as in *quit*, *Gwyn*; the front-modification of *l* and *n* before *j*, as in *billion*, *union*; the not uncommon retraction of *i* in words like *Bristol*, *pretty*; the tendency of long *a*, even when it does not precede a written *r*, to end in a faint *ə*, as in *ah*, *balm*; the diphthongal nature of long *ɔ*, with its after-glide of weak, rounded *ə*, as in *saw*, *yawn*; and finally, the sharp contrast between the North and the South with respect to the beginning of vowels. The North, as a rule, has the clear beginning; the South, almost always the gradual beginning.

The omissions that I have just cited are perhaps of little consequence in a work designed chiefly as an introduction to the science of phonetics. With the author's presentation of phonetic principles I am, let me say in the next place, generally in accord. On what is manifestly the more difficult phase of his subject, I wish, however, to make the following remarks:

P. 20.—I suggest that the phrase "South U. S." be struck out after *hurt* and *blackbird*, because the Southern pronunciation of the vowel in *hurt* and similar words is far from being identical with the Northern. Pp. 37, 78.—The consonant *j* is not always formed so high as a close *i*; the height of *j*, on the contrary, is determined by that of the following vowel.<sup>1</sup>

Pp. 40-41.—Professor Kenyon perplexes me, I must admit, with his views on the nature of double consonants. The double *k* in *bookcase*, for example, seems to me to be analogous to the double consonants in such words as *home-made*, *purse-string*, *solely*, and *unknown*. In *bookcase*, as well as in *home-made*, etc., the acoustic effect of a double consonant is produced by a stress-minimum, which falls within the consonant and separates it into two syllables. This stress-minimum, which results in turn from a breath-impulse defined as decrescendo-crescendo,<sup>2</sup> chiefly distinguishes the double consonant from a single long consonant. Even at the risk of being tiresome, I must here be explicit; for not a few phoneticians assert that a double consonant is merely a single consonant prolonged. It is quite true that the double *k* as in *bookcase* is longer than the single long *k*

<sup>1</sup> See Meyer, *Untersuchungen Über Lautbildung*, Marburg, 1911, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> See Sievers, *Grundzüge*,<sup>6</sup> §559.

in *book*; it is also true that the former *k* like the latter has only one implosion and only one explosion; but it is, on the other hand, undeniably true that the double *k*, by reason of the stress-minimum within its boundaries, produces on the ear an impression altogether distinct from that of the single *k*. The adjective "double" I should add is of course not entirely suitable, since in the utterance of a double consonant one does not repeat every articulation necessary for the corresponding single consonant. P. 42.—With reference to the development of *p* between *m* and the voiceless consonant, as in *drempt. samptin*, etc., the author says: "So when a voiceless sound follows . . . , the opening of the lips and the emission of breath without voice combine to make a *p*." Not so: the articulation that he describes would result merely in making the end of the *m* voiceless. A *p* could not arise unless the nasal passage were closed before the opening of the lip-contact for *m*. P. 49.—I am sure that the obsolete pronunciation of *g* in *long* has nothing to do with the appearance of the *k*-glide in *lenkθ*. The *k* is here due to the fact that the nasal passage is shut slightly before the back of the tongue breaks its contact with the soft palate. As the vocal cords open in anticipation of the following voiceless *θ*, they naturally cause the intervening glide to become voiceless. Pp. 57—59.—For the sound of "ch" in *chin* semi-occlusive would seem to be a better name than *stop*. The semi-occlusive has, as is well known, a more extended contact and a more gradual release than the ordinary stop. Moreover, as "ch" is formed farther back than *t* the former is perhaps accurately enough described by the term *prepalatal-alveolar*.<sup>3</sup> Professor Kenyon's designation of "ch" as "palatal-dental" indicates, I think, a zone of contact at once too large and too far forward.<sup>4</sup> These remarks apply with equal force to the voiced semi-occlusive "g" in *gin*. P. 76.—Professor Kenyon analyzes as *hw* the sound represented by *wh* in *what* and similar words. This may be, in fact, his pronunciation. Many other Americans however pronounce not a combination of *h* and *w* but a simple voiceless *w*.<sup>5</sup> P. 88.—In describing the formation of the vowel in *see*, I should say that the front of the tongue, not the blade, is raised nearly up to the front palate.<sup>6</sup>

36a 3102 Jr. of Philology 31E 10-10 L.2-J . . . .p.103 . . . . .

Professor Kenyon has accomplished his task in the main so thoroughly that he will pardon me for having called attention to defects which, taken all in all, seem insignificant in com-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Roudet, *Éléments de Phonétique Générale*, pp. 161-162; and Scripture, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XI. pp. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> For a good diagram of "ch," see Scripture, *Stuttering and Lispering*, Plate I.

<sup>5</sup> See Josselyn's admirable article on *Voiceless W*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, April, 1905, pp. 106-107.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Palmer, *A First Course of English Phonetics*, p. 20.

parison with the admirable features of his work. Among the latter I should mention the lists of words and the suggestive questions which appear throughout the volume. One of these questions, by the way, has to do with the pronunciation of *Mrs.* Long ago I remarked that Southerners pronounce it either as *miziz* or as *miz*.<sup>7</sup> Professor Krapp overlooked my statement as to the shortened form, but added that the final *z* in Southern *miz* is perhaps prolonged.<sup>8</sup> The truth is, the *z* of *miz* may waver considerably in length according to the nature of the initial sound in the following name, or under subtle variations in stress and tempo. Similarly, either the vowel or the final consonant may be long in such words as *big*, *good*, *Tom*, *quiz*, etc.

I have also observed with pleasure—to return to the merits of the book—the frequent comments on the principle of analogy, as well as on the development of Modern English sounds. In connection with the last-named aspect of the work, I may note, however, that OE *tacere*, cited on page 59, is not found; that the *u*: in *wound*, p. 122, has doubtless sprung from a dialect in which the *w* prevented the vowel from becoming a diphthong<sup>9</sup>; and that, finally, a reference to Luick's explanation of the vowel in the name *Rafe*, p. 137, would have been appropriate.<sup>10</sup>

Just a few words in conclusion: For a long time I have cherished the hope that some one would write a reliable guide to American pronunciation. I am indebted to Professor Kenyon for the fulfilment of that hope.

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A *DICTIONARY OF THE NON-ENGLISH WORDS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN DIALECT*. With an Appendix. By Marcus Bachman Lambert, A.M. member of the Pennsylvania German Society.

It is rather surprising that the vocabulary of one of the most interesting speech islands in the United States should not have been the subject of serious study long before Mr. Lambert took up the work under the aegis of the Pennsylvania German Society. The vocabularies of Pennsylvania German hitherto published are only meagre word lists and, at best, most unsatisfactory. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we welcome this latest attempt at a permanent record of the every day speech of the Pennsylvania Germans who are probably the largest group numerically in the United States speaking a dis-

<sup>7</sup> See *Dialect Notes*, Vol. III (1911), pp. 524-525.

<sup>8</sup> *Pronunciation of Standard English in America*, §320.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Horn, *Hist. Neueng. Gr.*, §113.

<sup>10</sup> See *Anglia*, XVI (1894), 473; and cf. Horn, *Anglia*, XXXV (1911), 385.

tinctive German dialect for almost two centuries, in spite of their English speaking environment, with English in the schools, English in the pulpit and English newspapers, magazines and books. The late Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, had such a work in mind, but his untimely death prevented the consummation of one of his most cherished plans.

It is a well known fact that there is absolutely no uniformity in spelling in Pennsylvania German and so in taking up the work Mr. Lambert was at the very outset confronted with a very serious problem—that of spelling. He could adopt a purely phonetic notation with such modifications of the Victor, Passy, Esperanto or Volupek systems as might be found advisable, or he could follow the Duden System. Obviously none would be satisfactory by reason of the English influence on pronunciation and the large number of English words in the dialect. If he used a scientific phonetic notation, the Pennsylvania Germans, as a whole, would not be able to read the book and the book would find virtually no market. He soon found that it was impossible to record the distinctive Pennsylvania German sounds without diacritical marks and the use of graphs and digraphs (arbitrary and not always well chosen). It was probably his desire and his ideal to devise a system of spelling which could and would be accepted by every one who wished to write Pennsylvania German, for there are unmistakable signs in the Introduction of an ardent ambition to become the Pennsylvania German Noah Webster. The system which he, however, finally adopted is neither scientific nor accurate, for no one, unless he be a Pennsylvania German, can even approximately pronounce the words as spelled in this dictionary—after once he has found them. The inconsistencies in spelling are so numerous that one cannot help but wish that a trained proofreader had gone over the manuscript and corrected the glaring errors. In the few illustrations which are given here, the two words of each group are pronounced exactly alike although not spelled alike: *schteiber* but *weschschdeiber*; *los* (loose) but *loos* (brood sow); *sod* *brenne* but *sootweeze*; *beesding* but *besem*, *betdak*; *heider* (cheerful) but *heitel* (filament); *grab* (crow) but *grapp* (madder); *abrame* (to clear off) but *abrahme* (to skim milk); *laefer* (shoat) but *leeder* (ladder); *ros* but *rohr*; *ool* but *owed*; *briehich* (juicy) but *brieich* (broody); *eehr* but *weezeaehr*; *weise* (show) but *weisse*; *haern* (brain) but *harn* (horn); *buchs* but *jux*; *sack* but *seef*; *achs* but *ax*; *daerjele* but *zigeiner*; *aer* (inseparable verb prefix) but *ver*; *scharnschteruss* but *scharnschtee*.

In the pronunciation of the medial and intervocalic Pennsylvania German *g* a sharp ear will detect three distinct sounds, although *j* is adopted for all of them; *vojjel*, *rejjre*, *abjaje*, *daerjle* are simply ludicrous.

In Pennsylvania German there is no qu. It is uniformly pronounced like English gw and should be spelled that way.

If ie "is like ee in meet or ie in Miete" (p. xviii) and "h is used in German to indicate that the preceding vowel is long" (p. xxiii) riehme and rieme should be spelled alike. Again, if ae is "used only in words which contain long a in German" (p. xvii), we are given a new etymology for braesment!

The letter f has always occupied an arbitrary and anomalous position. This irregularity goes back to the Old High German period and must serve as the extenuating circumstance in the treatment of f in Pennsylvania German. Most words spelled with v in New High German are so listed in Pennsylvania German, flies (G. Vlies) being the outstanding exception. In the words lavendel, vendere, visier and visidiere it was found advisable to explain the pronunciation by bracketing v equals f. Therefore, either the readers of the Pennsylvania German dictionary are unable to appreciate Mr. Lambert's phonetic notation or it is *prima facie* evidence of the insufficiency and unworkability of his system.

When a word has several variations in spelling and pronunciation it would have been better to list each of the variations separately as is the case with selleri and zellerich. Who would expect to find, for example, madderionisch listed under mardunisch, mullikopp under mollekopp, zillscheit and silscheit under schillscheit, kschklav under schklav, schnackich under schniekish!

It cannot be emphasized too strongly or too often that Pennsylvania German occupies a prominent position among the modern German dialects, it is not a mixture of bad German and worse English as some of its defamers would have you believe, and therefore it would have been a valuable contribution to modern German dialect study if Mr. Lambert had indicated the several dialects in which he found the same or similar word-forms instead of grouping them all under "dialect German." In a few instances the Palatine form is given, but the question which naturally arises in the mind of the student is in what German dialect does the same word occur? Some of the explanations given are very interesting, some are good, some are absolutely wrong, and, in some cases, there may be an honest difference of opinion or of usage. We are informed that the seinawwel is "usually hung up for the birds in winter," but a far simpler and more convincing reason is that the frugal Pennsylvania German uses it to grease his saws just as he does the rind of ham or bacon to grease the griddle.

No one who has ever tasted good "seiderreil" will agree that it is "cider with an addition of alcohol." The truth is that it is equal parts of hard cider and applejack. In this word Mr. Lambert's ear fails him, as it does in hundreds of other cases.



It is not seidereil but seiderreil, and eil is not English oil as he tells us—he cannot give a single instance when English oil appears as ei in Pennsylvania German—but it is a corruption of French royal. Gummebrecher is neither jawbreaker nor a “literal translation of English jawbreaker.” It is nothing more or less than a specially designed bit to control fractious horses.

Nor is the explanation for *sadi* convincing, for it is probably derived from the French or it may be inexplicable *Kindersprache*.

Translating *schwingfelder* by Dutch cake—while inherently wrong—is nevertheless not as bad as “favorite cake” for *siesskuche*. *Schwingfelder* is a corruption of *Schwenkfelder* and this particular kind of cake is named for them, just as another cake of similar kind is named for the Moravians, and *Schwowegneb*, a boiled dumpling, is named for the Swabians. Some of the most glaring errors in the entire dictionary are to be found in words pertaining to the household. The Pennsylvania Germans are recognized everywhere as good cooks, but one would hardly suspect it if one were to take the dictionary as a guide in the matter. *Dampgnebb* are not boiled but steamed dumplings. But the climax is reached when we are informed that *riwwle* are “flour and lard (and sometimes sugar) mixed and rubbed to the consistency of small lumps used as a covering for *riwwelkuche*.” *Baerzelschitik* is “the piece that flies over the fence last,” the pope’s nose, *uropygium*, but never rumpsteak.

There are some words in the dictionary concerning which there is a serious doubt in the writer’s mind as to their existence in Pennsylvania German. Some of them might perhaps occur in poetry or they might perhaps be used by some one who endeavored to give a higher tone to his writing, but it is exceedingly doubtful whether words like (*rischthaus*, arsenal), *a’schtreich* (varnish), *lampehelling*, *Pelser* are ever used colloquially by any real Pennsylvania German.

The number of sex terms is very large, a few of them are translated into Latin, but many of them are not even listed. It would have been far better if they had been translated into every-day English. The list of “cuss words,” on the other hand, is very large. The lexicographer must take and record facts as he finds them—sitting in judgment as to what constitutes good taste is not his sphere or his function.

In the case of *eisewaerrick* and *feierwaerrick* the author seems to have taken them boldly and unblushingly from Muret-Sanders—a common failing among lexicographers, for we still have *Adelung* errors in most recent German dictionaries. *Eisewaerrick* is all the iron work required in the construction of a house, or a wagon, etc., and *feierwaerrick* is the black-

smith's forge, or even the hearth with its equipment, or the combustion chamber of furnace or stove. Nochsummer is not Indian summer; rotzer is coryza or rhinitis, not glanders; schpannseek is a bucksaw; schtooswoi is not chicken hawk, but sparrow hawk; halsros is hollyhock and holsros is rose of Sharon.

Among oddities of translation may be mentioned; zuckblaschder, drawing plaster; moschmehl, mushmeal; abmache, to take off from; hackbank, chopping bench. In some instances idioms are translated, but the genius of the dialect would have been shown much better if many more such idioms had been recorded and all of them translated, or at least an attempt had been made to translate them: reh is translated by foundered but no attempt is made to translate sich ze reh fresse.

In the treatment of the separable and inseparable prefixes there is neither uniformity nor consistency. The compounds of ab, aer, a<sup>u</sup>, aus, be, bei, ei<sup>u</sup>, ge, iwwer, owwe, u<sup>u</sup>, um, un, ver, vor and zu are listed separately and in many cases the German equivalents and idioms are recorded. This is not the case however with compounds of do, ee, faert, gut, haer, hi<sup>u</sup>, hinne, hinner, hoch, los, mit, naus, nei, nidder, niwwer, no, nuff, nunner, raus, rei, riwwer, ruff, rum, rumhaer, runner, uff, varne, weck, wedder, zamme, and zerick. One is almost forced to conclude that the saving of space, and therefore a smaller printer's bill, had been the determining factor in such an unsatisfactory arrangement, and yet one would hardly accuse the Pennsylvania German Society of such niggardliness.

A perusal of the range of subjects and their nomenclatures shows that the terminology of botany seems very complete and too much credit cannot be given to the Reverend T. R. Brendle for his contribution in this field. The vocabularies of the trades, cards, games (except datta) cookery, and proper names are very incomplete. Much of this material while distinctly Pennsylvania German in character, is difficult to collect and it requires endless time and patience. It is high time that this were done if it is not to be irretrievably lost. To the vocabulary of ornithology the writer has added thirty eight species and to proper names one hundred and twelve, all of them current and in use before 1870.

The list of geographical names which are purely Pennsylvania German or Indian in origin is equally incomplete. We fail to see why Betlehem, Ephrida, Jordan, Blobaerrick and Nazrett should be listed. It is easy to understand why Lecha should be listed, but why should names like Millerschettel (Macungie) Moierschettel (Myerstown) Manem (Manheim) Dreichlerswill (Hereford) Altiani (Ontelaunee) Mingo, Ellsdaun, Backeffel, Ledereckposchte (Leather Corner Post) Maergeland (Morgenland) be omitted?

One of the most unfortunate slips in the entire work is the attitude toward hybrids. The remarks on the Dialect (pp. viii-x) and the Contents of the Dictionary (pp. xxvi) are, in many respects, contradictory. After specifically mentioning the Palatine and Swiss dialects, we are told that "the constant intermingling of those speaking different dialects has had a smoothing-out and levelling effect, so that the Pennsylvania-German (note the hyphenate) dialect is quite homogenous" (p. viii). One would never suspect that there is any contact with English speaking peoples, and it is here that one of the worst blunders is made. To be sure, it may be a question of definition, and that by inference is relegated to the appendix in these words: "a list of five hundred and seventeen words, wholly or partly of English origin, compiled to illustrate:

- (1) the retention of English sounds
- (2) the changes which English sounds and words have undergone in the process of adoption
- (3) The affixing of German prefixes, suffixes and endings to English words
- (4) the formation of hybrid compounds."

Ignoring these factors in the dialect, he is "merely making a record of words" (p. viii). "For special reasons a few words evidently of English origin and a few more of doubtful origin have been included . . . . . but there is no rule of usage or authority by which it can be determined what English words should be included in a Pennsylvania German Dictionary" (p. xxvi). It would be exceedingly interesting to ascertain the special reasons why, e.g., *du'ens* (English *doin's*) *ferriboot*, *ginnihinkel* and *addere* with its compounds (to mention only a few) should be listed in the dictionary, whereas *glabbordfens*, *Kaerbsekosterd* and five hundred and fifteen others should be consigned to the appendix. The number of Pennsylvania German hybrids is exceedingly large, although it is natural to infer from the Appendix that this number is very small.

In spite of the many errors, omissions and blunders, Mr. Lambert has given us by far the most comprehensive Pennsylvania dictionary yet published and it is to be hoped that in a later edition he will add much material that is unfortunately lacking in the present volume.

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**LAYAMON'S BRUT:** Selections, edited with introduction, notes and glossary. By Joseph Hall, M.A., Hon. D. Litt., Durham University. The Clarendon Press. Oxford: 1924. 6/6 net.

Dr. Joseph Hall, who in 1901 published his *King Horn*, almost a model edition of a Middle English text, has now produced another excellent volume. Layamon was fortunate in his first editor, the admirable Sir Frederick Madden, but the book has long been out of print, and the poem has been readily accessible only in very short selections. This is a pity, for its uniqueness, beauty and historical significance have been recognized far too little. Therefore this careful edition of 1885 lines will be useful to many. The shortish introduction deals mostly with phonology, grammar, and prosody. The text is very carefully prepared (though some of Madden's few errors are not corrected), and since it attempts to restore what the poet probably wrote, it departs from the MSS more than Madden's does. The notes and glossary are extensive, and are devoted mostly to elucidating the text.

Dr. Hall has some new observations. He favors a somewhat earlier date than Madden's, and in this he is probably right, for more reasons than he mentions. He takes a little cruise on the troublous sea of Layamon's verse, and believes he finds three and four stresses in most of the half-lines, and two in others. The reviewer is in much doubt whether this loose popular verse can be made to fit into hard and fast categories. Dr. Hall retains the customary modern spelling of the poet's name, bad as it is, and also the modern name *Brut* for the poem, bad as that is; but in a volume of selections it was natural to do so.

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**OLD ENGLISH POETRY.** Translations into alliterative verse with introductions and notes. By J. Duncan Spaeth. Princeton University Press. Princeton: 1922. Pp. xii+268.

This attractive and well-printed book reproduces the translations from Old English already published in Spaeth and Pancoast's *Early English Poems* (New York, 1911), with considerable additions in text and notes. Whereas the earlier book gave only about a quarter of the text of *Beowulf*, the later gives two-thirds; other additions are considerable excerpts from the *Elene* and *Guthlac*. Roughly speaking, almost two thousand lines are added to the three thousand in the Old English section of *Early English Poems*. The method of translation and the plan of the notes are naturally of a piece in both books.

In these translations Professor Spaeth seeks to maintain alliteration and the dominant falling rhythm of the original, although he feels that any translation from Old to Modern English must be considerably lighter and more rapid than the original if it is to be really Modern English. He likewise avoids frankly archaic diction, and this means of course that a close rendering of the kennings is not attempted. The half-lines of the original are freely telescoped or expanded, the parentheses and suspended constructions are somewhat diminished, and the medial caesuras are less prominent than in the Old English. On the whole these translations achieve as successful compromise as can be expected between the stroke of the sledgehammer or the movement of the shuttle, and the inevitable fluency of modern diction and rhythm.

For the practical purposes of the classroom Spaeth's notes should prove most valuable. They are literary without being vague, and precise without being technical. We may as well face the fact that most of our undergraduates interested in English will never be able to read Old English literature in the original, or to draw directly on the resources of German scholarship. A good course in Old English literature in translation is therefore not a concession to half-culture, but an enrichment of the background of the literary-minded undergraduate. In such a course Spaeth's book, because of the quantity of text offered and the scope and suggestiveness of the notes, has certain advantages even over such excellent manuals as Cook and Tinker's *Translations from Old English Poetry* or Faust and Thompson's *Old English Poems*.

It would be ungracious to ask for more material than is given in these selections. The episodes in *Beowulf* and a large part of *Widsith* would have been useful for the study of heroic legend; the *Judith* and additional passages of *Exodus* would have facilitated the study of the use of sources in Old English poetry. The problem of evil in *Genesis B*, the possibly dramatic form of the *Passus* in the *Crist*, the Franks Casket, and the Ruthwell Cross might have invited discussion. But such matters often lie quite beyond an editor's power of choice.

I have noted a few details. P. 188, the date of the fire which injured the *Beowulf* MS. is given as 1736, instead of 1731; p. 200, *Brittanica* is printed for *Britannica*; p. 207, Northumbrian for Northumbrian. Why Brecca instead of Breca throughout the selections from *Beowulf*? Cf. Chocilaicus, p. 196, with Chochilaicus, p. 206; Geät, p. 199, with Geat, p. 206. Pp. 232-35 and 240: these two entirely separate notes on Cynewulf's runic signatures and the implications for the biography of the poet should have been combined. P. 219: the request of Clovis for a minstrel, addressed to Theodoric the Goth, is still cited as evidence for native Gothic minstrelsy; whereas it has been

proved that Clovis was asking not for a native gleeman but for a sophisticated artist, "an Italian or Greek performer." (Cf. Chambers, *Widsith*, p. 13).

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**ANGLO-NORMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.** By Johan Visung, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Göteborg. Oxford University Press. American Branch. New York: 1923. Pp. 111. (The World's Manuals. Language and Literature Series, General Editor, C. T. Onions).

Professor Johan Visung, distinguished for his publications of an editorial and critical nature in various fields of Romance languages, and particularly for studies and editions of works in the Anglo-Norman language has brought out a much needed manual of Anglo-Norman language and literature. In a volume of barely an hundred pages he presents a concise sketch of a most important branch of Old-French literature, for the four centuries of its existence. The first part of the work is devoted to the language, in the first chapter of which the author sums up its external history, and in the second, its phonetic and morphological development, carefully documented by the citation of texts and studies on the subject. The second part deals with the literature, of which the first chapter, devoted to a sketch of its history, includes a most useful lists of the localities to which certain of the writings may be attributed, a field, in which it may be said, much work is still to be done, particularly in the case of saints' lives. Next follows a detailed list of the works, arranged according to the century in which they were written, accompanied in each case by a bibliography of editions, studies and references to the manuscripts in which they are found. One chapter is devoted to versification, and another to a list of manuscripts, with their dates of writing, with cross references to the works they contain, mentioned in the earlier chapter. Finally comes a well-made index of Anglo-Norman and Middle-English authors, and their works, or the titles of anonymous writings.

There is little to be said in the way of criticism of this most commendable book, except in the way of trifling additions to the bibliography. It is unfortunate that the author did not make use of two articles of Mario Esposition, "Inventaire des anciens manuscrits français des bibliothèques de Dublin," *Rev. d. Bibliothèques*, XXIV (1914) 185-198; XXX-XXXI (1920-1) 127-147, in which he would have found mention of a few minor works, and of manuscripts, containing some of the works noted. An earlier version than that published of the life of St. Catherine of Alex-

andria (p. 43), has been discovered by R. Fawtier and E. C. Fawtier-Jones, "Notice du manuserit French 6 de la John Rylands Library, Manchester," *Rom.*, XLIX (1923) 325. An Anglo-Norman prose version of the life of St. Gilles (p. 43) has been printed, with the Latin source by E. G. Jones, *Saint Gilles; Essai d'histoire littéraire*, 1914, 98-111, 137-47; cf. 66-7), and on the popularity of this saint in England, cf. *Ib.*, 68-9; A. T. Baker, "Saints' Lives Written in Anglo-French: Their Historical, Social and Literary Importance," *Essays by Divers Hands; being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, N. S., IV (1924) 131. A real critical edition of *Li Romans des Romans*, which is superior to that of Tamquerey (45) has been published in 1923 by I. C. Lecompte (Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 14), An edition of Hue de Rotelande's *Protheselaus* (p. 46) has been recently issued as volume 45 of the *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, edited by F. Kluckow. The fragment of the *Estoire du Saint Graal*, of Robert de Borron (46) is certainly more accessible, in the appendix of F. J. Furnivall's edition of the *History of the Holy Graal*, 1861, than in either of the earlier editions of Francisque Michel, or De Douhet, which are cited. If the original form of the *Roman d'Alexandre* of Eustache, or Thomas de Kent, (47) was written at an earlier date, its present form can not be earlier than c. 1150, on account of the interpolation of the episode of the *Fuerre de Gadres*, written in the first half of the twelfth century; F. Pfister, "Zur Entstehung und Geschichte der *Fuerre de Gadres*," *Zeitschr. f. Spr. und Lit.*, XLI (1913) 107-108; cf. A. Hilka, *Ib.*, XLIV (1916-17) 111-112. The version of a Dublin manuscript, Trinity College, E. 5. 20, of Johannes Barmis's *Historia Regis Waldei*, has been printed by J. G. Smyly, *Hermathena*, XVIII (1919) 240-328. Further extracts of Robert de Gretham's *Miroir* or *Evangelies des domnées* (50) have been published by Marion Y. H. Aitken, in her *Etudes sur le Miroir ou les Evangelies des domnées de Rôbert de Grethan, suivie d'extraits inédits*, 1922. An analysis of the life of Modwenna (54) has been given by Baker, *art. cit.*, 149-152, who has an edition ready for publication. The same scholar will publish in a forthcoming number of the *Nuovi studi medievali*, the life of St. Audry of Ely, to which he had referred in his brief description of the Welbeck Abbey manuscript, *Rom.*, XXXVIII (1909) 418, where its mention has escaped the attention of Professor Visung. In both his bibliography and index Professor Visung fails to note that Matthew of Paris can be accepted as the author of versions of lives of St. Alban, St. Edmund and St. Thomas of Canterbury (and an edition of an anonymous prose translation of St. Edmund's *Speculum ecclesiae* (57) is ready for publication. (Cf. Baker, *art. cit.*, 140-1, 144). An edition of Henry d'Archi's poem on

Antichrist (54) has now appeared, R. Fawtier and Fawtier-Jones, *art. cit.*, 331-40. Is not "Ailred de Riveaulx" a more acceptable form than "Alred de Rieval" (55). Why refer to the preliminary study of the continental versions and manuscripts

*Boeve de Haumtone*, published by Stimmung in 1895 (60), when we have that scholar's final statement in the introduction to the three volume edition, published as volume 41 of the publications of the Gesellschaft für romanische Literature for 1918? A more accessible edition of *The Birth of Merlin*, than that cited (66) is found in de La Villemarqué, *Myrdhin, ou l'enchanteur Merlin*, 1862, 422-31. The entries in the form of a chronicle, written in the last quarter of the thirteenth century in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* ed., A. T. Riley, (Camden Soc.) 1846, 242-53 (75), and the calendar of letters, found in C. H. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature of the Fifteenth Century*, 1913, 329-91, are worth nothing. Finally, there has been just published as the first volume of the *Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts*, editions of three poems, one the vision of St. Elizabeth of Schönau on the Assumption, another on the Day of Judgment, and the *Divisiones Mundi*, a translation of certain sections in the encyclopaedic works, the *Imago Mundi* and *Philosophia Mundi*, of Honorius Augustodunensis, none of which has been noted by Professor Visung, as being found in the Cambridge manuscripts, from which they have been published, although they had been noted in various volumes of Dr. Montague R. James's masterly catalogues of the Cambridge College libraries, which would have furnished other items, not mentioned in this work.

Mention is made of the Anglo-Norman version of *Amis et Amiloun* (46), but for their linguistic value, should not there have been a reference to the insular versions of other epic texts, of which Gaston Paris emphasised the importance in speaking of the Middle-English translations; *Rom.* XI (1882) 150? In a manual devoted to the existing Anglo-Norman texts, there is perhaps no place for mention of copies of French texts, some, undoubtedly, in Anglo-Norman redactions, found in the catalogues of mediaeval English libraries, or of works dealing with English history, but written by continental authors, such as Ambroise's *Histoire de la guerre sainte*, the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* and the *Chronicque de la traison et de la mort de Richart Deux*, of the translations of Eutropius, Dares and the *Secretum Secretorum* by the Anglo-Norman, born in Ireland, Jofroi de Watreford, who, however wrote in continental French to judge from the one manuscript of his works, which has been cited.

To the bibliography on the language (102), one may now add O. H. Prior, "Remarques sur l'anglo-normand," *Rom.*, XLIX, 161-185, and in that on the literature should have been found a reference to the chapter: "New Influences: France and



the Cult of the Virgin," in G. H. Gerould's *Saints' Legends*, 1916, 128-150, and now may be added A. T. Baker's important article, which I have had occasion to cite. Notwithstanding these minor additions, necessary or possible, the manual of Professor Visung will long serve as a fitting complement to Gaston Paris's wonderfully compact compendium of erudition and criticism "*La littérature française au moyen-âge.*"

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**ST. ERKENWALD. SELECT EARLY ENGLISH POEMS.**

Edited by Sir Israel Gollancz, Litt.D., F.B.A. IV. Oxford University Press. American Branch. New York: 1922. \$1.70.

Although the legend of St. Erkenwald has been generally known to students of Middle English ever since it was included by Horstmann in his *Allenglische Legenden*, the poem had not, before the publication of this edition by Sir Israel Gollancz, received the attention to which it is entitled. Apart from the problem of its authorship, which had come in for earnest if not very fruitful consideration in the literature of the Huchown question, the chief contributions to a critical study of the legend had been made by two American scholars,—Professor Hulbert and Professor Hibbard. The former called attention to the parallel between the Trajan legend and the Erkenwald, adding a conjecture with respect to the source of the English poem; and Professor Hibbard, who anticipated Sir Israel in correcting Mr. Hulbert's statement that the miracle was included in the twelfth-century *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi*, argued that the association of the story with the English saint might be due to a confusion of him with Erkenbaldus de Burban, who gained a reputation for justice by punishing with death the crime of his own nephew, and whose story became an *exemplum* of justice.

In the Preface to his edition of Erkenwald Dr. Gollancz as was to be expected, goes far beyond these investigators; but perhaps he falls short of strict justice in assessing their contributions. He echoes with emphasis Miss Hibbard's correction of Mr. Hulbert but he fails to give the latter credit for recognizing the importance of the Vienna version of the Trajan story as an important link between that legend and the legend of Erkenwald. Its importance arises from the circumstance that here an unnamed pagan judge, as in Erkenwald, takes the place of the Roman emperor. The story having thus cut its old historical moorings might be variously dated and localized. It is perhaps important to remember this in assessing the value of Miss Hibbard's theory. Her contention is doubtless weakened

somewhat by her failure to note the errors which were made in translating the story from the *Alphabetum Narrationum* for the *Alphabet of Tales*; but remembering that the name Erkenbald actually became Erkenwald in English, that the Erkenbald story, containing a bishop, immediately follows the Trajan story in the *Alphabetum*, and that name shifting is a common phenomenon in the transmission of stories we may not merely agree that Miss Hibbard's evidence "should not be lost sight of" but we may contend that it still supports a plausible theory of the genesis of the English poem. As to the note in the printed editions of Bromyard—*Nota de iudice cujus caput Londoniis in fundamentum ecclesiae Sancti Pauli invention fuit*, etc.—the reviewer cannot feel perfectly sure that its absence from the "available manuscripts" quite closes the question of its significance.

For the rest one can only express gratitude for the learning and critical acumen that have gone to the making of this edition. Where the text has been emended the alterations have had sound reasons—logical, metrical, palaeographical—in their favor. For example, the emendations in lines 208 and 210 substitute a consistent for an impossible chronology; and it should be noted that the two changes, *viz.* of five to eight and of a thousand to three hundred, are made reasonable on palaeographical and metrical grounds as well. The editor's account of the Erkenwald as a London poem is very instructive and suggestive and his treatment of the antiquarian aspect of the subject deserves high praise. Particularly interesting is his interpretation of the "Synagogue of the Sun" which "was set to our Lady" as a temple of Minerva situated contrary to Camden but in agreement with the *Red Book of Bath* (1582) where the church of St. Mary de Stabula once stood.

H. S. V. JONES

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**DEUTSCHE SYNTAX EINE GESCHICHTLICHE DARSTELLUNG.** von Otto Behaghel. Band II Die Wortklassen Und Wortformen. B. Adverbium. C. Verbum. pp. 444. Heidelberg 1924 Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.

Neuhochdeutsche Grammatik Mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung Der Neuhochdeutschen Mundarten von Ludwig Sütterlin, Erste Hälfte Einleitung, Lautverhältnisse, Wortbiegung. pp. 504. München 1924. C. H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung Oscar Beck.

The size of these two works of itself attracts attention. The first mentioned has been preceded by a volume of 740 pages and is to be followed by a third volume. The second mentioned is to be followed by another large volume. Both works have been

preceded by Paul's *Deutsche Grammatik*, the fifth volume of which appeared in 1920.

The reviewer in examining these books was impressed not only by the thoro, scientific character of the work but also by the peculiar German spirit that pervades both volumes. Germans are interested in their language. To them it is the formal means of expressing their inner life. Hence to them not only the literary language but also the dialects are worthy of study; for they, on the one hand, contain here and there improved means of expression that are not yet possible in the literary language, or, on the other hand, tho often inferior in expression, afford interesting glimpses into the popular mind and thus round off the picture of the struggles of the German people for an expression of its inner life.

Both of these scholars, like Paul, are interested in the present form of the language, but they do not show the slightest desire to regulate usage by prescribing rules. They are trying to give a faithful description of the present means of German expression. But as the present forms are the result of a long historical development, they begin at the oldest known stage and trace this development. To the German scholar it is so self-evident that language is a part of the great evolutionary process.

The reviewer looks enviously at these two large volumes as they lie on the table before him. How long shall we have to wait for the appearance of English Grammars of this size and quality in our own country? We surely have a language worthy of study. The greatest of writers have used it as a means of expressing their thought. A long line of able thinkers have been using it for centuries, and the large number of changes that have appeared in it from generation to generation indicate that its power of expression is steadily growing more simple and more accurate. There is here evidently an interesting evolution. The great Oxford Dictionary has recorded much of this change. A number of fine scholars have given us descriptions of it. But the great regret is that the interest in this our precious inheritance is not greater, not deeper, so that it would call forth a long line of large Grammars that would give us ever fuller and more accurate pictures of its development.

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*AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR.* By E. E. Wardale. E. P. Dutton and Co. *AN ELEMENTARY OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR.* By Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Mary Wright. Oxford University Press. American Branch. New York: 1923. \$2.00

Both the grammars under review are designed for beginners. Miss Wardale states in her *Preface* that her grammar "is in-

tended primarily to provide an introduction to the standard works of Sievers and Wright," and Mr. and Mrs. Wright explain that "in order to render the book more suitable for beginners we have omitted many philological details." As beginners' books, then, both works must be judged, and we have no right to look for important contributions to knowledge in the pages of either. We may reasonably expect of the authors, however, some familiarity with the latest and most authoritative works in the field of OE grammar. It is with some surprise, then, that we find Miss Wardale omitting all reference to Luick and Bülbring in her list of authorities. That the omission was no accident becomes abundantly clear when we begin reading Miss Wardale's *Phonology*. It is indeed unfortunate that so competent a scholar as Miss Wardale should have written a phonology of Old English without utilizing Bülbring's *Elementarbuch* or Luick's *Grammatik*. Her failure to use these works makes unsatisfactory, on the whole, the phonological part of her *Grammar*, in spite of not a few excellencies in method of treatment. Her *Accidence*, on the other hand, may safely be commended, although here too a more thoroughgoing acquaintance with the critical literature would have stood her in good stead.

Limitations of space prevent me from pointing out in detail all the things deserving of correction or adverse comment in Miss Wardale's work. I will put down as much as I have space for. First of all, *Indo-Germanic* (for *Indo-European*) is an objectionable piece of terminology in English, however it may be in German. Miss Wardale and the Wrights are equally guilty here! Yet Miss Wardale, at least, is not averse to good terminology. She tells us (p. 11), with reference to velar consonants, "for these sounds . . . the term *guttural* has been given up here as misleading, since they are not formed in the throat." But instead of calling them *velar* she lumps them with the palatals, thus making confusion worse confounded, while on p. 45 she uses *velar* in the sense 'labio-velar.' Moreover, her renunciation of *guttural* does not prevent her from using the term with great freedom! These and other inconsistencies she explains in a footnote (p. v) which reads thus:

In many cases the more modern terminology has been adopted, the older, and to some doubtless more familiar, terms being also given. It is hoped in this way to have avoided possible confusion from any inconsistencies which may have been overlooked.

But the best way to avoid confusion, especially in the mind of a beginner, is surely to use a consistent terminology, not two terminologies together!

On p. 6 the pronunciation of the vowels is explained; as regards most of the short vowels, the explanation must be rejected. For the short vowels of OE were close, not open. Thus, Miss Wardale compares OE short *e* to the *e* of Mod. Eng.

set; Bülbring, to the *é* of French *état*. Again, nothing is said about the difference in quality between the *ē* of *ēo* and the *ē* of *ēa*.—In her discussion of the spirants *f*, *s*, *þ* (p. 7), Miss Wardale tells us that they were voiced in such words as *is*, *of*, *þa*, *singað*. I must record my scepticism.—On p. 8 we are told that OE *g* in such words as *giefan*, *stigol*, *weg*, “had the sound of the *g* in German *weg*, or much like the *y* of NE *yield*.” But the German sound in question is a voiceless spirant! Again, we learn that OE *g* in such words as *boga*, *dragan* “had the sound of the *g* in German *tag*, or an unfinished modern English *g*.” Here again the German sound is a voiceless spirant. By “unfinished” Miss Wardale probably means “loose,” but she ought to say what she means!—In explaining the formation of consonants, the author makes no mention of liquids (p. 10 f.).—I cannot agree with the statements on p. 12 that “in every syllable it is the vowel that bears the accent,” and that “in OE all diphthongs were accented on the first element.”

Miss Wardale includes in her IE vowel system (p. 15) the dubious schwa (which, by the way, is misprinted as *e*). Since it is by no means certain that this sound existed at all (see H. Pedersen, *KZ* XXXVI 74 ff. and compare v. Unwert, *PBB* XXXVI 11 ff.), one hardly needs to bother beginners in OE with it.—On p. 19 we are told that the close *ē* of Gmc. is preserved in three words in OE: *mēse*, *hēr*, *mēd*. But a close *ē* appears likewise in *cēn* ‘(pine)-torch,’ in *bēte*, ‘beet’ and in the preterit of various strong verbs of the VII. class, as *hēt* (from *hātan*). The lengthened close *e* of *wē*, *mē*, *sē*, etc. might also have been mentioned here, as this lengthening certainly goes back to Continental times.—On p. 20 we learn that WGmc *ā* remained in OE “in a few words before *g* and *l* if a back vowel followed.” But we find it also before *c*, *r*, *þ*, as *ācumba* ‘oakum,’ *geāra*, ‘yore,’ *slāpan*, ‘sleep.’—In discussing the influence of nasals, Miss Wardale sets up the rule that Gmc. *e* became *i* before *m* or *n* in Latin loan words. Instead of “*m* or *n*” she ought to have said “nasal plus consonant.” On the same page (p. 21) she notes as anomalous and ascribes to the influence of the nasal the representation of Lat. *ē* by OE *ī* in *þīn* ‘torment,’ from Lat. *pēna*. But this is by no means anomalous, and the nasal has nothing to do with it, as is shown by *tīgle* ‘tile’ Lat. *tīgula*.—On p. 22, *meolcan* is given as an example of breaking. Since this form does not actually occur in OE, it ought to be provided with an asterisk; indeed, since its existence is highly dubious, some other word, as *leolc*, would be more suitable as an illustration of the sound change.—On p. 24 we read: “It is undecided whether in forms such as . . . *sceort*, older \**scort*, . . . the writings *eo*, *ēa* represent true diphthongs or not.” But such ME forms as *schert* ‘short’ surely make it perfectly plain that the writings in question represent true diphthongs.

Under "i-mutation" Miss Wardale makes some curious errors. She derives OE *wæn* from an earlier *\*wōn*, *iēdra* from *\*ealdra*, *giest* from *\*geast*, *hierra* from *\*hēahra* (p. 25). Needless to say, these hypothetical forms never existed, and if they had they would never have produced the extant forms. Similarly, on p. 26, *ealu* cannot be derived from *alu* by u-umlaut or any other process; we must start with *\*ælu*, which, by the way, was not Mercian (as both Miss Wardale and the Wrights have it) but West Saxon (see Weyhe, in *PBB XXXI* 77 f.). Miss Wardale makes the same sort of error in Note 1, p. 6, when she speaks of the *e* which "has arisen from an earlier *a* before an *i* or *j*." The fronting of *a* took place before the umlaut period; hence we must begin with *æ*, not with *a*, in our discussion of umlautings.

Both Miss Wardale (p. 27) and the Wrights (p. 37) assume that words like *wudu* developed out of *widu* through the stage *wiodu*. In fact, however, as Luick has shown (*op. cit.* §223), no such stage is to be assumed. In general, Miss Wardale's treatment of velar umlaut is unsatisfactory. Thus, she fails (unlike the Wrights) to mention the fact that usually this umlaut did not take place before a consonant combination.—Miss Wardale's §37 and the Wrights' corresponding §66, devoted to the influence of labials, ought not to have been written at all, since there is no true evidence that the phenomenon in question (the appearance of *u* where one would expect *o*) was in fact the result of labial influence. For an explanation of the matter see Luick *op. cit.* §78, note 3. A somewhat different explanation is that of H. Collitz, in *MLN XXXIII* 332.—Among OE vowel lengthenings (p. 29), Miss Wardale mentions that in *þa*. But this lengthening is West Germanic (and North Gmc.).

We come now to the vowels in unstressed syllables. Here Miss Wardale discusses, among other things, the loss of final Gmc. *-u*. She explains that it was lost after a long monosyllable, and also after a dissyllabic stem, if the first syllable was short. But, she adds, it was not lost in OE *hēafodu* 'heads,' since the first syllable is long. This is surely not the true explanation. The interesting feature of this word is the medial *-o-*, which one would expect to vanish as it actually vanished in the gen. sg. *hēafdes*. Here the light middle vowel was crowded out between the heavy stressed first syllable and the heavy though unstressed final syllable. In *hēafodu* however the ultima was extremely light and was outweighed, apparently, by the penult. This latter, then, was preserved. The final *-u* thus stood after a short syllable which probably had a slight stress (secondary, of course). In this position *-u* was preserved, doubtless for the same reason as in *sunu* and the like.—In Note 1, on the same page (p. 33), Miss Wardale tells us that in *sāwol* etc. the final *-u* was lost on the analogy of long monosyllabic nouns like *lār*. But *sāwol* comes from an earlier *sāwl*, which in its turn is

derived from *\*sāwlu*. The loss of the *-u* is thus perfectly normal.

In her discussion of the consonants, Miss Wardale tells us (p. 58) that Gmc. *j* was lost between vowels in OE, and this although it is preserved in the spelling: *lōcigan* 'look,' *sealfige* 'I salve,' etc.! She goes on to say that Gmc. *j* was vocalized to *i* in OE after a short syllable ending in *-r*, as in *nerian* 'save.' From this one would conclude that she pronounces *nerian* as a trisyllabic word. But the word was unquestionably dissyllabic, as indeed the spelling *nergan* shows. As a matter of fact, Gmc. *j* in both these positions was preserved, and was probably pronounced as a semivowel, much as consonantal *y* is pronounced today. Miss Wardale might well have included the sound in her table of consonants on p. 5, in the palatal column and against the rubric "semivowel." Gmc. *j* was also preserved in final position, if a long vowel or a diphthong immediately preceded; in OE it was written *g*, of course, as in *īeg* 'island,' *æg* 'egg,' but its pronunciation was doubtless semivocalic here as everywhere else.—On p. 77, the dat. sg. *brōðer* is a misprint for *brēðer*.

I will conclude this list of corrections by briefly discussing Miss Wardale's treatment of the strong verbs of class VII. She says (p. 112):

This is a small class of verbs which corresponds to the reduplicating verbs in Gothic, and some of which preserve traces of reduplication in the Anglian dialects. In OE they have come to be conjugated by a change of vowel, the preterite having the same vowel throughout and the past participle showing that of the present. Two classes have to be distinguished, according to whether the vowel of the preterite is *e* or *eo*. The origin of these vowels is obscure.

The author has stated the case very cautiously indeed, but nevertheless her statement implies that the ablaut forms in OE were derived in some way from reduplicating forms. In fact, the ablaut forms can boast of as hoary an antiquity as the reduplicating forms, and neither can be said to precede the other. Moreover, the origin of the *ē*, *eo* etc. of the preterit of these verbs has been explained by F. A. Wood in his *Reduplicating Verbs in Germanic* (Chicago dissertation, 1895) and in his *Some Verb Forms in Germanic* (Mod. Phil. XIV 121 f.). Miss Wardale is thus hardly justified in referring to these sounds as being of obscure origin. She seems, however, to be unacquainted with Mr. Wood's investigations. Here it will suffice to say that the *eo*-preterits grew out of injunctives of the second ablaut series; the *ē*-preterits, out of a pre-Germanic imperfect or root aorist with the diphthong *ēi* (which under the accent would give Gmc. *ē*, as in *hēr* 'here'). Miss Wardale does not note that preterits of the type *feoll* probably had a short diphthong, i.e., they are injunctives of the third ablaut series.

The Wrights have produced an elementary Grammar on the whole more dependable than that of Miss Wardale, though

Mr. Wright clings still to his belief that Gmc. open *ē* came down to OE without a break in such words as *dād*. At the same time, Miss Wardale rarely gives us that feeling so frequently aroused in the perusal of a Wright grammar, viz., the feeling that here we have a table of laws come straight from heaven, laws to be believed and obeyed, not investigated and understood.

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KEMP MALONE

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**DOCTOR JOHNSON.** A Study in Eighteenth Century Humanism. By Percy Hazen Houston. Harvard University Press. Cambridge: 1923.

Dr. Houston has attempted to wrest Johnson the critic from the literary tradition of Dr. Johnson and to review and estimate the eighteenth century classicist as revealed in his writings apart from "literary gossip and personal anecdote."

Such a dispassionate study of Johnson's intellectual life has been needed and will prove useful to all who are primarily interested in eighteenth century criticism. Whether it will succeed in promoting scholarly appreciation of Johnson is doubtful. But if the great classical critic presented in this volume is not so compelling a personage as the autocrat of the Turk's Head Club, the fault is probably not Dr. Houston's.

With conscientious precision the author has examined Johnson's views in relation to the classical tradition, to the French critics of the seventeenth century and to the neo-classicists of his own environment, and he has interpreted his attitude to the romantic tendencies of his period. From the consideration of the critic's doctrines he has turned to the question of his method and has concluded with reflections on Johnson's value to our own time of "doubts, disputes, distractions, fears."

At least the order of topics which I have indicated is that in which I frame my mental review of the book after a careful reading. It is not precisely Dr. Houston's method of development. From some motive which his text does not disclose, he pauses in his discussion of critical theory to make a detailed summary of the Preface to Shakespeare and to evaluate the criticism of the plays, from these chapters on method returning to the matter of doctrine in Johnson's Relation to Contemporary Movements, and again turning our attention to Johnson's critical method in a chapter on the Lives of the Poets. A shift in these chapters would be an improvement demanding no change in the text, since there is a noticeable lack of sequence after the first two-thirds of the book, which treats of classical and neo-classical tenets.



But this matter of organization is of secondary importance compared with the development of the author's main thesis. What one reader, at least, has missed throughout this discussion of doctrines and influences is the gradual emergence of Johnson as neither classicist nor pseudo-classicist but as the "humanist trying to 'shake off the fetters of his environment.'" This description of Dr. Houston's might be acceptable if one read only his summaries of his chapters, but I cannot agree that the deductions as he states them always develop logically from his analyses. Of course such a weakness as this cannot be exhibited in a brief review of the book.

Johnson is shown as the inheritor of the classical tradition. The possessor of the Aristotelian temper and of affinities with Horace he yet betrays suggestions of the influence of Longinus, although the author acknowledges that this last influence may have been derived indirectly, since many contemporary writings reflected the popularity of the *Treatise on the Sublime*.

One example of possible Longinian influence is a passage from the Preface to Shakespeare in which Johnson advises the reader to secure an impression of the entire play before attending to the commentators or considering its minute parts: "There is a kind of intellectual remoteness necessary for the comprehension of any great work in its full design and in its true proportions; a close approach shows the smaller niceties, but the beauty of the whole is discerned no longer." A footnote refers to a similar passage in the *Life of Dryden* which farther on in his book Dr. Houston quotes in full, adding, "In this Johnson, in contrast to his occasional practice, makes definite rejection of the neo-classical tendency to catalogue faults and beauties and insists upon the immediate reaction of the reader to the total impression the work makes upon him." Dr. Houston considers this a departure from a didactic point of view toward literature, in which respect Johnson's development coincided with that of Boileau. But nowhere in his discussion does he show that this sensible warning of the critic's amounted to more than an expression of theory. Since Johnson more than occasionally offends in his catalogue of parts, I am inclined to regard this precept as merely a reflection of Pope:

"In Wit, as Nature, what affects our hearts  
Is not the exactness of peculiar parts;  
'Tis not a lip or eye we beauty call,  
But the joint force and full result of all.  
Thus when we view some well proportion'd dome,  
(The world's just wonder, and ev'n thine, O Rome!)  
No single parts unequally surprise,  
All comes united to the admiring eyes,  
No monstrous height, or breadth, or length, appear;  
The whole at once is bold and regular."

In 1757, eight years before Johnson's Preface, the same thought had been concisely expressed by Goldsmith. In one of his early reviews he remarks that "General observation often characterizes more strongly than a particular criticism could do. . . . Poems, like buildings, have their point of view, and too near a situation gives but a partial conception of the whole."<sup>1</sup> But Goldsmith in contrast to Johnson was guided by this principle throughout his reviews and other criticism.

The chapter on Johnson and Boileau is one of the most important in Dr. Houston's book; for, although the comparison between the two great advocates of good sense is obvious, and nothing very new may be said on their agreement in such fundamental doctrines as morality in art, the importance of the general as opposed to the particular and the understanding of nature as the "element of reality in all things," still the array of these opinions and others defines clearly Johnson's position as a classicist. And, what is equally significant, Johnson's departures from Boileau mark his greater flexibility; as, for example, when he defends tragi-comedy or attacks the imitations of the classics. Dr. Houston ends his detailed comparison with some discussion of the French and English critics in their attitude to the "province of the imagination" and their recognition of the sublime in art. This faith in the imagination was of course restrained by the classical reason and the pseudo-classical limitations of both critics, and, in the case of Johnson as of Boileau, the imagination was regarded from a very different point of view from that of the later romanticists. "To the classicist, and Johnson remained a classicist through life, the imagination was a faculty that enabled one to perceive through all particular images and details the underlying principles to which they must be referred. . . . To the romanticist the beautiful image or the beautiful moment is sufficient excuse in itself, and he cares not to penetrate further in search of any principle behind them. The classicist's imagination is therefore ethical and central, whereas the romantic imagination may be called eccentric, with no norm by which one may test the truth of his art."

These considerations form the basis of the succeeding discussion of Johnson. The author is bound to acknowledge the dangers of the classical interpretation of truth and insistence on reason: "it is easy to see why classicism, unless checked up by steady reference to imaginative standards, tends to fall into a neo-classical rationalism." However, in his analysis of Johnson's critical methods he does not wholly succeed in his

<sup>1</sup> Goldsmith's Works. Edited by J. W. M. Gibbs, London, 1901, Vol. IV, p. 251.

aim to establish him as a humanistic rather than a pseudo-classical critic. After praising Johnson's "sound doctrine" he admits that, "it is only as we discover to whom our critic grants the gift of imagination that we learn how defective his understanding of the term must at times have been. Johnson's principles were nearly always worthy: their application too often revealed his bias toward the pseudo-classical way of thinking."

Johnson's most important divergence from the neo-classicists, according to Dr. Houston, is his attack on conventional imitations whether of the classics, the ballads, or Spenser. This condemnation was particularly directed to the pastoral and included the lamentable criticism of Lycidas. Dr. Houston while deploring this lack of taste admires Johnson's consistency in applying as a test of the poem his understanding of truth and nature guided by reason.

In his estimate of the Preface to Shakespeare Dr. Houston is bolder than elsewhere. Granting that Johnson's approach to the poet is too rationalistic, he applauds his "courageous examination of Shakespeare's faults" and in the critic's defense of the English violation of the Unities he finds Johnson's "most striking and original contribution" to Shakespearian criticism. Perhaps he over-emphasizes Johnson's advance beyond Dryden in this respect, but, after all, the two critics employ different arguments and Johnson is entitled to full praise for his stalwart contention for the modern freedom in dramatic composition.

Whether or not we assent to Dr. Houston's praise of the Preface, we are relieved to find him warming to his subject; up to this part of his discussion he has been detached to the point of frigidity.

In the account of Johnson's Relation to Contemporary Literary and Social Movements and in the concluding chapters we have a more philosophical treatment of the subject than in the earlier portion of the book. This is due to an abandonment of the narrow consideration of the critic merely as he appears in his literary works. The author must, after all, resort to Boswell and the final chapters abound in reference to the familiar Dr. Johnson of the biography. His attitude to the growing romanticism of his time is traced to qualities in the man. His indiscriminating prejudice against all new movements is attributed to the stubborn conservatism which feels itself shaken and violently resists any change. Through such considerations the intellectual life of Johnson assumes fuller proportions than in the earlier part of the book where opinions are dissected with too little reference to their origin.

On the whole Dr. Houston's conclusions seem orthodox, although I am not quite sure what they are. He denies to Johnson the right to be regarded as a "complete humanist,"

whom he well describes as a "critical inquirer into the total experience of mankind as a sure and reasonable guide to life in the present." Yet he concludes his study by extolling the many attributes of Johnson which qualify him as a guide through our own period, which he fervently and scathingly describes as "a time when socialism and feminism and revolutionary nostrums of all sorts have drawn a veil of confusion over the minds of men."

But whether or not Dr. Houston is convinced of Johnson's humanism, he has made a definite contribution to the subject of eighteenth century criticism. Through his authoritative if somewhat labored exposition, he has emphasized Johnson's fundamental classicism, and he has shown the discrepancy between his nobler standards and his practise as a critic. If he has, as I believe, arbitrarily minimized the significance of Johnson's neo-classical methods, he has, at least, presented an impartial view of specific criticisms from which other students of Johnson may draw their own conclusions according to their disposition to regard Johnson as "a humanist struggling against the fetters of his environment," or as a big hearted, narrow-minded man, intellectually and temperamentally representative of the classicism of his period.

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**BYRON AS CRITIC.** By Clement Tyson Goode. R. Wagner Sohn. Weimar: 1923

Finding "scant evidence that any thorough study of Byron as a critic has ever been made" (p. 1), Dr. Clement Tyson Goode in *Byron as Critic* has courageously set himself the task of surveying Byron's judgments on art and literature and of evaluating them. After an introduction setting forth the superficial views which now prevail of Byron as critic, the author inquires for two chapters into Byron's equipment for criticism. Chapter iv is devoted to an analysis of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. Chapters v and vi discuss Byron's critical principles and the examples of formal criticism in his work. In the following two chapters Dr. Goode collects Byron's *obiter dicta* on literature and the arts, and he then devotes a chapter to Byron's self-criticism—perhaps the best in the book. The whole concludes with a summary and a bibliography. There is, unfortunately, no index. Mr. Goode has neglected no important source of evidence,<sup>1</sup> and his work is diligent and

<sup>1</sup> However, he apparently employs such untrustworthy sources as Medwin's *Conversations* and Galt's *Life* as possessing the same value as the *Letters to the Journals* and the *Correspondence*. The last is insufficiently used, notably with respect to Mde. de Staël. See Goode, p. 232, and consult vol. I of the *Correspondence*.

painstaking. As a compilation this monograph should prove highly useful to Byron students.

When, however, one passes from the question of the author's diligence to the problem of his interpretations, there is legitimate ground for difference of opinion. For Dr. Goode has acquired the enthusiasm of the specialist for his particular quarry. Thus he writes that "Byron as a critic, whatever class or rank he may be adjudged to represent or fill in his criticism, undoubtedly has a unique place in our literature." (p. 6) At the conclusion of his study he says that "but for the sudden and unparalleled success of his occasional poetry, he (Byron) probably would have adopted a critical career" (p. 302)—surely, in view of Dr. Goode's own monograph, the most amazing statement made about Byron in recent years. And in his chivalric enthusiasm for us to accept Byron seriously as a critic, the learned author tells us:

"Of the sum total of Byron's criticism, it may be said first that it is unusually strong and vigorous. It more often goes beyond the mark than wide of it. Its very strength and vehemence have brought against him the charge of exaggeration, of wildness, hence of unreliability. Such an attitude is illiberal in an age which applauds Swinburne's apotheosis of Victor Hugo, Carlyle's dictum that Macaulay had less intelligence than a hare, Voltaire's declaration that *Athalie* is the masterpiece of the human mind, and Schlegel's pronouncement that Calderon is the last summit of romantic poetry." (Pp. 303-4)

Let us trust that in calmer mood Dr. Goode may not, like Tennyson's unfortunate knight, go rushing about moaning, "My violences, O my violences." The only possible statement to make about this sort of thing is simply that it is not so. This age does not applaud Swinburne or Carlyle or Voltaire or Schlegel for the points raised, nor are we likely to applaud Dr. Goode in such passages.

But these extravagances would be harmless enough, did they not point to a deep-seated fault in Dr. Goode's book. The author is possessed of an unfortunate desire to prove too much. In his anxiety to show that Byron's critical judgments are worth attending to, he must first show that Byron had the natural endowments of a critic. Accordingly he investigates the poet's ancestry and the surroundings of his childhood, on the theory that "temperament or talent of any kind may safely be traced through common properties that extend far back of the possessor" (p. 8), that "his criticism is the natural outgrowth of his school life there (at Harrow) and elsewhere" (p. 24). For the second of these matters, Dr. Goode has mistaken those elements which entered into Byron's "training" as poet for those that might go into his "training" as critic. For the first, he goes back to Ralphe de Burun to prove that from "the influences of heredity" Byron derived "the elements of a delicate and refined taste" (p. 14). Now the science of heredity is uncertain enough in any event, but when Dr. Goode searches into the biographies

of Foul-Weather Jack and the Wicked Lord Byron for evidences of Byron's critical faculty, even though he unearths a family taste for painting, he has not shown why Byron's criticism should be taken seriously.

But were this novel doctrine so, it is contradicted by Dr. Goode's own argument. Far from possessing a "power of quick and sure discernment, of discrimination, and of appraisalment of artistic things" (p. 14), Byron fails to exhibit, on our author's own showing, any marked aesthetic discernment. Dr. Goode shows in chapter viii that Byron's judgments on oratory are unimportant, his criticism of acting is "only ephemeral" (p. 252), he had no ear for music (p. 258), "it would be idle to say that he . . . developed a critical taste for art" (p. 261), his "criticism" of sculpture proves to be merely descriptions of famous pieces (pp. 266-270), and as for architecture Byron "has made no criticism of any building or group of buildings that is worthy of his talent." (p. 270). Perhaps the family taste had given out. And as for literature, let us see. Dr. Goode after examining *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, can put in only a half-hearted claim for it as aesthetic criticism.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Goode says, quite truly, that Byron's "nearest approach" to a "definite code of literary principles" is the *Hints from Horace*, which even the enthusiasm of our author dismisses as being, in its "original parts," but "weak satire" (p. 84 and note). He tells us that in Byron's insistence that the poet write from experience he "has nothing critically new to offer," (p. 93). The poet's formal criticism is "unworthy . . . in general" (p. 122), which it assuredly is, and, after a detailed examination of the great mass of incidental observation on books and authors in Byron's letters and conversations, Dr. Goode truly observes that Byron's judgments "show all the impressionism of his volatile nature." (p. 248). Yet Byron might, but for his poetry, have adopted a critical career!

The difficulty is very simple. Dr. Goode, in his excellent zeal to get in all the facts, has forgotten his general approach. He does not let the reader know what he means by "criticism," "critic," "critical." When he writes that "Byron's professional critical 'scribblement' is less creditable to his powers than any other part of his criticism," that "such work is not a just measure of the critic," he means by "criticism" such formal evaluation of artistic products by a trained mind as is found in the writings of Arnold or Sainte-Beuve. When he writes that Byron's "best criticism is in isolated passages," "a part of the

<sup>3</sup>"There is no need to insist upon any pressing claims which the poem might possess to permanent worth as an individual critical record." It takes "rank as criticism" only on the very liberal ground that "literary criticism, in the first instance, is simply any opinion about any writing" (Brewster, *The Logic of Literary Criticism*). (Goode, Pp. 82-83)

elemental impressionism of his nature . . . interpretative in character, and wherever it is inspired by his creative talent . . . at one with his great poetry," (p. 303) he means that Byron took in books as he took in women or the Alps or brandy or danger, on all of which topics he delivered himself of some amusing and some profound remarks. To talk about books, to talk well about books, even to evaluate books, is not necessarily "criticism." And this uncertainty runs all through the monograph.

Dr. Goode's own critical judgments are occasionally shaky. He tells us, for instance, that "the very highest reaches of criticism that Byron ever attained are to be found in" the apotheosis of White in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, the lines of Rogers's *Pleasures of Memory*, and *The Harp the Monarch Minstrel Swept*—which is apparently to be read as a critique of King David. He finds in Byron's bizarre encomium on Walpole's *Mysterious Mother* and *Castle of Otranto* "the elements of sound criticism," "although it is a little too extravagant in parts." (p. 227).<sup>3</sup> He tells us that *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* contributed as much to changed standards in criticism as any other single work of the century (p. 82), which may, or may not, be true, but which places a singular value on Hazlitt's essays, Coleridge's lectures, and Lamb's literary judgment. On p. 198 it is made a fault in Byron to have confused Southey with the other Lakers—a fault arising from "his habit of superficial inquiry and hasty conclusion" but on p. 204 Byron is excused for over-rating Moore on the ground that the "elite literary public" was doing the same thing. He writes of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* that it "may well have represented but a happy crystallization of orthodox opinion" a fact which robs Byron "of strict originality," though "it proves the work the more largely critical" (p. 70), which means nothing at all. He says of Byron's *Reply to Blackwoods* that "its argument is not unsound but superseded and outworn," yet one is puzzled to know why sound argument should be superseded.

Judged, then, as compilation, Dr. Goode's monograph is a useful book. Judged as a study of Byron as critic, it is of very doubtful value. In fact, the volume is evidence that the scientific accumulation of data on any literary problem—too long and too often the sole desideratum of the graduate approach—is, unless it be checked by judgment and penetrating interpretation, totally unsatisfactory as a contribution to knowl-

<sup>3</sup> This is surely very gentle censure on such a passage as this: "He (Walpole) is the father of the first romance and of the last tragedy in our language, and surely worthy of a higher place than any living writer, be he who he may." Good, p. 227. (From the advertisement to *Marino Faliero*.) Byron, it is notorious, depreciated the Cenci!

edge. With the best intentions in the world, Dr. Goode has simply been overwhelmed by his own notes. He has not thought through his problem. He sets out to find a Byron who is critically-minded, and he jams his evidence into shape to prove what he has assumed to be *a priori* true. To the whole book one can only enter a general denial.

Byron's judgments on books and men are frequently of the highest interest, and sometimes, as in the case of Grillparzer (whom Dr. Goode overlooks, along with the whole Italian business, barring Pulci and Dante), he made a long-range guess of happy prophecy. But critic in any understandable sense Byron was not. He was not a critic as Coleridge or Arnold was a critic. He was not a critic as Jeffrey or Gifford was a critic. He was not even an impressionistic critic as Arthur Symonds is a critic. He was not a critic at all. His own critical "system," so far as he understood it, which he mainly did not, was false, even in an age addicted to false criticism. He was eccentric in his judgments as Dr. Johnson was eccentric, but he did not have Dr. Johnson's saving commonsense. What Byron was, what he must remain, is an eternally interesting, many-faceted mind.

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*NORSK-ISLANDS KULTUR - OG SPROGFORHOLD I 9. og 10. ÅRHUNDREDE.* Af Finnur Jónsson. København, 1921. Pp. 330.

The present work by Professor Jónsson in reality falls into two major parts, *A* and *E*, of which the first is in the nature of a reconsideration of the vexed problems of the Western theory and the Norse-Celtic question. Here are considered first the evidences of early contact between the North and the West, 2, the discovery of Iceland, 3, linguistic connections (with Celts and Anglo-Saxons), 4, mythology and legendary history, and 5, the Icelandic saga. To these are added a briefer consideration also of the connection with the South (Germany, especially) as *B*, one on Icelandic knowledge of foreign literature (*D*); and finally an account in some detail of Norwegian culture in the IX-X centuries (*C*). These chapters make up the first 192 pages. The second part (*E*) is entitled "Sproglige forhold i Norge og Island"; here the author attempts a rather full survey of the linguistic conditions in Norway and Iceland in the two centuries under consideration. It is of course the language of the inscriptions (Norwegian, Danish, Swedish), the names of the runes, Brage and his word-forms, the language of the skalds and of the Eddic poetry (the last, pp. 236-324). Whatever new material the author has to offer is found mainly in this part, *E*, which



gives the results of an independent investigation of the phonology and the grammatical forms of the time as found in the groups of monuments considered. This is an exceedingly interesting and important contribution to Old Norse grammar, amplifying, so as to include the whole field within the specified period, the study which Professor Jónsson did for the language of the skalds in *Det norsk-islandske skjaldesprog* in 1901.

The first part of the book is in many portions chiefly a review of opinions (of G. Vigfússon, S. Bugge, A. Bugge, H. Zimmer, A. Olrik, A. Heusler, and v. Sydow) and is sometimes frankly controvertial. But even this part will be found valuable to students. I think it especially welcome at this time as a summary of what, now after about forty years of investigations since the western theory was first launched, is actually known, and as a genuine effort at a just verdict regarding the facts. The author has formerly in various books and articles dealt with most of the matters here treated. As early as 1886, August 13, he read a paper on "Skjaldepoesien og de ældste Skjalde" before the Scandinavian philological meeting at Stockholm (printed *Arkiv f.n.F.*, 1890). Here he maintained that it is erroneous to draw a strict dividing line between Eddic and Skaldic poetry, and that it is a wrong conception that places the latter as distinctly later; the oldest lays of both types are contemporary, and there is no sharp dividing line between the two either in point of form or content, when we consider the 9th century. For, as regards the latter the oldest skaldic lays, without exception deal with mythological subjects. Jónsson here showed himself at once to be a worthy successor of Sveinbjörn Egilsson and Konráð Gíslason as a student of the skalds; and there is perhaps no one to-day among students in this field who does not regard him as the leading authority on the skalds. He has contributed more than any one else to present knowledge of this portion of Old Norse literature. Then in March, 1889, he gave an address in Copenhagen before the Philological Historical Society on the same general field, but with special reference to the genuineness of the Bragi tradition, and the actuality of his having lived in the 1st half of the IXth century. Here, if Jónsson did not absolutely prove the reliability of the tradition, he established a probability so strong as to practically amount to proof (*Arkiv*, 1890, pp. 141-155). I think nothing has ever been published since to prove the contrary.<sup>1</sup> Then in 1893 he contributed again to the *Arkiv* a study on "Mytiske forestillinger i de ældste skjaldekvad," pp. 1-22. The article is too well known to require comment here. The funda-

<sup>1</sup> Also dealt with briefly by Finnur Jónsson in *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs Historie*, 2 ed. Vol. I, pp. 414-415 (1922), and very fully in *Aarbøger f.n.O.*, 1895 pp. 271-359.

mental facts of Norse mythology were shown to be used as familiar things among the earliest skalds.<sup>2</sup>

In the article last referred to Jónsson made the interesting and correct observation that the scene of the action in Norse mythology is everywhere in the North, the Northeast, or the East; it knows no other region as that of conflict or adventure. And he drew the conclusion that the basis for the warlike life of the gods in Norse mythology, and its Valhalla conception, is wars carried on before 800 with peoples to the north and the east of them. It is about inconceivable that it should have received its warlike stamp from the western contact of the Viking Age, since these things were a part of it clearly already at the inception of this contact; or that western influences should have produced skaldic poetry and inspired the writing of the family sagas. I think most will say that Jónsson's arguments, and those of others who have held the same view, have at the present time led to something like a consensus of opinion that, while there have undoubtedly been impulses from the West, they are of relatively minor scope, and utterly out of proportion to the claims that in some quarters were made for them.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander Bugge's writings on the subject have in the main aimed to show the presence and the extent of Celtic (and Anglo-Saxon) influence upon ON myths and literature in a general way, and he is for the most part discussing the XI-XIIIth centuries. So his article "Bidrag til det sidste afsnit af Nordboernes historie i Irland," *Aarbøger f.n.O.*, 1904, pp. 248-315, and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> But he has also attempted to show the presence of this influence in the two preceding centuries, and he draws far-reaching conclusions from the evidence. Thus in *Vikingerne*, 1904-06, chapter III, he assumes, though there not citing the evidence, that people from Western Norway had settled in Shetland and Orkney possibly earlier than the year 700.<sup>5</sup> Then in 1905 in *Vesterlandenes indflydelse paa Nordboernes og særlig Nordmændenes ydre kultur, levesæt og samfundsforhold i Vikingetiden*, he embodied a chapter on the Norse settlements in the Faroes and Iceland and their relation to the West and especially to Celtic culture, in which he tried to show the origin and the extent of this cultural contact. I shall not here take the

<sup>2</sup> See also especially Jónsson's article "Odin og Tor i Norge og på Island i det 9 og 10 årh." *Arkiv f. n. F.*, 1901, pp. 219-247.

<sup>3</sup> In 1896 Eugen Mogk seems to have accepted almost wholly the western theory, in his *Kelten und Nordgermanen im 9 und 10 Jahrhunderte*. However, he has apparently abandoned it entirely in his *Geschichte der norwegisch-isländischen Litteratur*, 2 ed., 1903.

<sup>4</sup> There is also the article on "Norsk Sprog og nordisk Nationalitet i Irland," in *Aarbøger f.n.O.*, 1900, pp. 279-332.

<sup>5</sup> Of this I have before me only the German translation, *Die Wikinger*, Halle, 1906. See there p. 110.

space to speak of the evidence in detail, but must content myself with referring the reader to Jónsson's review of Bugge's two works in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 1906, pp. 145-156, and in many portions of A, I, II, III, and V, of the present work.

But one thing I cannot refrain from touching upon here. What is the nature of the evidence of pre-Viking Age contact between Norway and Ireland? What are the facts that are given such importance as to permit conclusions so far-reaching in their scope? There is first and especially a small group of place-names in the Shetland Isles, names compounded with *-vin* and *-heimr*. Rygh showed in the "Indledning" to *Norske Gaardnavne*, 1897, that these had passed out of use as name-formants before the Viking Age. And it is known that The Faroes have no names in either ending, while Iceland only has a few in *-heimr*. Finnur Jónsson showed that there are five well-established instances of *-heimr* in Iceland, and that the word *vin*, 'meadow,' occurs in a word in Icelandic (*viney* in Brage) in precisely the meaning which it has the few times it is found in Shetlandic.<sup>6</sup> But the supposed evidence of these place-names has been used ever since J. Jakobsen published his splendid monograph on "Shetlandsøernes Stednavne," *Aarbøger f.n.O.*, 1901, pp. 55-258. Quite incidentally Jakobsen spoke of the apparent proof here that The Shetlands were settled by Norsemen already ca. 700, citing O. Rygh's view about the age of such names, p. 69, l.c. Then on pp. 104-110 we are shown what the nine names in *-heimr* are, and on pp. 164-167 the ten in *-vin*.

On the basis of this, much is built up in A. Bugge's *Die Wikinger*, p. 110, and elsewhere, and along with other things in *Vesterlandenes Indflydelse* (see above). Then in other works the reference to these names is met with in a way so as to leave the impression that Norse settlement in Shetland about 700 has been proved. Thus A. W. Johnston in *The Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, London, 1914, says: "It has been shown by Professor Alexander Bugge and Dr. Jakobsen that the Norse colonisation of the islands must have begun as early as, if not earlier than, 700 to account for the primitive forms of Norse place-names and institutions which are to be found there."<sup>7</sup> But in view of above facts it is perfectly clear to the reader that the names in *-heimr* must drop out of the reckoning, and that also those in *-vin* offer but uncertain evidence that The Shetlands were settled earlier than 800. And why may not these Shetland settlers of ca. 800 have chosen to use in their new homes this particular type of name, known from their old home (in Agder,

<sup>6</sup> *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, l.c., page 146.

<sup>7</sup> P. 210, the introductory sentence of an article on "Orkney and Shetland Historical Notes," an article which is otherwise of great interest and value. Mr. A. W. Johnston is the Founder of *The Viking Club and Society for Northern Research*, as the reader will perhaps recall.

southwestern Norway)? Why may we not assume that here people still used this form of name sometimes, even though the type was not much used any more elsewhere in Norway? It is not an unheard-of thing that in a new country a name-type may thus continue to be used for a time.<sup>8</sup> I must in this connection call attention to a practice extensively evidenced in the names of cotters' homes in Norway. The places in question are in the nature of new settlements made by men who have moved in from old settlements. In Fyrisdal and other parts of Telemarken there are scores upon scores of names in *-land*, *-tveit*, *-rud*, and other themes and also some in *-heimr*, names which for the most part are of the Viking-Age type of names or of the period 1100-1300. But these cotters' places were developed and named for the most part between 1600 and 1850. Thus the cotters in naming their homes have constantly taken the names of the old estates of the community from which they moved. The investigation which shows this is by none other than Alexander Bugge, and it is entitled "Oprindelsen til den norske husmandsstand og navnene paa husmandsplasser, særlig i Telemark," published in *Aarsskrift* for 1919 of *Historielaget for Telemark og Grenland*, where the facts may be found, especially pp. 17-31. And I shall quote here a sentence from Bugge's study, p. 31: "Jeg tror ogsaa at naar vi trænger dypere ind i studiet av hvorledes vort land er blit bygget og faar samlet alle bosætningsnavn, da vil det vise sig at ogsaa vore ældste navneled, *vin* og *heimr*, har levet længer end nu almindelig antat. Der findes *vin*-navn og *heim*-navn mellem støyler og teiger som neppe kan være saa gamle som den egentlige *vin*-tid og *heim*-tid."

And most other evidence is of the same uncertain kind, as the statement of the monk Dicuil regarding the Faroes, which has been so often quoted. All that it can show is, that hermits lived in the Faroes for about one century before Dicuil wrote (825); but that in his day the hermits had disappeared on account of pirate Northmen (nunc causa latronum Nortmannorum vacuae). Then there is the 'fleet from the sea,' which the Irish chronicle *Annals of the Four Masters* speaks of as having, pillaged Tory Island in 617. They were in all probability robber Picts from the Orkneys, as F. J. holds, and as it seems Kuno Meyer also now holds. Then again the extent of the Celtic element in the names of the first settlers of Iceland (Book of Settlement) has been written about over and over again.<sup>9</sup> After Vigfússon had first published a list of 49 such words on the last page of his *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, Whitley Stokes discussed them from the standpoint of OIr. phonology in

<sup>8</sup> The favored name-types in a new region may not at all be just the same as in the old home, as a comparison of Agder names (Rygh) and Shetland names show.

<sup>9</sup> These matters are discussed in the present work, pp. 6-12.

*Revue Celtique*, III, pp. 185-191 (written 1876), adding six names. Then in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, I, 1897, W. A. Craigie gave the complete list of 6 such names and a correct interpretation of the material. I quote from Craigie, p. 441: "the Gaelic names which do occur sporadically among the colonists are scarcely ever continued to their descendants. The result is that of the three or four thousand names given in *Landnámna*, there are not 2 per cent of Gaelic names. All this makes it very improbable that any extensive knowledge of Irish affairs should have been handed down to the Icelanders of Ari's time."<sup>10</sup> I shall have to pass over the other phases of the problem.

But I wonder why Norse scholars must always look to the West for the source of ideas in Norse mythology, Eddic poetry, family saga, and Icelandic culture? And even now sometimes, after it has been shown by scholars (of mostly other countries) that the foundation on which this structure of theories and opinions has been erected is so weak, that very little can possibly be built up on it! I shall give one more example of this, namely the supposed 'many' Celtic words in the sagas and the Poetic Edda, as evidence finally of the influence of Celtic ideas. Now Craigie has examined this (l.c. pp. 442-443) for the sagas, and he finds a total list of *nine* Celtic words. Then in the *Manchester Memoirs* (see note 10 here) Faraday considered, on pages 3-6, the 8 Eddic words derived by Vigfússon from Irish, with the result that there is left one word that is really Gaelic, namely *rig*, of the poem *Rígsmdl*. That would make a total of 10. This is in F. Fischer's exhaustive work *Die Lehnwörter des altwest-nordischen*, 1909, increased to 20 as the complete list of words of Irish source in all ON. This material is sifted by Jónsson, pp. 57-59 of the present work, and it is shown that only nine are actually loanwords from Celtic. Surely the claim for cultural influence here finds little support in the linguistic evidence!

But when we search for evidences of borrowing in the other direction, ON words in Old Irish, the evidence is overwhelming. In *Arkiv*, X, 1894, Craigie gleans almost 200 such words;<sup>11</sup> here there was new light on another phase of the question. In this connection I shall quote some words from the same writer in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, I, p. 440. Speaking of the two phases of the problem, Norse influence on Irish literature, and Irish influence on Scandinavian mythology he says: "The case is perhaps more favorable for the former than for the

<sup>10</sup> The whole question is also dealt with briefly in an excellent article by W. Faraday entitled "On the Question of Irish Influence on Early Icelandic Literature," *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, XLIV, 1900, pp. 1-22. Faraday points out, p. 12, that "of the 85 possibly Irish names which occur in Norse sources not much more than a third were actually used on Icelandic soil."

<sup>11</sup> Article under the title "Oldn. ord i de gæliske Sprog," pp. 149-166.

latter, for, as I have shown in the *Arkiv for nordisk Filologi* (Vol. X, p. 149), there is abundant evidence in the Gaelic vocabulary to show that the Celt learned much from the Scandinavian, while there is scarcely any similar evidence to prove an Irish influence on the Norsemen. To dub an unknown word in the Edda as 'probably Celtic' is hardly the kind of proof that is required. This absence of a Celtic element in Icelandic is the more remarkable, as many of the early colonists of Iceland went from the Hebrides and Ireland, and a few of them bore Gaelic names. Yet these half-Celtic settlers were at best a mere handful of the *landnámsmenn*, and quite insufficient to leaven the solid mass of vigorous Northern stock around them."<sup>12</sup>

Scandinavian influence in Ireland is considered briefly by Allen Mawer in chapter X of his volume *The Vikings*, 1913, and Alexander Bugge has made important additions to our knowledge on this point. Carl J. S. Marstrander has gathered together all such loans in Irish chronicles, etc., and established the phonological criteria by which every such supposed loan must be tested;<sup>13</sup> on this side of the problem this is the most important contribution that has yet appeared.<sup>14</sup> It seems clear that some of Craigie's nearly 200 ON words in Gaelic must be eliminated; but Marstrander adds some other cases, and it would seem that the actual number will remain about two hundred. In his article in *Arkiv*, X, Craigie noted the presence of Norse words in the spoken Gaelic of to-day. It has been observed by several writers that in Icelandic the evidences of Celtic, as in personal names, is only sporadic and soon disappears; the names practically all vanish after the first generation. Apparently the Celt was assimilated leaving little or no impress. But in Ireland the Norse elements is for centuries an increasing one, and numerous Norse words are part and parcel of Modern Gaelic. Finally, whatever the nature and the extent of the fusion was in the Viking Age there seems nowhere any evidence that it had begun in the beginning of the Viking Age; it could not have started until after the year 900.

GEORGE T. FLOW

*Urbana, Oct. 10, '24.*

<sup>12</sup> As the author says, in closing his discussion: "Irish influence was undoubtedly possible, but what is wanted is evidence that this possibility was ever realised."

<sup>13</sup> *Skrifter utgit av Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania. II. Historisk-filosofisk Klasse.* 1915. Pp. 167. The study is entitled "Bidrag til det norske Sprogs historie i Irland."

<sup>14</sup> There are however things in the introductory pages, 1-4, that are insufficiently supported. But also Marstrander finds but a single bit of evidence of Norse-Irish contact before the Viking raid of 795. He says: "Det kan ikke stærkt nok understrekes, at bortset fra toget in 617 findes der i hele den irske litteratur ingensomhelst antydning til at nordboerne har naad frem til de irske kyster før aar 795."

## NOTES

*The University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature* (No. 18. Madison: 1923. \$1.50) consists of seven contributions: "A Little Sermon on Life and Literature" by William Ellery Leonard; "Caxton and the English Sentence" by Robert Ray Aurner; "The Historical Interpretations of The Parlement of Foules" by Mary Esson Reid; "Prospective Sentences" by John Jacob Schlicher; "A Note on the Sources of the English Morality Play" by Morris Roberts; "Character and Action in Shakespeare: A Consideration of Some Skeptical Views" by Julia Grace Wales; "Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare: One Aspect," by Karl Young.

The first of these contributions is in effect an attack upon the doctrine of "the inner check" as championed by Mr. Paul Elmore More and Professor Babbitt. Mr. Leonard's text is derived from the Nicomachean Ethics—"The good" (or "destiny") of man is an energy of soul according to virtue." The essence of virtue he finds in "centrality" with respect to both the individual and the social life;—a centrality which is necessarily conditioned by experience. Hence the necessity for energy of soul. "The emphasis must be upon the *ἐνέργεια* as giving meaning to the *ἀρετή*. This emphasis conditions our interpretation of life, and hence our interpretation of literature." A work of literature will reveal to us "how centrality fares with the creator at the time when the work was produced"; and the ethical function of literature as distinct from its ethical origin is to "deepen and broaden our lives, our sympathies, our imagination, our thinking." "Alles Grosse bildet."

Of the other articles in this volume of studies there is space only for very brief mention. Mr. Aurner's contribution is one chapter from an announced "History of the Structure of the English Sentence" which will extend from Caxton to Macaulay. After an examination of such topics as subordination, inversion, division, insertion, connectives, prose formulas, the author concludes that "Caxton marks the first step in a conscious, unintermittent effort to 'improve' English prose of the near-modern type." Miss Reid's "Historical Interpretations of the Parlement of Foules" presents a judicious survey of recent literature bearing on a difficult problem of Chaucer scholarship; Mr. Schlicher's "Prospective Sentences" differentiates sixteen typical forms and adds a statistical table giving the results of his investigation of twenty English and American authors; Mr. Roberts' "Sources of the English Morality Play" shows a movement toward the morality play in a number of medieval treatises dealing with the conflict between the Virtues and the Vices; Miss Wales, in her "Character and Action in Shakespeare" opposes the skepticism of Professor Stoll; and Professor Karl Young's "Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare" sketches the development of interest in Shakespeare's sources and considers in particular the indebtedness of Johnson to Mrs. Lennox' *Shakespeare Illustrated*.

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Tract No. XVIII of the *Society for Pure English* (Oxford University Press American Branch. New York: 1924. \$0.85) includes besides Miscellaneous notes and a Report the following articles: "Subjunctives" by H. W. Fowler; "Poetry in Schools" by Robert Bridges; "Open Court on 'Alright'" to which Matthew Barnes, C. T. Onions, H. W. Fowler, and the Editor have contributed. There is space here for only brief comment upon this interesting addition to an excellent series of tracts. Mr. Fowler's "Subjunctives" excluding from consideration those subjunctives, "often so called, in which the modal effect is given by an auxiliary" includes "any verb that is understood to be modally different from the indicative, but is either indistinguishable from it in form or distinguished otherwise than by an auxiliary." Subjunctives, thus delimited, are classified as "Alives," "Revivals," "Survivals," and "Arrivals"; and "no concealment need be made of the purpose in hand, which is to discourage the last two classes." It should be noted by grammarians that the editors of the S.P.E. would like to print a paper on the American use of the Subjunctive,

to take into account the "Auxiliary Subjunctive" besides the subjunctive as delimited by Mr. Fowler. The second contribution to the Tract, a reprint of extracts from the Preface to the *Chilswell Book of English Poetry* (Longmans, 1924) is a plea for the study of the best poetry in the schools. As to the question of *Alright* the "Open Court" arrives at no definite judgment. The feeling appeared to be general, however, that, although as Mr. Onions says "*alright* will almost inevitably establish itself in the long run," our "grammatical consciousness" can not be relied upon to distinguish consistently *all right* and *alright*; witness "our sad failure to use successfully the distinction between *altogether* and *all together*."

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The obvious need for an anthology of vulgar Latin and early French, particularly in view of the fact that Dr. Paget Toynbee's *Specimens of Old French* is now out of print, has been met by the *Historical French Reader, Medieval Period*, edited by Professor Paul Studer and Mr. E. G. R. Waters (Oxford University Press. American Branch. New York: 1924. \$7.00). The five sections of the book are devoted respectively to Vulgar Latin, The Oldest French Monuments, Standard French Before 1400, Old French Dialects, and The Fifteenth Century. "Every item," the editors assure us, "has been the object of a careful investigation"; and as far as it was practicable they have avoided selections which other anthologies contain. The Reader has no general introduction but each specimen is carefully introduced by a palaeographical and bibliographical note, followed by a paragraph presenting succinctly such literary, historical, or biographical facts as every student of the text should have at his command. The foot-notes are almost wholly textual and there is no section reserved for annotations at the back of the book. The need for such a section is, however, doubtless met to a large extent by the Glossary which includes proper names annotated, and which in other cases supplies in addition to the gloss information which bears upon some particular passage in which the word occurs; see, for example, *maladie* and *paradis*. Furthermore, idioms are listed with definite references to the passages in which they occur. In general the editors in preparing their reader seem to have kept in mind the needs of students who undertake first of all to translate and understand the text and then to master the critical treatises to which the literature has given rise. The book should be of very great value to students of the language and the literature of mediaeval France.

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Dr. Kate L. Gregg's *Thomas Dekker: A Study in Economic and Social Backgrounds* (University of Washington Publications. Language and Literature. Vol. 2, No. 2. July 1924) begins with certain strictures upon the work of her predecessors in Elizabethan scholarship. There is one group whose "neglect of fundamental factors" she cannot overlook but she is prepared to extenuate their fault in consideration of their "deep devotion to the laborious problems of text, authorship, and source." She "would indeed be lacking in gratitude" if she "were to reflect in any derogatory way upon their singleness of aim." With another group the author is less lenient. They are those whose "error hath proceeded from too great a reverence." "These critics have become the authors and adherents of what, for want of a better term, may be called the *glory* theory of Elizabethan life and letters." Dr. Gregg, having thus put in their places Professor Ten Brink, Professor Hales and indeed, it would seem, almost all other workers in the field except Jusserand and Sidney Lee, who escape the indictment, proceeds to an exposition of what is generally known about unhappy economic and social conditions in the Elizabethan period. These she illustrates from the works of Dekker, including among her illustrations passages which reflect Dekker's views of religion and government. It is convenient to have this illustrative material assembled, but what she has set forth lies after all very much on the surface of Dekker's work. It is significant for our understanding of Dekker; it is significant for the historian; but, however seamy might be this economic side of Elizabethan life, there was in the age of Elizabeth a poetic



view of the world which will give some comfort to those who still hold to what Dr. Gregg chooses to call the "Glory Theory."

\* \* \*

Mr. Norreys Jephson O'Connor's volume entitled *Changing Ireland: Literary Backgrounds of the Irish Free State. 1889-1922* (Harvard Press. Cambridge: 1924. \$2.50) includes eleven essays and about as many reviews dealing in the main with modern Irish literature. Space is found, however, for some consideration of the old Irish sagas and for modern Irish politics. Among the subjects treated are "The Gaelic Background of Ireland's Literary Revival," "The Red-Davisation of Anglo-Irish Literature," "Yeats and His Vision," "Modern Anglo-Irish Poetry," "Lord Dunsany: Irishman," "A Dramatist of Changing Ireland." Mr. O'Connor explores these and other topics in a style that is pleasing if not incisive and the book is saved from any imputation of propaganda by the author's balanced judgments. His opinions, furthermore, are so extensively illustrated by long quotations and the reproduction of entire poems that *Changing Ireland* here and there seems to take on the character of an Irish anthology. Perhaps Mr. O'Connor's purpose would have been better attained if having redigested his essays and reviews he had given us a more unified and consecutive treatment of his subject. Certainly the wisdom of reprinting his reviews might seriously be questioned.

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In "Representative Plays by John Galsworthy" (Scribner's. New York: 1924. \$1.60), Professor George P. Baker has brought together six of the longer plays (*The Silver Box, Strife, Justice, The Pigeon, A Bit O' Love, and Loyalties*) from the five series so far published. Each of these series is represented in his selections by one play, with the exception of the first series from which two, *The Silver Box* and *Strife*, are taken. Professor Baker's edition will thus be useful to students of Galsworthy's development as a dramatist from 1906 to the present. Teachers of the modern drama who will wish to use the book in their classes would doubtless have welcomed the inclusion in the volume of at least one of the *Six Short Plays* that were published together by Mr. Galsworthy in 1921. In the brief Introduction to his edition, Professor Baker outlines Mr. Galsworthy's development as a novelist and a dramatist and gives due recognition to his irony, his sensitive realism, and his social sympathies.

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Students of language will welcome the reprint of two classics of English scholarship: Henry Sweet's *Short Historical English Grammar* (Oxford University Press. American Branch. New York: 1924. \$1.50) and Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (E. P. Dutton and Co. New York: 1924. \$5.00). The former, though first published as long ago as 1892, remains the best concise treatment of the history of English phonology and accent. For three quarters of a century Halliwell's *Dictionary* has held its own as a standard work of reference. It contains more than 50,000 words. The present edition is the seventh and it incorporates the original two volumes in one.

## EINIGE NORWEGISCHE ZAUBERFORMELN

Seit der Veröffentlichung der beiden Merseburger Zaubersprüche durch Jakob Grimm in den Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie 1842 hat sich die Forschung viel und eingehend mit denselben beschäftigt, hauptsächlich mit dem zweiten Spruch. Einerseits gingen die Untersuchungen aus auf eine Deutung des Spruches, auf eine Klärung der ungemein schwierigen Probleme auf dem Gebiet der germanischen Mythologie und die Lösung der Frage, ob hier altes Erbgut aus heidnischer Zeit oder christliche Grundlage zu sehen sei; andererseits richtete sich das Interesse auf das Sammeln von Parallelen und Beweismaterial, wodurch möglicherweise eine Lösung der aufgeworfenen Fragen herbeigeführt werden könnte. Über die unter die erstere Rubrik gehörigen Probleme gehen die Meinungen noch scharf auseinander. In seiner Ausgabe der kleineren althochdeutschen Denkmäler (1916) wendet sich Steinmeyer ganz entschieden gegen die von Krohn und Mansikka (*Über russische Zaubersprüche*, 1909) vertretene Ansicht, dass wir in den Zaubersprüchen, auch in den älteren, uns nicht auf dem Boden des germanischen Heidentums befinden, sondern in der Vorstellungswelt des katholischen Mittelalters. Diesen finnischen Gelehrten schliesst sich R. Th. Christiansen an (*Die finnischen und nordischen Varianten des zweiten Merseburgerspruches. Eine vergleichende Studie.* F(olklore) F(ellows) Communications N:o. 18. Hamina 1914). In einem Referat über Christiansens Buch (*Wodans eller Kristi Ridt*, Danske Studier 1916, 189-193) stimmt F. Ohrt dem Verfasser in allem Wesentlichen bei und ist in letzter Zeit der Frage wieder näher getreten mit einer gründlichen Untersuchung und weiteren Beweisen für seine schon früher vorgetragene Ansicht (*Trylleord fremmede og danske* (Danmarks Folkeminder Nr. 25). Kopenhagen 1922 und *De danske Besværgelser mod Vrid og Blod. Tolkning og Forhistorie.* Kopenhagen 1922). In einer Besprechung dieser beiden Arbeiten, AfdA. XLIII, 37f., hält Mogk die Frage, ob der zweite Merseburger Spruch heidnisch-germanischen Ursprungs oder ein antik-christliches Gewächs sei, auf das man nur germanische

Götternamen gepfropft habe, endgültig für gelöst und zwar zu gunsten der antik-christlichen Auffassung. *Balderes* ist als Appellativum zu fassen, unentschieden aber bleibt es, ob es sich auf Wodan oder Phol bezieht; diese Frage und die andere, wer unter Phol zu verstehen ist, hat auch Ohrt noch nicht gelöst. Es ist nicht meine Absicht, hier näher darauf einzugehen, hinweisen möchte ich nur auf den von Hoffmann-Krayer ZfdA. LXI, 178 veröffentlichten Verrenkungssegen aus dem Berner Jura, in dem 'St. Paul' und 'notre Seigneur' als die beteiligten Personen genannt werden und der als Stütze angesehen werden könnte für den zuerst von Bugge gemachten Vorschlag, Phol mit Paulus zu identifizieren.

Was das Sammeln von Varianten anbetrifft, so liefert Christiansen eine wertvolle Ergänzung zu dem von A. Ch. Bang (*Norske Hexeformularer og magiske Opskrifter*. Kristiania 1901), O. Ebermann (*Blut- und Wundsegen*. 1903), Hälsig (*Der Zauberspruch bei den Germanen bis um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig 1910) und anderswo zusammengetragenen Material in seiner Darstellung der dänischen, norwegischen, schwedischen und finnischen Verrenkungssegen, denen er in einem Anhang auch russische und lettische beifügt. F. Ohrt verdanken wir ausser den bereits erwähnten Untersuchungen die schon vor denselben veröffentlichte, umfassende Sammlung der dänischen Zauberformeln, *Danmarks Trylleformler* I-II, 1917 und 1921. Es sollte schwer halten, zu dem schon so reichlich vorhandenen Material noch neues hinzuzufügen. Durch Zufall ist mir Gelegenheit geworden, eine Variante des zweiten Merseburger Spruches beizusteuern, die in ihrer Fassung etwas abweicht von den bis dahin verzeichneten. Der Spruch stammt aus einer kleinen handschriftlichen Sammlung von Segensformeln, die eine hier ansässige Familie norwegischer Abkunft aus der alten Heimat mitbrachte. Die Sprüche wurden um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts aus dem Munde einer alten Verwandten der Familie niedergeschrieben, die in ihrer Gegend, nicht weit von Trondhjem, als "weise Frau" galt und als solche nicht selten zu Rate gezogen wurde. Ich teile aus dieser Sammlung die Variante des zweiten Merseburger Spruches mit und sonst noch einiges, was in dem hier gegebenen Wortlaut noch nicht Aufnahme gefunden hat in die mir bekannten Sammelwerke, auch nicht in das grosse Werk von Bang.

1.

Vrænord

Jesus reiste over en Hei,  
han skulde en dyr Vei,  
hans Følefod vrun sik.  
Jeg vil din Fod ombinde,  
Sene om Sene,  
Kjød om Kjød,  
Blod om Blod,  
din Fod skal være lige god som før,  
sagde Jesus.

2.

Steme Blod

Jesus stod ved Jordans Flod,  
der stemte han baade,  
Vand og Blod.  
Staa Blod,  
som Jesus stod  
ved Jordans Flod.  
I Jesu Navn.

3.

Jesus gik i Flod,  
stemte Vand og Blod.  
Staa Blod,  
som Jesus stod.

4.

Jesus gik i Veien frem,  
mødte han Moren:  
Hvor vil du hen?

Nei, du skal vende om igjen,  
borti Berg og bryd Sten,  
sug Blod og bid Ben,  
indtil du omvender dig igjen.

5.

Der kom tre Beilere fra Hemlen ned  
og satte sig paa en Due (Tue?),  
den ene kunde spinne Guld,  
den anden kunde tvinde Guld,  
den tredie var Jomfru Maria selv,  
som kunde binde Moren.  
I Navnet.

## 6.

Atter saa kom der tre Beilere fra Hemlen ned,  
 den ene var Solen,  
 den anden var Maanen,  
 den tredie var Jomfru Maria selv,  
 som kunde binde Moren.

## 7.

At regne fra 12-0,  
 Jesus velde dølge 12 Kuler.

## 8.

For Avind  
 Jesus gik i Veien frem,  
 saa mødte han Avindsmanden:  
 Hvor vil du hen?

Nei, siger Jesus, du skal dig tilbage vende  
 til den same Mand, som dig utsendte;  
 du skal ikke gjøre ham mer til Men  
 end en jordfast Sten.

## 9.

Tage Pine Væk  
 Der kom tre Jomfruer fra Hemlen ned,  
 den ene med Lys,  
 den anden med Spyd,  
 den tredie me(d) dølge og soova.  
 I Navn af G. S. H. til frels os fra det Onde.

## 10.

For Rendsel  
 Jesus skal til Kirken gaa  
 at dølge Rendsel, onde Saar.  
 Jesus gik i Kirken ind,  
 dølge Rendsel og Pine,  
 Jesus sovnet, Pinen dovnnet.  
 Under Jesu Navn.

## 11.

For Svaghed  
 Jesus gik over en Bro,  
 der mødte han et Menneske som græder.  
 Hvad græder du for? siger Jesus.

At jeg er mig Svagt og Momagt!  
Men jeg vil tage bort Svagt og Momagt,  
og give dig igjen Magt og Blod.  
Under Jesu Navn,  
i den Trenegheds Navn.

Der Verrenkungssegen ist von grösster Einfachheit. Liegt in der Bezeichnung des Rittes als *dyr* möglicherweise eine Anspielung auf den Todesweg Christi, der mit dessen Einritt in Jerusalem auf dem Füllen (*Føl, volo*) der Eselin am Palmsonntag gewissermassen seinen Anfang nimmt? Der Ausdruck *dyr vei* findet sich auch bei Bang 1:

Jesus og St. Mikkil red  
paa sine dyre Veie.

Bei den beiden Formeln zur Stillung des Blutes ist zu bemerken, dass das Blut nicht zum Stehen gebracht wird, wie Jesus die Flut zum Stehen zwang, sondern wie er selber still stand; dies stimmt zu den von Bang verzeichneten Sprüchen:

Som Jesus stod ved Jordans Flod  
og der den hellige Daab modtog,  
saa stanser jeg den ulykkelige Blod (1243),

und

Staa du haarde Ildebrand,  
som Jesus gjek (og) stod  
i Jordans Flod (1266).

Daneben kommen auch vor: som den Mand i Helvede stod (1416), som tre Mand i Helvede stod (1414), som de tre Mænd i Ovnén stod (1241). Der fünfte und sechste Spruch, wahrscheinlich auch der vierte, sind bestimmt zum Gebrauch gegen Gebärmutterleiden; man vergleiche Bang 240:

At binde Bølen paa en Kvinde  
Der kom tre Jomfruer fro Østerlunds By,  
den første kan Guldét spinne,  
den anden Barne-Mora binde,  
den tredje lægger den i sit rette Lag paa N. N.  
og den heftes og befastes i F.S.H.

Der siebente Spruch soll die Heilung von Geschwüren herbeiführen. Er ist ein Beispiel des Rückwärtszaubers; dem un-

heilvollen Einfluss oder dem Übel, das man beschwören wollte, wurde eine bestimmte Zahl beigelegt, hier 12, eine heilige Zahl wohl wegen der Zwölfzahl der Apostel, und diese schrittweise bis zur Null vermindert in dem Glauben, dass die Krankheit oder das Übel sich in entsprechendem Masse verringerte. Hälsig, p. 104, findet für dieses Verfahren schon Belege bei Marcellus, XV, 10, auch in einem Codex des neunten Jahrhunderts, der eine *medicina Plinii* enthält, und bei den Angelsachsen, z. B. den *Wið cyrnel* betitelten Spruch (Kemble I, 437; Cockayne III, 62).

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## TWO SHAKESPEAREAN NOTES

### I

It is the exception when an editor of *Hamlet* has not undertaken to explain in one way or another Gertrude's statement that her son was fat (V, ii, 274).<sup>1</sup> The greater number of editors have been satisfied to repeat Collier's explanation that Shakespeare, in having Hamlet fat, was adapting the part to the size of Burbage, the original representative of Hamlet.<sup>2</sup> An occasional editor has proposed to alter the objectionable word in the text, but these proposals have not been received with favour.<sup>3</sup> In recent years it has been proposed to give to "fat" the meaning of "out of condition."<sup>4</sup> But, so far as I know, no evidence has been advanced to support this meaning other than the fact that this interpretation accommodates itself to the general meaning of the text.

There is, however, in a popular physiological misconception of Shakespeare's day, evidence that Gertrude, in speaking of Hamlet as fat, had in mind the effect upon Hamlet of his violent physical exercise, and not that he was either corpulent or tending to corpulency. The popular conception to which I refer considered sweat to be human fat oozing through the pores of the

<sup>1</sup> The reason for such general comment upon this passage is explained by Hudson: "This speaking of Hamlet as 'fat and short of breath' is greatly at odds with the idea we are apt to form of him." Only a few critics accept literally that Hamlet is fat. Elze believes that "it is a masterly stroke of the poet to bring Hamlet's indecision and inertness, his melancholy and heartache, into connection with his physique, and so account physiologically for his turn of mind and character." Clarke contends that "this refers to Hamlet himself, who, as a sedentary student, a man of contemplative habits, once given rather to reflection than to action, might naturally be supposed to be of somewhat plethoric constitution." Sidney Lee (*Caxton Shakespeare*, p. 204) leans to the same opinion, "for Hamlet's sedentary student life might easily tend to corpulence."

<sup>2</sup> Among those who accept Collier's explanation as the correct one are: Hudson, H. G. White, Dyce, Chambers, Dowden, Rolfe, and Herford.

<sup>3</sup> H. Wyeth substitutes "faint"; and Plewhe, referring to IV, vii, 158, conjectures "hot." Bullock conjectures "fey."

<sup>4</sup> Tudor Ed., Temple Ed., Arden Ed.



body—that sweat was, actually, melted fat. In the light of this conception Gertrude's words, "He's fat," have the meaning, "He's sweating fat from his pores"; or, as we understand it, simply, "He's sweating."

The text confirms the fact that Hamlet is sweating. In the next line to that in which Gertrude affirms that Hamlet is fat, she notes the need of his mopping his brow:

He's fat and short of breath,—  
Here, Hamlet, take my napkin, rub thy brow.

And five lines below, she repeats in more emphatic form her anxiety for his comfort, "Come, let me wipe thy face."

Examples to establish in Shakespeare's time a general belief that fat in the form of sweat exuded from the body, are to be found in widely differing fields of sixteenth and seventeenth-century thought. Ben Jonson's plays furnish us with several examples. Referring to Ursula, the pig-woman, a notably fat person in *Bartholomew Fair* (II, i.), Jonson makes sport of her melting away under the influence of heat and excitement:

*Mooncalf*: Pray you be not angry, Mistress. I'll have it [a chair] widen'd anon.

*Ursula*: No, no, I shall e'en dwindle away to 't, ere the Fair be done; you think now you have heated me; a poor vex'd thing I am, *I feel myself dropping already as fast as I can; two stone o' suet a day is my proportion.*

Jonson returns with evident relish to the thought in two other places in the same scene:

*Ursula*: I am all fire and fat, Nightingale, *I shall e'en melt away to the first woman, a rib again, I am afraid. I do water the ground in knots, as I go, like a great garden-pot; you may follow me by the SS. I make.*

And again Knockem says of the same fat Ursula, "I do make conscience of vexing thee, now in the dog-days, this hot weather, for fear of foundering thee in the body, and *melting down a pillar of the Fair.*"

In the *Staple of News* (II, ii.), Jonson describes a similar loss of "fat" by Lickfinger, the cook, who, unlike Hamlet, was not of normal weight:

I have lost two stone  
Of suet in the service, posting hither:  
You might have followed me like a watering-pot,

And seen the knots I made along the street:  
 My face dropt like the skimmer in a fritter-pan,  
 And my whole body is yet, to say the truth,  
 A roasted pound of butter, with grated bread in 't!

Outside the drama the idea turns up in the most unexpected quarters. In Fox's *Acts and Monuments*,<sup>6</sup> one of the heroes of the book employs it to express forcibly his determination to remain true to his faith: "I will see *the uttermost drop of this grease of mine molten away*, and the last gobbet . . . consumed to ashes before I will forsake my God and his truth." And in *The Felicitie of Man*,<sup>7</sup> writing of a body hanging from a gibbet, the author tells us that the body "was annoited with his own grease by the heat of the sun that drew out his sweat." Of later date we find the thought in *The Wandering Jew, Telling Fortunes to Englishmen* (1628):<sup>8</sup>

A kitchen-stuff-wench might pick up a living, by following me, from the fat which I lose in straddling. I do not live by the sweat of my brow, but am almost dead with sweating.

John Cleveland<sup>9</sup> furnishes the last example of this kind that I shall quote to prove the general currency of the thought:

And when he had squeez'd her and gaum'd her until  
 The fat of her face ran down like a mill.

As not infrequently happens in the case of an outworn idea of this kind, we find it preserved in a proverbial expression, the origin of which has been forgotten. "To fry in one's own grease"<sup>10</sup> is still understood in a transferred sense, although it is not associated today, as it was earlier, with an identification of "sweat" with "fat."

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Gairdner's *Lollardy*, IV, 352, from Dr. Pendleton's words in Fox's *Acts*, 612-36.

<sup>7</sup> Barckley's *Felicitie of Man* (1631 ed.), p. 479.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in *The Shakespeare Allusion Book*, Vol. 1, p. 446.

<sup>9</sup> John Cleveland's *Poems* (1687 ed.), p. 258.

<sup>10</sup> See N.E.D., under 'grease' (d) and 'fry' (v): "Sweat (fry) in one's grease." "To melt one's grease" means "to exhaust one's strength by violent effort." Thomas Draxe (1616) gives in his collection of proverbs, *Anglia*, Vol. 42, (no. 1349), under the heading "malice": He frieth in his own grease. T. Fuller in his *Gnomologia* (1732) has the form: Let him fry in his own grease.

To return to Shakespeare, the passage in *Hamlet* is not his only example referring to the belief that sweat is fat exuding from the body. In *As You Like It* (III, ii, 47), Touchstone silences Corin by noting that "the grease of a mutton is as wholesome as the sweat of a man":

*Corin:* Those that are good manners at court, are as ridiculous in the country as the behaviour of the country is most mockable at the court.

You told me you salute not at the court, but you kiss your hands; that courtesy would be uncleanly if courtiers were shepherds.

*Touchstone:* Instance, briefly; come, instance.

*Corin:* Why, we are still handling our ewes; and their fells, you know, are greasy.

*Touchstone:* Why, do not your courtier's hands sweat? and is not the grease of a mutton as wholesome as the sweat of a man? Shallow, shallow, a better instance, I say; come.

The force of Touchstone's comparison of "the grease of a mutton" with "the sweat of a man" is lost unless we understand the popular belief.

Again, the "hell-broth" of the witches in *Macbeth* (IV, i,) contains both the "toad that days and nights thirty-one swelter'd venom," and the "grease that's sweaten from the murderer's gibbet." The identification of sweat with fat occurs, also, in words addressed in indignation by Hamlet to his mother:

Nay, but to live!<sup>10</sup>  
In the rank sweat of an enseamed bed,  
Stew'd in corruption, honeying and making love  
Over the nasty sty—

Falstaff is the last of Shakespeare's characters that I shall summon to offer evidence here. On a notable occasion he was set upon, robbed, and put to vigorous flight, with the result, as Hal tells us,<sup>11</sup> that "as he walked along he larded the earth with his sweat." In the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Falstaff laments the necessity of having had to creep into the bucking-basket where his huge bulk, "as subject to heat as butter," was "half stewed in its own grease like a Dutch dish." "To be stopped in, like a strong distillation, with stinking clothes that fretted in their own grease"—Falstaff is recounting his grievances

<sup>10</sup> *Hamlet* (III, iv, 92). 'Seam' is the fat or grease of a hog.

<sup>11</sup> *First Part of Henry the Fourth*, II, ii, 116.

to Master Brook—"a man of my kidney, think of it, that am as subject to heat as butter; a man of continual dissolution and thaw: it was a miracle to 'scape suffocation. And in the height of this bath, when I was more than half stewed in grease like a Dutch dish, to be thrown into the Thames, and cooled, glowing hot, in that surge, like a horse-shoe: think of that, hissing-hot, think of that, Master Brook."

Later in the same play while thinking over his experience in the bucking-basket and his more recent experience as the fat Witch of Brentford, Falstaff reflects what would happen if it should come to the ear of the court how he had been "washed and cudgelled" (IV, v, 98). "They would," he reflects ruefully, "melt me out of my fat drop by drop, and liquor fishermen's boots with me." But here, exit slowly, with the "many tons of oil in his belly," Falstaff, the chief witness for the defence in this attempt to clear Hamlet of the suspicion of corpulency.<sup>13</sup>

Shakespeare's and his contemporaries' identification of sweat with fat I advance to justify the feeling of many who agree with Lowell that "a fat Hamlet is as inconceivable as a lean Falstaff."

## II.

There are three passages in Shakespeare's plays in which the question, "What is't o'clock?", or a variant form of this question,<sup>13</sup> possesses a proverbial meaning well known to the Elizabethan, but forgotten before the time of the Victorian. The obvious literal meaning of the question in these passages, it has been assumed, is the whole meaning.<sup>14</sup> This, however,

<sup>13</sup> In the *Comedy of Errors* (II, ii, 97) a fat kitchen-wench is "all grease" because she sweats. Dromio of Syracuse "knows not what use to put her to but to make a lamp of her and run from her by her own light. I warrant her rags and the tallow in them will burn a Poland winter: if she lives till doomsday, she'll burn a week longer than the whole world."

<sup>13</sup> In two of the passages occurs the variant form of the question, "What is the time o'day?"

<sup>14</sup> The general failure to explain in these passages the meaning of "What is't o'clock?" may be put down to the fact that the literal meaning of the question is adverted to in the replies to the question, a fact that has misled the commentators into accepting the literal meaning as the *whole* meaning. The same question with only its literal meaning occurs, of course, a number of times in Shakespeare's plays.

is not the case. In two of the three passages, two meanings—the literal and a less frequent figurative meaning with sarcastic implication—are played upon in true Shakespearean fashion. In the other passage the literal meaning is less involved, while the secondary meaning is prominent. Without an understanding of the secondary meaning of “What is’t o’clock?”, these passages remain only casual and insignificant inquiries after the time of day, totally devoid of Shakespeare’s genial humour, and entirely deprived of their contribution to the characterization of the speakers.

But before proceeding to examine the passages in Shakespeare, I want to make clear the secondary meaning of the question, “What is’t o’clock?” The key is found in John Heywood’s and in Dean Swift’s collections of proverbs. Heywood’s example, Farmer says, has the meaning, “saw how matters stood” or “became aware of the facts.”<sup>15</sup> It is used of a wife who, colloquially speaking, “woke up,” only after her money had been squandered:

But she not so much as dreamed that all was spent,  
 . . . . .  
 But straight as she had forthwith opened the lock,  
 She looked in the bag *what it was o’clock*.

Swift has the proverbial expression in the interrogative form twice. In both cases it is distinctly provocative, implying in no uncertain manner the incompetency of the person addressed:<sup>16</sup>

*Neverout*: Miss, *what’s o’clock?*

*Miss* . . . : Why, you must know ’tis a thing like a bell, *and you a fool that can’t tell*.

The second example is no less a reminder of the folly of the person questioned:

*Neverout*: Why, Miss, then you may kiss—

*Miss* . . . : Pray, my lord, *what’s o’clock* by your oracle?

The taunt conveyed by this question becomes more apparent when the examples of its use in John Lyly and in George

<sup>15</sup> *John Heywood’s Proverbs* (Farmer), p. 99. Farmer notes, p. 345, that the “phrase is still colloquial or slang.”

<sup>16</sup> *Polite Conversations* in Swift’s *Works* (Scott), IX, 400 and 426.

Chapman are examined. They use it to give a significant touch to characters of simple wits who fail equally to realize the opprobrious meaning the question conveys, either when they direct it to another, or when it is directed by another to themselves. Silena in *Mother Bombie* (II, iii, 51) proves herself up to the hilt "the foolish daughter"—if proof be necessary—when she uses the question herself:

*Candius:* You said you want to know your fortune. I am a scholar and am cunning in palmistry.

*Silena:* The better for you, sir; here's my hand, *what's o'clock?*

Again in the same play (IV, ii, 65) Silena fails to understand the question Halfpennie asks:

*Halfpennie:* On thy conscience tell me *what 'tis o'clock . . .*

*Silena:* I cry you mercy, I have killed your cushion.

*Halfpennie:* I am paid and struck dead in the nest.

George Chapman's use of the question is no less clear in revealing its colloquial or slang meaning.<sup>17</sup> In his *Widow's Tears* (V, iii, 234), by the use of a variant form of the question, he reveals the stupidity of a "brainless upstart":

*Captain:* My lord, this is the sentinel you speak of.

*Governor:* How now, sir? *What time o'day is't?*

*Captain:* I cannot show you precisely an't please your honour.

*Governor:* What, shall we have replications and rejoinders?

In *All Fools* (II, i, 161), a foolish character mistakenly thinks that "What is't o'clock?" is a proper question "for discourse in my fair mistress' presence":

I did not, as you gallants do,  
Fill my discourse up drinking tobacco;  
But on the present furnish'd evermore  
With tales and practis'd speeches; as sometimes,  
"What is't o'clock, what stuff's this petticoat?  
What costs the making? What the fringe and all?"

<sup>17</sup> *The New English Dictionary* knows the expression, although it does not recognize its interrogative form: "To know (find) what o'clock it is. To know (discover) the real state of things. . . . Dickens, *Sk. Box*. 451 (Hoppe), Our governor's wide awake. . . . He knows what's o'clock." See also N.E.D., "Time of day," under "Time" 28c, "colloq. or slang."

A third example, in Chapman's *The Ball* (II, ii, 145), involves the use of the question as a sly thrust at the person addressed:

*Luc:* I would only know the truth; it were great pity.  
 For my own part I ever wish'd you well,  
 Although, in modesty, I have been silent.  
 Pray, *what's o'clock?*  
*Amb:* How's this?

If these examples have established for our question a colloquial meaning broadly intimating, if not actually avowing, the mental poverty of the person addressed, it remains to note the passages in Shakespeare in which this meaning is present.

In *As You Like It*, Rosalind announces to Celia in the Forest of Arden (III, ii, 380) that she will speak to Orlando "like a saucy lackey and under that habit play the knave with him." In her next words she proceeds to carry out her intention:

*Ros:* Do you hear, forester?  
*Orl:* Very well, what would you?  
*Ros:* I pray you, *what is't o'clock?*  
*Orl:* You should ask me what time o'day; there's no clock in the forest.

Rosalind in her use of the double-meaning question strikes at once the note of the "saucy lackey." By its use she adverts, in a spirit of joyous raillery, to the dejected condition of Orlando; and leads the conversation to the subject she would be ever hearing, Orlando's love for her. "What is't o'clock?" here seems in its implication to be stronger than our expression, "What's wrong with you," by as much as would be necessary to imply some folly on the part of Orlando.

Falstaff, with the first words that boom from his lips,<sup>18</sup> joins Rosalind in pressing into service the question under discussion:

*Falstaff:* How now, Hal, *what time of day is it*, lad?  
*Prince:* Thou art so fat-witted, with drinking of old sack and unbuttoning thee after supper and sleeping upon benches after noon, that thou hast forgotten to demand that truly which thou wouldst truly know. What a devil hast thou to do with the time of the day? . . .

The literal meaning alone of Falstaff's question is without significance and lacks the distinctive Falstaffian note of raillery.

<sup>18</sup> *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, II, i, 1.

When we recognize, however, that this question was used, at times, to indicate a greater or less degree of tardiness of apprehension on the part of the person questioned, it becomes both significant and distinctive. Hal's reaction, also, to the quip in Falstaff's question is as witty as it is immediate, and we gain the satisfaction of recognizing from Falstaff's *first* words, and the reply to these words, that he is "not only witty in himself," but "the cause that wit is in other men."

But there is more to be explained in this question of Falstaff's than the characteristic note of mirth. Hal in his rejoinder to Falstaff adds, "Thou hast forgotten to demand truly what thou wouldst truly know." But what was it Falstaff would truly know? The answer is found in the *New English Dictionary*, where we are informed that to "know what o'clock (time o' day) it is," has the meaning, "to know the real state of things."<sup>19</sup> Falstaff's query is more than a humorous thrust at the expense of Hal; it is a query after the real state of things. It is a thought for the morrow on the part of the "fat rascal"; and is associated in his mind with some recently raised hue and cry that may land him "as high as Lydgate" on a stout pair of gallows. No wonder he is "as melancholy as a pair of Lincolnshire bag-pipes," or that he turns in his troubled state of mind to inquire of his friend the real state of things.

Biron, "replete with mocks," is the third of our witty triumvirate to employ the question as a weapon of his wit.<sup>20</sup> He is engaged in verbal thrust and parry with Rosaline who answers Biron's cutting, "What time o' day?", with the equally cutting, "The hour that fools should ask":

*Biron:* Your wit's too hot, it speeds too fast, 'twill tire.

*Rosaline:* Not till it leave the rider in the mire.

*Biron:* What time o' day?

*Rosaline:* The hour that fools should ask.

Rosaline's answer to Biron's quip is interesting especially for the occurrence in it of the word "fool" which leaps to her lips in a spirit of retaliation, as it does to the lips of others provoked by the same offensive question.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See Note 17.

<sup>20</sup> *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 120.

<sup>21</sup> There is a doubtful example of the question in *Timon of Athens* (I, i, 257):



It would be of interest to know the origin of the question "What is't o'clock?", in the sense we have been considering. It seems to have served Shakespeare and others of his time as a convenient circumlocution for the stronger term "fool." This meaning it may have acquired at some time when it served as a simple question by which to test the wits of a fool.<sup>22</sup> At any rate the Elizabethan dramatist was able by its use to add humour to his dialogue, and to give to his characterization an added touch of naturalness.

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*First Lord:* What time o'day is it, Apemantus?

*Apemantus:* Time to be honest.

*First Lord:* That time serves still.

*Apemantus:* The more accursed thou, that still omitt'st it.

This example is doubtful for the First Lord is hurrying to keep a dinner engagement with Timon and seems to have no intention of mocking Apemantus, while the latter's retort is not unlike similar replies of his to other questions.

<sup>22</sup> Blackstone, in his *Commentaries* (I. 303), notes that "a man is not an idiot if he hath any glimmering of reason, so that he can tell his parents, his age, or the like common matters." May not the time of day have been one of these "common matters" applied as a test?

## ROMANCE AND GERMANIC LINGUISTIC TENDENCIES

In the following study I shall try to show that Romance and Germanic sound-changes are the natural result of the normal working of the speech-habits of these two language-groups. I assume that the speech-habits of a language are of long standing and that they really constitute what may properly be called the tendency of the language. This identification of present observable speech-habit with historical tendency seems to me to be justified by the fact that the chief sound-changes of the past can be adequately explained as the outgrowth of the natural operating of these so-called present speech-habits. I shall discuss the question under three headings:

1. The Character of Romance and Germanic Speech-Habits.
2. Romance and Germanic Consonant-Changes.
3. Some Comments on the Theory of Strengthening of Articulation

### 1. THE CHARACTER OF ROMANCE AND GERMANIC SPEECH-HABITS

Romance languages, especially French, show a tendency toward a fairly even distributing of the energy of accent over all the sound-elements in a slightly crescendo manner. This type of accent is characterized by gradual and gentle attack and release of articulation and by the absence of marked contrasts in muscle tension and relaxation; it may be described as a *distributed crescendo type*. Furthermore, in these languages the voiceless stops are formed with firm closure of the glottis; in fact the vocal chords are more tense than they are when they are vibrating.

Germanic languages on the other hand show a tendency toward a restricting of the energy of accent to one point, namely, the beginning of the sound-element. This type of accent is characterized by a sudden attack and release of articulation, and by marked contrasts in muscle tension and relaxation; it may be described as a *restricted decrescendo type*. Furthermore, in these languages the voiceless stops are formed with an open glottis.

We shall now draw three corollaries from these general propositions:

1st—Inasmuch as the chief energy in speech always falls on the vowel of the syllable we can say that the distributed crescendo tendency leads to the formation of open syllables, that is, to the sequence, consonant plus vowel in firm contact and vowel plus consonant in loose contact (Jespersen's *fester* and *loser Anschluss*), whereas the restricted decrescendo tendency leads to the formation of closed syllables, that is, to the sequence vowel plus consonant in firm contact, and consonant plus vowel in loose contact. Or, stated differently, in Germanic languages the energy diminishes uniformly from a maximum at the beginning of the vowel to a minimum at the end of a following consonant, but in Romance languages it increases uniformly from the consonant to the following vowel, where it comes to an end by a gentle and gradual release of the contraction. Thus, in Germanic languages the minimum of the energy of articulation is reached after the consonant, in Romance languages it is reached after the vowel.

2nd—In Romance languages the beginning of a consonant, especially of an intervocalic consonant, is weaker than its end, whereas in Germanic languages the end of a consonant is weaker than its beginning.

3rd—The tendency toward a distributed crescendo accent leads to a slight expanding of the vowel at the expense of the initial consonant of the following syllable, whereas the tendency toward a restricted decrescendo accent leads to a slight reduction in the length of the vowel and a corresponding increase in the total length of the following consonant.

On the basis of these observations let us make a comparative study of Romance and Germanic consonant-changes.

## 2. ROMANCE AND GERMANIC CONSONANT-CHANGES

There are two points to be noted: First, in these two language-groups the consonant-changes *seem* to have moved in opposite directions; thus, in Romance languages we have *p* becoming *b* becoming *v*, *t* becoming *d*, becoming *ð* and disappearing entirely, whereas in Germanic we have the sequence *b p f v b, d t þ ð d*.

Second, consonant-changes in Romance languages, apart from cases of assimilation, have occurred chiefly in the post-

vocalic or intervocalic position, and likewise in Germanic languages it is generally assumed that the consonant-shifting began, or was most complete, in this position.

The first of these points has led some scholars to the conviction that if the Romance changes are the result of a weakening of articulation, as they seem to be, then the Germanic changes must be the result of a strengthening of articulation. And yet I am inclined to agree with Jespersen, *Language*, p. 259, when he says, "the sober truth seems to be that these shifts are not different in kind from those that have made, say French, *sève*, *frère*, *chien*, etc. out of Latin *sapa*, *fratem*, *canem*, etc. or those that have changed the English vowels in *fate*, *feet*, *fight*, *foot*, *out*, etc." I believe that both series of changes are the result of a steady tendency toward weakening, and that the differences in the results are due to the differences in the two types of accent, the distributed crescendo with its tendency towards open syllables and its closed glottis, and the restricted descrescendo with its tendency towards closed syllables and its more open glottis. Let us take up these two points somewhat in detail.

First, why should the Romance and Germanic consonant-changes apparently move in opposite directions? The answer to this question is to be found in part, I believe, in the different ways in which the voiceless stops are formed in the two language-groups: In Romance they are formed by a firm and tense closure of the articulating parts of the mouth accompanied by a *correspondingly firm and tense closure of the glottis*, which prevents aspiration; in Germanic they are formed by a light closure of the articulating parts of the mouth accompanied by an *opened glottis*, which produces aspiration. According to Rousselot, (*Principes de Phon. Exper.*, p. 597ff) an aspirated stop is made with less muscle tension than a lenis, whereas an unaspirated stop, that is, a fortis, is made with greater muscle tension than a lenis; as to "degrees of force" the order is: *p*, *b* *p'*, *t* *d* *t'*, and I believe that this applies to the muscles of the vocal chords as well as to those of the tongue and lips. But we must make an important observation on the difference between closed and opened glottis in the two language-groups. It is often mistakenly assumed that the producing of a voiced consonant represents muscle contraction, while the producing of a voice-

less consonant represents muscle relaxation. In my opinion this is not at all the case. Just as in Romance languages the voiceless stops are accompanied by a complete closing of the glottis, which undoubtedly represents a positive muscle contraction, so also in the Germanic languages the voiceless stops are accompanied by an opening of the glottis, which is accomplished by the positive contracting of the antagonistic muscles of the vocal chords. The vocal chords are controlled by antagonistic pairs of muscles, the artyenoids. If the glottis is to be closed, one set of muscles is contracted; if the glottis is to be opened, another set is contracted; but each set represents a positive muscle contraction, which is, I believe, equal in degree of intensity with that of the correlated oral contraction. The difference between Romance and Germanic voiceless stops is merely a difference of muscle coordination in the mouth and larynx. In the one group the oral muscles are coordinated with the thyro-arytenoids, which close the glottis; in the other they are coordinated with the cricoarytenoids, which open the glottis.

Now, if we examine the consonant-changes in Romance and Germanic in the light of this distinction we shall see that in both groups the changes have resulted from the weakening of the articulation. In the Romance change of *p* to *b* not only have the lips become less tense but also the vocal chords have been slightly relaxed, so that they now have about the normal degree of tension necessary for vibration. The further change of *b* to *v* represents a further relaxing of both lip and vocal chord muscles, the latter, however, remaining still sufficiently tense to preserve the vibration. Any further weakening would result in the total disappearance of the sound, which actually occurs in the dental and palatal series.

In Germanic, on the other hand, such a series of changes as *b p f v b* also represents a steady tendency toward a decrease of muscle tension both in the mouth and at the vocal chords, only we must not make the mistake of supposing that the voiceless stop in this series is a French fortis; it is a Germanic aspirate. I do not believe there is any convincing evidence that the fortis stage with closed glottis was reached in the normal Germanic development. There certainly is no reason for assuming it for the Primitive Germanic shifts, and if we find a

fortis pronunciation in certain districts of southern Germany and Switzerland after the High German shifting, is it not perfectly reasonable to assume that this represents a substituting of the normal voiceless stop of that territory, a territory which shows in other respects similarities with French speech-habits? Furthermore we make such an assumption to explain an *s* instead of a *þ* as the shifted form of *t*. I believe that the development was from voiced lenis to voiceless lenis to voiceless aspirate, and that it is a mistake to suppose that the voiceless lenis became a voiceless fortis and then a voiceless aspirate, since such a sequence would mean first a strengthening, then a weakening of the articulating parts. My understanding of the Germanic consonant-shifting then is as follows: The tendency to draw the energy more and more toward the beginning of the sound results in a corresponding relaxation of the articulating muscles at the end of the sound; this latter relaxed part gradually predominates and produces the acoustic effect of a new sound, different from the earlier one; when this stage is reached the old sound has passed over into the new and suggested category. Let us illustrate each step in the labial series, *b þ f v*. In the development of *b* to *þ* the relaxing would affect both the vocal chords, producing a voiceless sound, and the lips, producing an aspirate, which suggests, or rather actually is, the normal voiceless stop. The development from *þ* to *f* is of similar nature; a relaxing of the muscle tension in the latter part of a normal *þ* means a slight opening of the bilabial closure. This gradually produces more and more the acoustic effect of an aspirant, and when this acoustic effect really predominates then the sound becomes the normal spirant of the linguistic territory in question. The change of *f* to *v* is also the result of a steady tendency to relax the latter part of the sound; the normal labiodental *f* of Germanic territory is formed with greater muscle tension of the lower lip than the normal labiodental *v*. But the change at the vocal chords also represents a relaxation as compared with the earlier positive contraction by which the chords were opened wide to produce a voiceless consonant. The nature and the result of a relaxation depend entirely upon the nature of the earlier contraction, depend on the ideal sound which exists in the mind of the speaker; it is the *contracted* muscle that relaxes. Thus, in Germanic, if the speaker thinks

he is making a voiced sound but relaxes the latter part, then the vocal chords will drop so far apart as to cease to vibrate; but the counterpart of this phenomenon is equally true; that is, if he has in mind a voiceless sound, which he makes with open glottis, and relaxes, then that relaxation will allow the chords to come so near together as that they will vibrate lightly; this sound will suggest and will eventually become the normal voiced consonant. Thus the unvoicing of a voiced consonant and the voicing of a voiceless consonant both result from the relaxing of a positive contraction.

The change of *v* to *b* results also, I believe, from the weakening of the contraction at the end of the sound. The lower lip, which has been contracted to a position below the upper teeth, returns to its normal position near the upper lip. It is difficult for me to see how this change could have resulted from any strengthening of the articulation. An increase of muscle tension in a labiodental *v* would result in a firmer pressing of the lower lip against the edge of the upper teeth.

Let us examine now the other question raised above and seek to determine why the intervocalic position should be the most favorable to consonant-changes in both the Romance and the Germanic groups. The answer, I believe, is that in both language-groups the articulation of the consonant is weakest in the intervocalic position, with this difference, that in French it is weakest at the beginning of the consonant, in Germanic it is weakest at the end. As we have already seen, in a language of the distributed crescendo type, with its natural preference for open syllables, the energy swells to a maximum on the vowel and then dies down to a minimum as the consonant of the following syllable begins. This crescendo tendency leads to a slight expanding of the stressed vowel at the expense of the length of the following syllable with its initial consonant. In such a series of changes as *ripa riba rive*, or *vita vida viðe vie*, the consonant tends steadily both to be shortened and to begin with a more weakened articulation. Now, as we have seen above, the weakening of the muscle tension of a French voiceless fortis, with its firmly closed glottis, gives a voiced lenis, and further weakening gives a voiced spirant, which in turn in some cases entirely disappears.

In languages of the restricted decrescendo type, on the other hand, the energy of the following syllable tends steadily to be drawn back into the preceding syllable and to be combined with the initial energy of the vowel of that syllable. In such a hypothetical form, e. g., as *ne-po* the initial energy of the *p* strives to combine directly with the initial energy of the preceding *e* from which it has been separated by the final weakened part of the vowel *e*; this causes a slight elongation of the consonant, because the time formerly allotted to the relaxed part of the vowel *e* is not lost, but is merely merged with the relaxed part of the consonant *p*, producing a slightly prolonged *p*, the first part of which alone is stressed. Now the weakened latter part of the voiceless labial stop is a voiceless bilabial spirant *f*, so that *ne-po* becomes *ne<sup>p</sup>-fo*; and as the tendency toward restricted initial stress progresses, this relaxed latter part of the consonant encroaches more and more on the stressed first part, until the spirant quality predominates and becomes for the ear the characteristic element of the whole sound; when this stage of development is reached the sound passes over into the new suggested category.

One element in my explanation of the consonant-shifting, namely, the drawing back of a part of the energy of the consonant into the preceding syllable, is similar to the idea advanced by Braune in his discussion of the subject; in the Ahd. Gram. p. 75 he says "*der vorher die zweite silbe eröffnende einfache cons. (lā-tan, ō-pan, lei-kan) verteilte sich auf zwei silben und nahm die silbengrenze in seine mitte,*" but he does not connect this phenomenon with the general tendency toward restricted decrescendo accent.

The intervocalic position then presents the most favorable conditions for the two types of consonant-change which we find in the two language-groups: in Romance the consonant undergoes a gradual reduction and tends to disappear; in Germanic it undergoes a slight prolongation which preserves it against disappearance. But although the intervocalic position is most favorable for the development, yet I should not say that in Germanic the consonant-shifting in other positions, particularly in the initial position, represents merely the generalizing of the new sound. I believe that the Germanic tendency toward restricted decrescendo accent was great enough to cause



the change in an initial consonant, for even an initial consonant undergoes a slight prolonging as a result of the tendency of the energy to die away fully on the consonant before the new maximum is begun on the vowel; as we have already seen, a tendency toward closed syllables, that is, toward firm contact between vowel and consonant, implies loose contact between consonant and vowel, so that in the Germanic pronunciation of such a form as *tunni* there is a minimum of energy between the *t* and the *u*; thus, *tunni* becomes *ʰunni* becomes *ʰunni* (*thin*).

May I forestall a possible objection to my theory of the PG consonant-shifts. I have not said that the shifting was due to the *fixing* of the accent on the first syllable; such a proposition could not be defended, because we know that the shifting occurred before the accent was definitely fixed on the first syllable. What I have said is that the shifting was the result of a *tendency toward* initial stress. In words like *\*pátar* such a tendency must have operated for a long time before it accomplished the actual fixing of the chief word-stress on the first syllable; but the very first manifestation of the tendency would be the drawing of the first part of the intervocalic consonant back into the first syllable; thus *pátar* becomes *páþar*. That one little step marks the beginning of the consonant-shift, and the other steps, including the voicing of the spirant according to Verner's Law, occurred before the bulk of the energy was fixed on the first syllable. Furthermore, the consonant *p* could at the same time become *f*, because what we said above concerning the nature of an initial consonant and its following vowel would hold true whether the syllable be relatively strong or weak; the decrescendo tendency certainly implies a minimum of energy between an initial consonant and a following vowel; thus, according to my theory *pátar* > *pfát-pár* > *fəþár* > *faðár*, and the form *fáðar* represents the next stage in a slow *tendency toward* initial stress.

In this discussion of Romance and Germanic linguistic tendencies I have limited myself to a consideration of consonant-changes. I am convinced, however, that the theory here presented will offer a satisfactory explanation of the other important sound-changes of the two language-groups. Thus, the French development of the Latin *te* into *toi* (*twa*) through the stages *tēi*, *tōi*, *toē*, *toā*, *toā*, looks very much like a crescendo

expanding of the energy of the vowel. Similarly, such Germanic changes as umlaut, vowel-lengthening, and vowel-diphthongizing seem to me to have resulted from the tendency toward a restricted decrescendo expenditure of the energy of speech.

### 3. COMMENTS ON THE THEORY OF STRENGTHENING OF ARTICULATION

In conclusion I should like to offer the following comments on the theory of strengthening of articulation advanced by Mr. Prokosch in explanation of Germanic sound-changes:

The fundamental difference between his conception of the consonant-shifts and mine lies in the degree of importance which he attaches to the element of force of expiration. He assumes an interplay of the force of expiration and the force of muscle tension in the throat and mouth, in which first the one and then the other gains the upper hand. A preponderance of the force of expiration over that of muscle tension is assumed by him in explaining two of the three chief stages of shifting, that is, from voiced stop to voiceless stop and from voiceless stop to voiceless spirant. I cannot bring myself to believe that the force of expiration is a *positive* factor, *causing* the opening of an occlusion. It seems to me that his theory in this respect is not reconcilable with Forchhammer's theory of stress, (as I explained in Sec. 3 of my Article in Vol. 17 of the J. E. G. Ph.), according to which stress is regulated by the width of the glottis; to strengthen the stress the glottis is narrowed, to weaken it the glottis is widened. I believe that stress always expresses itself in the form of muscle contraction in the larynx and the mouth. In singing or in shouting the expiration may be partly controlled and aided by the chest and abdominal muscles, but this is not true in ordinary speech; the co-called expiratory accent of voiceless consonants is merely an *apparent*, not a *real* stress of the consonant. If for any reason, we relax the tension in the larynx and mouth, the air, which is always present under pressure in the lungs, rushes out; we do not force it out. It is not correct then to say, as is often said, that the increased intensity of expiration forces the glottis open. The stronger air current is not the cause, but the result of the widening of the glottis. Again, in explaining the change of a spirant to a stop, Mr. Prokosch assumes a preponderance of increase in muscle

tension over that of force of expiration. I find difficulty also in accepting his interpretation of this step in the shifting. Let us examine the matter for the labial shift. It seems to me that an increase of muscle tension in a labio-dental *f* would result in a firmer pressing of the lower lip against the edge of the upper teeth. The only muscular action which would bring the lower lip back into the neighborhood of the upper lip is a *relaxation* of the muscles of the lower lip; and I believe that this can be shown to be true also in the case of the dentals and the palatals. I cannot help feeling that all the consonant-shifts began as a relaxation of the muscular tension at the end of the consonant, and that this relaxed part gradually encroached upon the contracted first part of the consonant until its acoustic effect became dominant and the sound passed over into the new and suggested category, in a manner quite similar to that which I have tried to set forth in my recent article on the Cause of Long Vowel Change in English, (*J E G Ph.* XX, 208). Thus, in place of a two-fold principle of increased force of expiration and increased muscular tension, my theory presents the single principle of restricted decrescendo accent as the cause of Germanic sound-changes. Since the changes began in the relaxed portion of the consonant they can properly be described as *weakenings*, and can thus be brought into line not only with non-Germanic sound-changes, but also with many Germanic sound-changes which are admittedly the result of weakened articulation.

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## CAMILLA COLLETT

Among the intellectual and social aristocracy of nineteenth century Norway, Camilla Collett, the daughter of Nicolai Wergeland, occupies a position in the front ranks, despite the fact that the status of the Norwegian women was still a very unfavorable one in her days. While she did not attain the name and fame of her brother Henrik Wergeland and possessed very little, if any, of the former's poetic genius, she exercised a most potent and far-reaching influence in the struggle for the emancipation of her sex, and it was her unusual personality, which was at the bottom of it all. The most important traits in her make-up, she inherited from her parents, especially from her father. Camilla Collett possessed his passion for justice and truth, his love of the beautiful in nature and art, his keenness of mind coupled with a tendency to judge things from the esthetic rather than from the practical point of view, his fearless courage and unfailing constancy, but also his sensitiveness, one-sidedness, and easily wounded pride.

Though her father fairly worshipped her, he never really possessed her full confidence; his rather severe attitude in his domestic life seems to have been the chief obstacle. Camilla Collett speaks "af den ubetingede Magt, han øvde paa sin hele Omgivelse, af den ubegrænsede Underkastelse og Lydighed, vi selv i de seneste Aar var vant til at vise ham."<sup>1</sup> But she never faltered in her loyalty to him and repeatedly sought to defend him against the attacks and accusations of his numerous critics and opponents. Family feeling and family pride were strongly developed in all the Wergelands, and not least in Camilla. Her mother she describes as a naive, gentle, pleasure-loving, submissive being of great physical and spiritual charm, but unable to understand her husband or even her children, who

<sup>1</sup> Camilla Collett. *Samlkede Verker. Mindeudgave*, Kristiania og Kjøbenhavn, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1912/3. I, 83: "of the unconditional control which he possessed over all with whom he came in contact, of the unlimited submissiveness and obedience which we (his children) even during the last years of his life were wont to show him."

one and all were strong-willed, unbending individualists. Camilla's relations to her only sister, Augusta, who was three years her senior, apparently were never very intimate, and when Augusta was married at the age of nineteen, mutual contact between the two seems to have virtually ceased. There is also no evidence in Camilla Collett's writings that there existed close spiritual ties between her and her two younger brothers, Harald and Oscar, the former two years older, the latter that much younger than Camilla. Her brother Henrik, the oldest of Nicolai Wergeland's five children, she idolized, not only during the more impressionable years of her youth, but to the very end of her days. The very last statement published by her only a few weeks before her death, "En sen, men fornøden Redegjørelse" (*Nylønde*, 16de Februar 1895) closes with the almost pathetic lament: "Ak, min Broder, her i Livet var ingen Forstaaelse muligt; men jeg skal gjøre alt—alt—for at afsone den Sorg, jeg har forvoldt dig."<sup>2</sup> She here refers to the inevitable estrangement resulting from her marriage to Peter Jonas Collett, who, as an adherent of J. S. C. Welhaven, was numbered among Henrik Wergeland's opponents. Repeatedly Camilla Collett took up her pen to defend Henrik in his grave against some unjust accusation, or to protest against a distorted conception or misinterpretation of his works, utterances or deeds. During her adolescence and youth, Camilla came, however, only sporadically in close personal contact with her idolized brother, and her share in their intellectual and spiritual intercourse must have been for the most part receptive.

At Eidsvold "præstegjæld" (parsonage), where Nicolai Wergeland and his family resided from 1817 until his death in 1848, there was no opportunity for contact with children from cultured homes and little chance for agreeable and stimulating social intercourse, as the young girl grew up. The influence of the several tutors of her brothers, whose educational advantages she shared in part, counted for very little, and most of the time, Camilla was thrown on her own resources. During the summer months, she roamed a great deal in the picturesque environs of Eidsvold, busying her mind with fanciful day dreams. She

<sup>2</sup> *Mindeudgave*, III, 500. "A late but necessary statement." "Alas, my brother, here, in our earthly life, no understanding was possible, but I shall do everything (in my power) to atone for the grief I caused you."

had inherited from her parents the faculty to live in an ideal world, created by her own imagination. This latter received ample stimulus during her childhood and early youth from the tales related by the untiring Lisbeth Maria, the nurse maid of the Wergeland family, and by Lisbeth's mother, who was known by the significant name of Eventyrsara (Fairy Tale Sara). A preference for strange, fanciful conceptions and dreams and for revelling in memories of the past accompanied Camilla Collett throughout her entire life, and was to her a source of great pleasure. But contact with reality was inevitable and it often proved painful in the extreme. In a letter dating from 1839, Camilla Collett professes that she was constantly unhappy since her twelfth year. This is, however, only partially true. The simple fact is that she was subject to very sudden changes of mood, often occasioned by very trivial outward causes. It is evident from her own testimony that she at times could deeply drink from the cup of joy and abandon herself to the pleasures of the fleeting hours.

At the age of seventeen, she met for the first time Johan Sebastian Welhaven, the bitter foe of her beloved brother Henrik, and soon fell passionately in love with him. She now set herself the difficult task of warding off the most vituperous attacks on Welhaven by her father and her brother, in the case of the latter with very little success. It was, however, not the bitter feud between Wergeland and Welhaven which wrecked all hope of a happy issue to her love. While attracted by Camilla's unusual beauty and strong personality, Welhaven's affections for her were not ardent enough to overcome his doubts. He considered her, not without good reasons, too temperamental for his spouse. "Ak det vilde ikké gaa! Alt er Vinger hos hende," he wrote in a letter to a friend.<sup>3</sup> When he, after more than three years' close acquaintance, frankly stated to her the conclusions at which he had arrived, Camilla all but succumbed under the cruel blow. The impossibility of a conjugal venture must, however, have been fully apparent to her, for in spite of her infatuation for him, she confesses: "Jeg frygter ham—Tiltroe kunde jeg aldrig fatte til ham, jeg troer,

<sup>3</sup> *Camilla Colletts Livs Historie. Belyst ved hendes Breve og Dagbøger af A. Collett. Tredje Oplag. Gyldendal, 1911, 53.* "Alas, it would never do! She is all wings."

jeg vilde før give mig under en Tigers Beskyttelse end hans, hvis en overhængende Fare truede mig. Den første vilde sønderrive mig, men han vilde møde mig med sit forundrede Blik og kolde, sarkastiske Smil."<sup>4</sup> In other words: her highly emotional nature shrank from the cold rationalism with which Welhaven met her, without, in the least cooling the ardor of her love for him.

In 1834, her father made with her a trip to Paris, to restore her impaired health and, if possible, to dispel her melancholy. A long stay in Hamburg followed in 1836-7. Here Camilla Wergeland met Theodor Mundt. As one would expect, she found in him a kindred spirit. Her account of the whole episode well brings out her instability of mood, her eccentricity, her soaring idealism, and satirical wit at that period of her life. Theodor Mundt was inspired by her to the brief sketch "Die Nordische Sylphide." The following paragraph fairly well sums up the impression he received.

"Dann sann ich träumend nach über das schöne Rätselbild der nordischen Sylphide. Man weiss nicht, warum sie so übermüthig und so traurig, so schön wie ein Engel und so witzig wie ein Teufel sogleich (zugleich?) sein kann."<sup>5</sup>

These sojourns abroad produced, however, but indifferent results; at any rate, family life at her parental home left her dissatisfied. Her home seemed to her only a battle and burying ground. On more than one occasion, she laments the barrenness of her life there. "Hvad skulde jeg der, hvad kunde mit Hjem byde mig!", she harmfully complains. "Ak den hjemelige Jordbund var in Grunden ikke andet for mig end en uhyre Valpads, hvor jeg hadde begravet min glade Barndom, mine Ungdomsforhaabninger og sødeste Drømme. Kun saarende Erindringer vilde modtage den Hjemevendende, i mine Venners

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 222. "I fear him—confidence in him, I could never gain; I believe I would sooner place myself under the protection of a tiger than under his, if some immediate danger threatened me. The former would tear me to pieces, he would meet me with his surprised glance and cold, sarcastic smile."

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* *Livs Historie*. Then I dreamily pondered over the beautiful, enigmatic picture of the Northern Sylphid. One does not understand how she can be so wanton and so sad, as beautiful as an angel and, at the same time, as witty as a devil.

Træk vilde jeg blot læse Sorgens og Erindringens Runer, evige Gravskrifter over en evig, *aldrig glemt Fortid*."<sup>6</sup>

In 1839, she met Peter Jonas Collett, their acquaintance soon changed into friendship, which matured into love. Camilla was tormented by grave doubts, which Collett, however, managed to dispel. He correctly summed up her case in the following manner: "Det er sandt, du har tilbragt nogle Aar i Sorg og Vee, men tabte er de dog ikke. De have dog givet dig Erfaring, de have lutret dit Sind og styrket det, og ganske uden Sødme have de dog heller ikke været."<sup>7</sup>

They were married in 1841, and while the union did not bring perfect happiness to her, the ten years she spent as Collett's wife—J. P. Collett died in 1851—were the period of greatest contentment in her entire existence aside from her childhood. Upon the death of her husband, life seemed to her but a dreary desert. She repeatedly complains with great bitterness over the lot of the Norwegian widow and denounces as unjust that she, to a large extent, is excluded from all social life. And she never became wholly reconciled. Whenever things became unbearable in Christiania, Camilla Collett took refuge abroad. But her discontent with the conditions of her existence never really ceased, and on the whole, she remained very prone to blame the imperfect state of society for her disappointments and woes. In many instances, she aired her private grief in the public press, at times giving her own individual experience a more general application, but in some instances pleading her own personal case exclusively. At times, her complaints of such a nature seem amusing, even petty, as for instance when she enters a vigorous protest against the publication of pictures of herself and her brother Henrik in certain periodicals and the like, on the grounds that these pictures were very poor likenesses of the

<sup>6</sup> *Mindeudgave*, III, 345. What was I to do there, what could my home offer me? Alas, my native soil was in reality nothing else for me but an enormous battle ground, where I had buried my glad childhood, the hopes and the sweetest dreams of my youth. Only tormenting memories would meet me on my return; in the faces of my friends, I would read the runes of grief and sad memories, immutable epithaphs over an undying, never forgotten past.

<sup>7</sup> *Cf. Livs Historie*. It is true, you have spent some years in grief and woe, but they were, after all, not lost. They have given you, in spite of all, experience, have enobled and strengthened your mind, nor have these years been wholly without joy.



persons which they were supposed to represent, and accordingly a great injustice to them.

It was during her married life that Camilla Collett began to write for publication, in some instances in collaboration with her husband, but not until after his death, did she turn to literary pursuits in earnest. Only about half her writings may be classed as belonging to the category of *belles lettres*; all the rest is largely polemic and frequently tinged by a strong personal note. She states of her literary work: "Det savner vistnok, dette mit Forfatterskab, et virkeligt Forstudium, som en ung Pige i min Tid ikke synderlig tænkte paa, heller ikke hadde nogen Adgang til at erhverve sig. Det har maaske ikke engang været mit rette Kald. Som en Frugt af Sorgen og Ensomheden blev det mere til en Hjertes end en Aandens, Forstandens Sag. Jeg optegnede saa godt jeg kunde et Livs triste Erfaringer og mine Tanker derom, fæstnet og lutret med Samlivet med den skarpest og sundest dømmende Aand, jeg nogensinde har kjendt."<sup>8</sup>

But whatever the esthetic shortcomings of her literary productions may be, she has created at least one work which entitles her to a place of honor in the history of Norwegian literature: *Amtmandens Døtre* (*The Daughters of the Magistrate*), which may well be regarded as the first novel of importance written in the Norse tongue. *Amtmandens Døtre* is distinguished by superiority of style, careful, realistic portrayal of details, splendid description of natural scenery and interiors, and an abundance of new ideas.<sup>9</sup> The theme is a defense of a woman's love as the only decisive factor in marriage. But it is usually flattered vanity, economic, or, rather, mercenary considerations, and an inherited habit of submissiveness which induces most

<sup>8</sup> *Mindeudgave*, III, 419. It lacks, to be sure, this authorship of mine, all real preparation, of which a young girl in my days did not seriously think, and which she had no opportunity to acquire, either. It (authorship) may not even have been my true calling. As a fruit born of sorrow and loneliness, it turned out to be more an affair of the heart than of the intellect and of the reason. I recorded, as well as I could, life's sad experiences and what I thought of them, strengthened and enobled by the closest contact with the keenest and wisest mind which I have ever known.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.* I, 324, 419, 427. It seems to me very probable that Jonas Lie was influenced by *Amtmandens Døtre*, especially in *Kommandørens Døtre* and *Familien paa Gilje*.

women to marry a certain man. Men, with whom the actual choice seems to rest, are equally short-sighted. They forget that the only essential to marital happiness is a woman's love, and even if they are aware that it is lacking, they console themselves with the thought that somehow it will blossom forth mysteriously after marriage. "Men Egteskabet tænder neppe nogen Kjærlighed; der bør tvertimod bringes et dygtit Fond med for at holde det ud."<sup>10</sup> The heroine, Sofie Ramm, is wholly created in Camilla Collett's own image: shy, melancholy, sensitive, proud, keen of mind, distrustful of herself and the possibility of happiness, naive and direct in her interpretation of life, in dread of gossip, of great innate refinement, fond of dancing, and able to give expression to her innermost being only in song. Those are only the leading characteristics which Sofie has in common with the woman who created her. But, alas, she lacks the determination and loyalty to her better self which distinguished Camilla Collett. The man whom Sofie loves is by no means unworthy of her, though not in any sense a superman, and he most ardently returns her affections. And yet, these two are cheated out of their happiness, in a large measure through accidental happenings, which they are not strong enough to cope with, for such is life, we are told. The treatment of the theme is very impartial and therefore convincing. As far as human folly and baseness enter as a factor, the chief blame must fall on the cold, calculating and intriguing mother of Sofie. Very likely, Camilla Collett used models from real life for some of the characters of the novel, but they were not borrowed from the small circle of those who stood closest to her in life. In portraying the landscape, she has freely drawn on the region in which she grew up; an outstanding feature from Eidsvold is the grotto which plays such an important part in Sofie's life. Though times have greatly changed, and women are now enjoying far greater liberty than three generations ago, the problem dealt with in Mrs. Collett's novel has by no means been solved, and many a precept set forth in *Amtmandens Døtre* is as pertinent today as it was in 1854. The novel has seen at least five editions, which is proof in itself that it still

<sup>10</sup> *Mindeudgave*, I, 330. But married life hardly ever engenders any love; on the contrary, it is necessary to bring into married life a large store of love to make it endurable.

makes an appeal and has a message to convey. Aside from several short stories, Camilla Collett has not written any other fiction, but all her productions with the exception of a few that are purely polemic are of high literary merit. Her style is original and brilliant in all her works.

Those of her writings that appeared in the seventies and eighties deal chiefly with the cause of woman. Her theory is that woman is by no means inferior to man, in fact, she is his superior in all essentials, especially in the realm of emotions and morals. If intellectually she falls below the standard of the male, it is simply due to the fact that her mind has been systematically dwarfed through thousands of years of oppression and subjugation. At the bottom of it all lies the insane egotism of man. Present day society is tottering along on the edge of a precipice and is sure to perish if not saved by the women of the world. But to accomplish this task, these latter must be accorded full equality with the men; not, perchance, merely equality before the law, grudgingly granted, but one based on mutual respect and confidence, which will lead to sincere co-operation, perfect harmony, and peace the world over. In former days, during the middle ages, nay, even during the first part of the nineteenth century, the influence of women was far greater than at the present, and they were then held in higher esteem by the other sex. Nowadays man not even hates woman any longer, but is totally indifferent to her except as an object of exploitation and a means to gratify his sensuality. It is, however, a hopeful sign that he begins to fear her, for this presupposes respect and consequently the possibility that he some future day may love her once more. The most deplorable fact is that woman has become so degraded by perpetual abuse and enslavement that she is really no longer conscious of the perpetual wrong inflicted upon her. Her own apathy, ignorance, and servility are the worst obstacles to her emancipation. Out of sheer self-interest and for the sake of self-preservation, society should above all endeavor to alleviate the lot of woman-kind. "I alle Tilfælde mellem de to Kjønn vil hin Naturens og Forholdenes grusomme Partiskhed træde os imøde og burde stemme til den alvorligste Eftertanke. Den bør og kan kun af-føde Frygt og Uro og vække Afsky for en Samfundsorden, der saa langt fra bestræber sig at udjevne denne Partiskhed, idet den

med dobbelt Omhu vernede om den svagere stillede, at den meget mere opmuntrer den, begunstiger den. Skal vi minde om den franske Lovgivning, der forbyder Efterforskning af Forførelsen, men later hele Skylden med dens Elendighed falde over paa den fortførte!"<sup>11</sup>

Under the present social conditions, the innate ingenuity of woman has by force of circumstances frequently found its outlet in the direction of evil, since she is not granted freedom to apply it in a beneficial way. Some of the worst catastrophes in the history of mankind have resulted from the suppression and enslavement of woman, among them the French Revolution.

"Hvad Virkning har Kvindens Stilling øvet paa de sociale Revolutioner, særlig den store franske af 1789? Var den overhodet bleven til, havde den været nødvendig, hvis hun havde indtaget den Rang og den Plads i Verdensordenen, som tilkom hende?

"Det vil blive en Opgave for Fremtidens Filosofer og Psykologer, naar de for Alvor finder denne Side af Meneskelivet og den hele Verdensudvikling en Drøftning værd, at paavise dette. Vi har kun set det rigest blomstrende Samfund, hvori Kvinden ikke var agtet og ligeberettiget, raadne ned, styrtte sammen, for aldrig at reise sig."<sup>12</sup>

The position of women among the American Indians was also a more potent cause of the decline of the Red Man than the whiskey and firearms of the European invaders.—To most readers, Camilla Collett's attitude must necessarily seem one-

<sup>11</sup> *Mindeudgave*, III, 109. In all the relations of the sexes, does this cruel partiality of nature and social conditions meet us, which ought to arouse in us serious reflection. It should and can only engender fear and misgivings and arouse abhorrence for a social order which, far from endeavoring to lessen this partiality by protecting the weaker sex with utmost care, does everything to encourage and favor it. Is there any need that we here should refer to the French law, which forbids to search for the seducer, but places all the blame and the accompanying misery at the door of the seduced woman?

<sup>12</sup> *Mindeudgave*, II, 234. What influence did the position of women have upon the great social upheavals, especially upon the French Revolution? Would it have taken place, would it have been necessary if woman had occupied the rank and position in the social order which properly belongs to her?

That will be a question to be answered by the philosophers and psychologists of the future, when they seriously consider this side of human existence and the whole social development worthy of discussion. We have only seen the most prosperous commonwealths in which the women were not respected and possessed of equal rights decay and go to ruin, never to rise again.

sided, the great mass of her arguments is, however, well chosen and to the point. But it is not a wholly logical and fair procedure when she attributes Monod's views to a poor Stockholm preacher, whose exposition of the duties of women she rejects, and then proceeds to argue on the fictitious assumption that he is in full accord with Monod. Nor are certain examples from the animal world, tending to show that the male of certain species sacrifices himself for the female, particularly in the breeding season, felicitously chosen or convincing. The following, holding up the social organization of the bees as a model for mere man, is outright ludicrous. "Han mindedes med Beundring en liden Stat, hvori det eneste Femininum, der fandtes, var ophøiet til Eneherskerinde, medens alle Maskulinerne var Arbeidere! . . . Hun havde slet intet andet at gjøre end at tage imod Hyldningen, sole sig og lege nogle tusend Skokke Egg om Maaneden."<sup>13</sup> *Mon tro, Camilla Collett vilde ha byttet pladsen med dronningen, mottat al denne hyldningen og gjort den smule legen? Det synes ikke hun visste ret meget om bierne, skjønt hun levde sin første ungdom paa landet.*

Like Byron she holds that, at present, at least, love, wifehood, and motherhood are the only realms to which a woman is given access, while man has selfishly reserved to himself all the varied activities of life. Under the circumstances, it is all the more important that every woman should determine the choice of her mate herself, and only in accordance with the dictates of her heart. At present, she is denied this right and must passively abide her fate, unless she prefers the lamentable existence of the spinster. It is the woman who by all means should do the choosing, since her judgment in these matters is far more reliable than that of the mere male. Moreover, just the best men are very apt to make a poor choice.

One of the great wrongs inflicted upon the women of modern times is the twofold moral standard, sanctioned by social convention and even upheld by the laws of various countries. Its evil effects have not been confined to the unfortunate women, but have poisoned the whole race.

<sup>13</sup> *Mindeudgave*, II, 350. He recalled with admiration a little state in which the only female individual to be found was made the absolute ruler, while all the males were workers. . . . She had nothing to do but receive homage, bask herself in the sun, and lay a few hundred thousand eggs each month.

“Vor Tids Mand er en grum Skabning. Kun er han lidet konsekvent i sin Grumhed. Endnu som før fordrende en næsten overmenneskelig Renhed og Høihed hos sin savgere Modpart, er han selv den værste Fiende af den. Med den ene Haand væbnet til ubønhørlig at straffe enhver Skygge af Brudd paa denne strenge Kvindelighed, er han med den anden lige ivrig for at neddrage og besudle den.

“I samme Forhold som den ene Halvdel af denne kristne Menneskehed frigjorde sig fra Fællesforpligtelsen, har han dobbelt væltet den over paa den anden, den svagere Halvdel. Har den vinnende i Virkeligheden vundet derved? Vi tror det ikke. Den Kvindelighed, der har udviklet sig under et unaturligt Tryk, har ikke bidraget til at forædle og gjøre dem lykkeligere, der drog Fordelen deraf. Den har gjort Manden vild og grusom, den har virket hemmende paa den hele Menneskeheds Udvikling, maaske sat den Aarhundreder tilbage. Hvad om den har været den dybeste Aarsag til, at vi endnu sidder inde med Samfundsonder, og at nye udvikler sig, der er en Skjendsel for Menneskeheden? Tør vi med Sikkerhed paastaa, at Tyrefegtningens og Krigens Afskyeligheder, Sektfanatisme, Mormonisme, privilegeret Prostitution ikke har nogen Grund i, at man har forsmaaet Kvindens Medvirkning i de store Verdensopgaver, mens man tildelte hende en *lastbærende* Rolle, den hun, ak, altfor villig og altfor længe har fundet sig i?”<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Mindeudgave*, II, 378 and III, 261. The male of our age is a ferocious creature. But he is quite inconsistent in his ferociousness. Now, as in former days, he demands an almost superhuman purity and nobility of his weaker partner; though he himself is the worst enemy of these qualities. While one of his hands is armed to punish inexorably even the shadow of an offense against this strict law of womanly chastity, he is with the other equally zealously at work to debase and defile it.

In the same proportion in which one half of the christian people of the globe cast off the common duties, he has imposed them with double severity upon the other, the weaker half. Has the victor in this struggle really been the gainer? We do not believe he has. This womanliness which developed under such unnatural restraint has not contributed to the happiness of those who reaped the spoils. It has made the male cruel, it has hindered the development of mankind, perhaps retarded it hundreds of years. It may well have been the basic cause of it that we still suffer from social ills, with new ones continually developing, which are a disgrace to the human race. Can we be sure that the bull fights, the horrors of war, religious fanaticism, legalized prostitution are not due to the fact that the women were not permitted to share in the solution

Camilla Collett finds that the laws are very unfair to women, and as a striking example, she repeatedly refers to the French *code civile*. Things are, however, not much better in her native country, either.

"En stakkels forført Pige begaar i Fortvilelse en Forbrydelse og sperres inde for Livstid. Men Ophavsmanden dertil ved ingen noget om, han gaar hædret omkring, som det ikke angik ham det mindste. I enkelte Lovgivninger forbydes det udtrykkelig at efterspørre ham. Naar gale Hunder biter, skynder man sig med at slaa dem ned for at forhindre Smitten. Her har man ordnet Sagen omvendt. Her et det Ofrene, der slaaes ned. Forgifterne gaar fri. Og der forskrækkelig mange Forgiftere, hvor skal vi finde en *Pasteur* til at betvinge denne Hundegalskab?

"—Naar en af vore Kvinder i en viss Samfundsstilling begaar en Uforsigtighed eller gjør sig skyldig i en Svaghed, eller ofrer mer i sin Kjærlighed, end Reglementet tillader, er hun udpeget, maaske fortabt i den offentlige Mening.

"Men dette samme dydige Samfund, denne strengt retfærdige Magt i det, som kalder sig Staten, aabner selv Dørene til Skjendselens Boliger, hvor Tusender af Kvinder ofres for Mandens Dyriskhed, aabner dem og siger: Værsgo, mine Herrer, nu er det ordnet saa godt og trygt, der er ingen Ting at frygte."<sup>15</sup>

But while Mrs. Collett pleads for more restraint on the part of man, for more tolerance toward her own sex, she emphatically

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of social problems, while they were assigned the rôle of thralls, with which they, alas, only too willingly and too long have put up.

<sup>15</sup> *Mindeudgave*, III, 233. A poor seduced girl commits a crime in her despair and is sent to prison for life. Of the man who was the cause of it, no one knows anything, he enjoys the respect of his fellowmen, as though the matter did not in the least concern him. The laws of some countries expressly forbid to seek to discover him. When mad dogs bite, one makes haste to shoot them down, to prevent the spreading of hydrophobia. In our case the reverse happens. Here it is the victims that are slain. The poisoners go scath free. And there is a fearful number of poisoners. Where are we to find a *Pasteur* to cope with this rabies?

If one of our women of a certain social station acts carelessly, or becomes guilty of some fault, or in her love sacrifices more than convention permits, she is ostracized, perhaps lost in public opinion.

But the same virtuous society, that strictly righteous force representing it, called the state, throws open the doors of houses of ill fame, where thousands of women are sacrificed to the brutishness of men, opens them wide and says: please enter, gentlemen, now things are arranged well and securely, there is nothing to be feared.

rejects all doctrines of free love, not because she is opposed to it in principle, but because she clearly recognizes that mankind in general and men in particular utterly lack that high sense of moral responsibility which alone would make such relations compatible with the interest of women and the safety of the race.

Literature is a mirror of life, Camilla Collett correctly contends; hence a certain knowledge about human existence, social conditions, conventions, prejudices, and so forth, may readily be gained from the study of the literature of a given period. With this end in view, she read and appraised many of the novels of her day. In no case is she concerned in the literary or esthetic value of the work in question; it is only the attitude of the particular author toward women which interests her. She finds that modern novelists almost without exception represent a type of women who rebel and resist, but infallibly are defeated and conquered in the end. This independent minded and individualistic type must, however, not be interpreted as an indication that the women are gaining more influence in life; it was created by the various authors merely to add new spice and zest to the game of pursuit and conquest. The worst offenders, it seems to Mrs. Collett, are the French novelists of last century.

“Til disse Skrankestormere, disse umættelige Livssvelgere, hvis Kvalifikation som rigtig tidssvarende Romanhelte synes at bero paa den størst mulige Voldsomhed, hvormed de søger at naa alt, hvad deres Begjær falder paa, maatte der nogle tilsvarende, ikke altfor greie Kvindekarakterer; ellers vilde jo Historien straks været ude. De optog derfor Restaurationens Kvindetype, kun varieret, ja karikeret til det dæmonisk forvredne. Her ser vi da Kvinden i sin allernyeste Skikkelse: halv drillende Dæmon, halv Helgen, halv Sirene, halv barmhjerterig søster—Ild i en Iskruste, eller omvendt; kort—her har vi Forbilledet til hele Sfinks—og Froufrou-Genren. Dermed udelukkes naturligvis ikke Lidelserne; nei langt fra; jo vildere Kampen udvikler sig, des mere sønderlidende arter sig disse. Thi det gjælder i dem alle: enten maa Manden betvinge hende og bøie den opsætsige efter sin Vilje, eller hun skal dø, dø. Disse rystende Dramaer ender derfor næsten alle dermed, at naar Kampen synes paa det heftigste, stødes hun ned, og han staar som Seierherre igjen paa Arenaen, modtagende



Hyldningen. Og som de gamles ubønhørlige *Pollice vero* klinger gjennem dem alle Forfatterens Varselsraab: 'Saaledes skal det gaa dem, disse irregulære Kvinder, der drister sig til at være stærkere end vi. Vi vil Modstanden; vi trænger til den, til at egge, til at bryde vore egne Lidenskaber imod; men vi taaler ikke Kvinden i denne Modstand. Slige Kvinder er blot til-ladelige, naar vi vil Kampen; men de er helt ubrukbare for os siden.'

"Ok deri har de vistnok Ret. Naar Podagraen og Gammelmandskravene har afløst Livsstormeriet, saa duer jo den Slags Kvinder slet ikke."<sup>16</sup>

A number of literary men of first magnitude, such as Goethe, Byron, Bulwer Lytton, Dumas *filis*, Flaubert, Cherbuliez, and Spielhagen, are shown off in all their unscrupulous male conceit and egotism. Mrs. Collett's comment on the different works is often very interesting, and there is a good deal to be said for her point of view. Most important in this respect are her discussions of some of the works of Ibsen and Jonas Lie. But as has been said before: the one and only feature which she con-

<sup>16</sup> *Mindeudgave*, II, 386 f. Over against these moral iconoclasts and insatiable sensualists, whose qualifications as properly suited heroes in the world of the novel seem to consist in the greatest possible violence with which they seek to attain everything they covet, some corresponding female characters were required; not too submissive women, or the whole story would end before it really began. They (the authors) revived, accordingly, the female type of the *restauration*, only varied, nay, caricatured and distorted to demonic proportions. Here we meet woman in her most modern shape; half teasing demon, half saint, half siren, half sister of charity—fire encrusted in ice, or the reverse; in short—here we have the models of the entire sphinx and *froufrou* type. That, of course, does not exclude suffering; quite on the contrary; the more ferocious the struggle becomes, the more torturing it is also. For it applies to all these women that man must conquer the obstinate rebel and make her submit to his will, or she must *die, die*. These stirring dramas, therefore, end almost all in her being stabbed to death when the struggle has reached its utmost violence, and the man is left behind in the arena as victor, receiving the homage due him. And like the Ancients' inexorable *Pollice verso*, we hear in all these novels the author's warning voice: "That will be the fate of all these irregular women who dare to be stronger than we. We desire resistance; we require it to ache us on, to vent our passions upon it; but we do not tolerate the woman who resists. Such women are only permissible when we desire the struggle, but they are wholly useless later on."

And in that, they are, surely, right. When the gout and the needs of old age have superseded the iconoclastic impetuosity of earlier days, that kind of woman is, of course, of no value.

siders is the attitude of the particular author toward women. The basic question of our present day life is for her "the relations between the sexes and the position in our social order which will finally be accorded to women."<sup>17</sup>

And inseparable from this conviction, as a matter of fact, the logical prerequisite of it, is her firm belief in the superiority of women in all but mere physical strength. Here, Mrs. Collett readily admits that woman is the weaker vessel and, accordingly, demands that due recognition should be taken of the fact by special concessions.

In spite of the greater impartiality and dispassionate judgment which she vindicates to women, she is an extreme partisan. Virtually all her evaluations of persons and institutions are based solely on the relations they have to the so-called emancipation of women. Needless to say that she hailed with enthusiasm every comrade in arms. Aurore Dudevant, née Dupin, (George Sand), Mary-Ann Evens, (George Eliot), Rahel Levin, Stuart Mill, Ernest Legouv  , Frederika Bremer, Josephine Butler, and the like, are names inscribed on her roll of honor in letters of gold. Somewhat surprising is her estimate of Heinrich Heine. Him she considers an innocent victim of our perverse social order, "en Tilv  relsens Tantalus."

Utterances on other topics than the woman's question are numerous and vary from minute discussions of the customary Christiania meal hours to expectorations upon the pessimism of Schopenhauer and Strindberg. Camilla Collett was a humanitarian, anti-militarist, pacifist, and monarchist. Men like Napoleon and Richelieu were for her but monsters. Her sympathy was always with the weak and the suffering, and her compassion extended to the dumb animals as well. In this connection, her attitude toward vivisection deserves mention. She sees in it nothing but perverted sensuality and cruelty, and actually suggests that the people should take the law into their own hands and forcibly put a stop to this pernicious practice. On the question of the education of children, Mrs. Collett's views far from coincide with those of the majority. While she favors co-education, out of door exercise and sport, constant association of the two sexes during the period of childhood and adolescence, and respect for individuality, she deeply

<sup>17</sup> *M  ndedgave*, III, 127.

laments the growing disrespect for authority of any kind on the part of the young.

“Vi lever i ængstelige Tider, hvor der arbeides paa at løsne alle Tøiler, inden Menneskeheden har lært a tøjle sig selv. Hvor skal det ende? Børn maa ikke revses, Pigen ikke irettesættes af sin Madmoder, Svenden ikke af sin Mester, enhver saadan Tilrettevisning af den enten ved naturlig Autoritet eller Dannelsen og Erfaring overlegne, er gjort magteløs og betragtes, selv hvor den mildest træder op, som en utidsmæssig Overgreb.

“Fuldstændig Frihed, øm Pleie af saadanne naturlige Anlæg og Tilbøjeligheder, der lover en muligst rigt Flor af tidlig fremdrevne Fordringer og Lidenskaber—det forstaar sig, parret med den superbeste Ringeagt for andres Ønsker og Krav—og endelig feberagtig Anstrengelse for at nære og sysselsætte disse tidlig modne Lidenskaber og Fordringer, skulde det ikke nærmest være Hovedmomenterne in den moderne Opdragelse?”<sup>18</sup>

Camilla Collett desired that the status of woman should be changed radically, that male authority should cease, but she, by no means, should have liked to see a general recasting of our present day economic and social conditions and institutions. She was an idealist, individualist, aristocrat, monarchist, and conservative. Politics, she abhorred, and she protested against being identified with any political party. “Har der noget i min Produktion lignet en *politisk* Bekjendelse, saa bunder det dog paa den samme uryggelige Grundsyn, hvorpaa denne Produktion er bygget: mit ‘Høire’ og ‘Venstre’ heder *Mand* og *Kvinde*.”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Mindeudgave*, II, 192 f. We live in a disquieting age, where forces are at work to cast off all restraint ere mankind has learned to practice self-restraint. Where shall this end? Children must not be punished, the maid must not be reprimanded by the lady of the house, nor the workman by his boss. Any such censure on the part of those superior by natural authority or culture and experience is made ineffectual and is regarded, even where it appears in the mildest form, as an untimely act of encroachment.

Absolute freedom, careful pampering of such natural propensities and instincts as promise the richest harvest of early developing desires and passions—of course, coupled with superior contempt for the needs and wishes of others—and finally a feverish effort to nourish and occupy these premature passions and desires, are those not about the main features of modern education?

<sup>19</sup> *Mindeudgave*, III, 409. If anything in my production resembled a political creed, it rests, nonetheless, on the same immutable basic conception whereupon my production has been erected: my ‘Right’ and ‘Left’ (conservative and liberal) is *man* and *woman*.

This utterance is the key to her philosophy of life, but it also reveals her limitations, her one-sidedness, and partiality. Like Ibsen, she was both pessimist and optimist; pessimist in her appraisal of the existing conditions, optimist in her steadfast hope for a better future, her firm belief in the possibility of great advance, and in the loftiness of her ideals.

All her life long, she was a loyal adherent of the descendants of Bernadotte on the Swedish throne and a staunch monarchist. Democracy spelled for her dissolution of society; the ambition of the French people at the time of the Revolution to eliminate class distinctions is designated as madness (*afsindig*). It is true that Camilla Collett possessed deep and genuine sympathy for all who had to suffer and were wronged, that she freely used her material means to alleviate want and misery, but the great mass of her inquiries into certain actual conditions and her remedial suggestions concern the interests of women of the upper class. Thus, for instance, she protested repeatedly against the exclusion of women from certain social or semi-public functions, as the funeral of the Schweigaards. That ninety-nine men out of every hundred, together with their wives and daughters, also were excluded since they happened to be teamsters, dock laborers, coal trimmers, cobblers, and the like, seemed to her as it should and must be. Or when she holds up as a model the English fashion of bringing up children, she certainly has in mind only the privileged few.

"I visse andre Lande, England f. Eks. der sætter en Nationalstolthed i det huslige Livs Skjønhed, Ro og Komfort, kunde man ikke tænke sig det. Afsondringssystemet er der strengt overholdt, intil Børnene har naaet en viss Alder. Man giver dem bekvemme, hyggelige Barnekammere, sørger for brave, paalidelige Bonner, for passende Underholdning og Morskab til dem, og Dagen oplives ved Tumlen ude i fri Luft og ved den glade Forventning om Besøget nede eller Mamas Besøg oppe hos dem."<sup>20</sup>

It would be an easy matter to multiply examples of this kind, and it does not surprise us in the least when Henrik

<sup>20</sup> *Mindeudgave*, II, 194. In certain other countries, in England, for instance, where the beauty, calm, and comfort of home life is a matter of national pride, one could not imagine such a state of affairs. The children are strictly separated until they have reached a certain age. They are given comfortable nurseries,

Jæger, with whom Camilla Collett clashed on several occasions, suggests that she is only concerned in the emancipation of the women of the upper classes. But Camilla Collett disdained to waste even a single word in defense against the insinuation, and there can be no doubt that her own conscience fully acquitted her. Within each social group, she demanded, indeed, full equality for women, whether it is the right of succession to the Danish throne or the right of admission to Christiania University, but these groups themselves must not be disturbed. The levelling tendencies of the age seem to her sheer evils.

“Opløsningen snigende gennemtrænger selv hine Skikter af disse vore Tilstande, hvor vi skulde søge Fornyetelsen og Vederkvælgelsen efter Arbeidet—vort *Selskabsliv* . . . . Spørg, hvor der er blevet af de store Mennesker, der regjerede dette, hvorfor vi maa se hint undertiden strenge, men altid velgjørende Supremati, som Aandsoverlegenhed, virkeligt Frisind i Forening med Dannelsen og Belevenhed fordum øvede paa dette, vige Pladsen for en arrogant Middelmaadeligheds utaaelige Masseherredømme? Hvorfor skal vi upsluges af Krybet?”<sup>21</sup>

There are passages which seem to breathe the spirit of democracy, as, for instance, in “Oktoberfantasier,” but when we are told that every woman should be a Kamma Margrete Rabbek or Rahel Levin, we need not read between the lines to see what is really meant by “all the women”; even if *kvinde* and *dame* were not used interchangeably in the passage referred to.

Camilla Collett was an aristocrat to the very core and had a highly esthetic nature. “Jeg maa sikkert i en Fortilværelse have været bestemt for et Slot (men det blev ombestemt igjen),

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one provides honest, reliable nurse maids, suitable occupations and amusements for them, and the day is enlivened by out of door play in the open air and the glad anticipation of the visit down stairs or the mother's visit to the nursery. *Probatum est!*

<sup>21</sup> *Mindeudgave*, II, 501. Dissolution is sneaking into even those parts of our existence where we should seek enjoyment and recreation after the toil of the day—our social life. I should wish to know what has become of our great men and women who regulated it, and why we must see this at times severe, but always beneficial supremacy which intellectual superiority, genuine liberalism in conjunction with culture and good form in former days exercised over our social life yielding to the unbearable mass rule of arrogant mediocrity? Why must we be swallowed up by the rabble?

jeg befinder mig altid bedst, hvor der er prægtigst," she confesses.<sup>22</sup>

She made no secret of her strong likes and dislikes and always took her own superiority for granted. She possessed, however, not only the courage to stand by her convictions, but she was also bold enough to make public profession of them. In dealing with the various problems of the day, she did not shrink from the repulsive, as, for instance, where she deals with legalized prostitution. False modesty and prudishness, she regarded as two of the most serious faults of her sex. Her utter frankness was not always easy to endure, and she was not a respecter of persons. A good example of her outspokenness is an open letter to Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, which appeared April 26, 1881 in "Aftenposten" and in which she all but accused Bjørnson of willful duplicity and utter insincerity. To be sure, there are extenuating circumstances, for she here debates the question of what Henrik Wergeland was and was not, a topic which always stirred her to the very depths of her being.

Camilla Collett continued to write as long as she was able to wield a pen, which means, almost to the very day of her death. Toward the close of her life, she received many tokens of respect and gratitude from her fellow countrymen; but better still, she lived to see considerable progress made in the cause of her sex. If the women of Norway today are as free as any, Camilla Collett's share in their liberation has not been a small one. Her life work is appropriately characterized in the following lines: "Være Forfatter efter Tidens Behøv er ogsaa at udtale Sandheder, som andre tænker, eller dunkelt tænker, eller slet ikke tænker, udtale dem træffende og overbevisende, oprivende og lægende, og med sin Smule Livslykke og Dagsfred indestaa derfor."<sup>23</sup>

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*Smith College*

<sup>22</sup> *Mindeudgave*, III, 122. I surely was destined for a castle in some former state of existence (but this provision was later changed again), I am always happiest where there is the greatest splendor.

<sup>23</sup> *Mindeudgave*, II, 174. To be an author, such as the age requires, consists also in giving utterance to thoughts which others think, or vaguely ponder, or not conceive at all, express them in striking and convincing, rousing and, at the same time, healing manner, and to stake one's mite of happiness and the peace of one's days in this cause.

## ÜBER GOETHES GEPLANTES VOLKSBUCH

### I

Über Goethes nationale Gesinnung ist viel geschrieben worden. Besonders scharf wurde seine unpatriotische Gesinnung, wie man es nannte, in den dreissiger und vierziger Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts getadelt. Die Jugend, die nach der Schlacht von Jena aufwuchs, war mit seiner politischen Haltung höchst unzufrieden. Die masslosen Angriffe eines Börne und Menzel sind allbekannt, und selbst ein Dichter wie Rückert tadelt Goethe wegen seiner vornehmen Art, patriotisch zu sein.<sup>1</sup> Und doch fühlte er sich vaterländisch gesinnt und wollte auch so gelten. Er musste es sich aber dennoch gefallen lassen, als Volksfeind und Fürstenfreund hingestellt zu werden. Man liebte es nun einmal, Schiller als besonderen Freund des Volkes, als begeisterten Sänger der Freiheit, und ihn als Aristokraten und konservativen Hofmann darzustellen. So oft Goethe nun in seinen Gesprächen auf dies Thema kommt, merkt man eine gereizte Stimmung. Er kann es nicht begreifen, wie man zu solchen Ansichten über ihn kommen möge, da ihm sein ganzes Leben hindurch das Wohl des Volkes am Herzen gelegen habe.

Von Goethe darf man eben nicht den engen und beschränkten Patriotismus des Durchschnittsmenschen erwarten. Diejenigen, die ihm seine passive Haltung während der Freiheitskriege verargen, zeigen wenig Verständnis für seine Eigenart und sein Wesen. Seine Dichtung ganz in den Dienst der Tagesereignisse stellen und Kriegslieder schreiben, wie Arndt, Körner und Rückert es taten, konnte er nicht. Dazu fehlte ihm einerseits das jugendliche Feuer und andererseits der lodernde Hass. Nur was er zuvor empfunden und erlebt hatte, konnte Goethe in Liedern wieder von sich geben. Seine Auffassung von Vaterlandsliebe und von seiner Pflicht gegenüber seinem Volke war eben eine ganz andere als die landläufige seiner eignen und einer späteren Zeit.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Herwig M., Goethe und die Verdächtigungen seiner Vaterlandsliebe, Z. f. d. d. U., Bd. 14, S. 760.

Noch einige Wochen vor seinem Tode, im März 1832, fragt er Eckermann, wie ein Dichter, der lebenslänglich bemüht gewesen sei, schädliche Vorurteile zu bekämpfen, enghärzige Ansichten zu beseitigen, den Geist seines Volkes aufzuklären und dessen Gesinnungs- und Denkweise zu veredeln, noch patriotischer wirken könne? Er glaubte durch seine erzieherische Arbeit an seinem Volke seiner patriotischen Pflicht vollauf Genüge getan zu haben. Wie tief ihn aber die oben erwähnten Vorwürfe kränkten, geht aus dieser Frage hervor.

Und doch, so teilnahmslos wie es scheinen möchte, ist Goethe an den grossen politischen Ereignissen seiner Zeit nicht vorübergegangen. Er hatte einen schärferen Blick und ein tieferes Verständnis für die Begebenheiten als die meisten seiner Zeitgenossen. Seine Gedanken und Empfindungen teilte er aber nur seinen vertrauten Freunden mit oder liess ihnen in symbolischen Dichtungen Ausdruck.

Professor Goebel hat gezeigt,<sup>2</sup> welche Spuren die Freiheitskriege im zweiten Teile des "Faust" hinterliessen, und welchen engen Zusammenhang das Festspiel des "Epimenides Erwachen" mit der Friedensfeier hat. Gerade die Freiheitskriege waren es, die in Goethe ein erneutes Interesse für sein Volk und Vaterland hervorriefen und speziell für die deutsche Vergangenheit. Will man hierfür ein bestimmtes Jahr nennen, so ist es, wie wir noch sehen werden, das Jahr 1808.<sup>3</sup> Allerdings bekundet sich das Interesse nicht in Wehklagen über das nationale Unglück oder in ohnmächtigem Hass gegen Napoleon, sondern in still aufbauender Tätigkeit. Am 24. Oktober 1806 schrieb Goethe an Knebel: "Jeder muss sich nur in diesen ersten Augenblicken zusammennehmen und möglichst wiederherstellen, so wird auch dem Ganzen geholfen. Man kann nun schon wieder anfangen um sich her und für andere zu wirken."\* Seine Briefe aus dem Herbst 1806 zeigen deutlich, wie sehr er körperlich und geistig unter dem Druck der Ereignisse litt. In einem Briefe an Wilhem Christian Günther vom 17. Oktober, 1806

<sup>2</sup> Goebel, J., The Wars of the Liberation in the Second Part of "Faust," Journal of Engl. and Germ. Phil., Vol., 16, pp. 195-207.

<sup>3</sup> Lenz, Max, Deutsches National empfinden im Zeitalter unserer Klassiker, Jahrbuch der Goethegesellschaft, Bd. 2, S. 297.

\* Alle Zitate aus Goethes Werken oder Briefen sind der Weimarer Ausgabe entnommen.



spricht er von "Stunden der Prüfung," die er durchlebt. Am Tage darauf schreibt er einer Anzahl Jenaer Freunde: "Was mich betrifft, so sind wir durch viel Angst und Not auf das Glücklichsste durchgekommen." Und in einem langen Briefe an den Herzog Carl August vom 19. bis zum 26. Oktober lautet ein Satz: "Die Umwendung der Dinge steht einem noch zu nahe, alles was man sagt ist unzulänglich oder unzulässig, und so schweigt man lieber oder nimmt sich zurück, als dass man spräche." Trotz aller scheinbar äusserlichen Ruhe war er doch "in einer sehr zerrissenen Lage." Scherer sagt, es sei als habe er sein Testament machen wollen.<sup>4</sup> Die noch zu Schillers Lebzeiten vorbereitete Gesamtausgabe seiner Werke wird jetzt zu Ende geführt und der erste Teil des Faust vollendet.

An der Farbenlehre und an der Selbstbiographie wird auch gearbeitet. Seine ständige Sorge aber gilt den wissenschaftlichen Instituten in Jena. Nicht nur im engeren Freundeskreis, in Weimar und Jena, wirkte er tröstend und aufmunternd in diesen Tagen; die ganze Nation empfand jetzt seinen Wert!<sup>5</sup>

Durch die Schlacht von Jena waren Weimar und die herzogliche Familie schwer heimgesucht worden. Erst nach dem Frieden von Tilsit im Herbst 1807 wurde die Familie wieder vereinigt. Zur Wiedereröffnung des Weimarer Theaters hatte Goethe es übernommen, ein Festspiel zu dichten. In der ersten Szene werden die Schrecken des Krieges geschildert, dann erscheint mit dem Frieden die Majestät und weist einen jeden an die Arbeit:

"nicht der König  
hat das Vorrecht; allen ist's verliehen.  
Wer das Rechte kann, der soll es wollen;  
Wer das Rechte will, der soll es können,  
Und ein jeder kann's, der sich bescheidet,  
Schöpfer seines Glücks zu sein im Kleinen . . . .  
Fromm erflehet Segen euch von oben;  
Aber Hilfe schafft euch tätig wirkend selber!"

Und weiter lässt Goethe die Majestät sagen:

"Dieses Tun, das einzig schätzenswerte,  
Das hervordringt aus dem eignen Busen,  
Das sich selbst bewegt und seines Kreises

<sup>4</sup> Scherer, W., Aufsätze über Goethe, 2. Aufl., Berlin 1900, S. 271.

<sup>5</sup> Winter, F. G., Goethes deutsche Gesinnung (Diss.), Leipzig 1880, S. 68-69.

Holden Spielraum wiederkehrend ausfüllt,  
 Lob' ich höchstens: denn es zu belohnen  
 Bin ich selbst nicht mächtig g'nung; es lohnt sich  
 Jeder selbst, der sich im stillen Hausraum  
 Wohl befeissigt übernommenen Tagwerks,  
 Freudig das Begonnene vollendet.  
 Gern und ehrenhaft mag er zu andern  
 Öffentlich sich fügen, nützlich werden,  
 Nun dem Allgemeinen weisslich ratend  
 Wie er sich beriet und seine Liebsten.  
 Also wer dem Hause trefflich vorsteht,  
 Bildet sich und macht sich wert, mit andern  
 Dem gemeinen Wesen vorzustehen.  
 Er ist Patriot, und seine Tugend  
 Dringt hervor und bildet ihresgleichen,  
 Schliesst sich an die Reihen Gleichgesinnter.  
 Jeder fühlt es, jeder hats erfahren:  
 Was dem Einen frommt, das frommet Allen."

In diesen Worten hat Goethe seine Überzeugung von dem, was allein in jener trüben Zeit seinen Landsleuten das Heil bringen könne, niedergelegt—das tüchtige Wirken im engsten Kreise. Er selbst war ihnen hierin als Muster und Beispiel vorangegangen.

Einige Monate nach Beendigung dieses Vorspiels begann er ein Festspiel, dem er den Titel "Pandora" verlieh; in seinen Tagebüchern nennt er es "Pandora's Wiederkunft." Der äussere Anlass dazu war die Aufforderung, für die neugegründete Wiener Zeitschrift "Prometheus" einen Beitrag zu liefern. An Hand der Tagebücher lässt sich die Arbeit an der Pandora leicht verfolgen. Sie erstreckt sich vom 19. Nov. 1807 bis zum 27. Mai 1808.

Am 15. Juni geht das Manuskript dann ab nach Wien, wo das Vorspiel die Zeitschrift eröffnet. An Form und Inhalt ist Pandora dem Weimarer Vorspiel nah verwandt. Dort preisst Goethe die Arbeit im kleinen Kreise, hier weist er hin auf die unzerstörbaren Güter, die Kunst und Wissenschaft uns beschützen. Auf der Erde leben die Titanen Prometheus und Epimetheus, ein ungleiches Brüderpaar. Prometheus ist der Mann der Tat. er ist umgeben von Kriegern, Schmieden, Hirten, Menschen, die nützen. Mit dem Feuer, das er raubte, hat er seinen Getreuen Künste und Handfertigkeiten gelehrt und sie zu einer gewissen materiellen Kultur herangeführt. Aber seine

Tätigkeit ist nur auf den Nutzen gerichtet. Er ist ein gefühlloser Realist, der die höheren Güter des Lebens nicht kennt, Er und seine Ergebenen leben im Alltag dahin. Zu ihm war einst eine mit allen Gaben prachtvoll ausgestattete Göttin, Pandora, herabgestiegen. Unwirrsch wies er sie von sich. aber sein Bruder, Epimetheus, der Nachsinnende, nahm sie auf. Ihm schenkte sie zwei Töchter. Er ist aber nicht im Stande, sie an sich zu fesseln, daher verlässt sie ihn wieder und nimmt ihre Tochter Elpore, die Hoffnung, mit, die andere aber, Epimeleia, die sinnende Fürsorge, lässt sie ihm. Nachts im Traum erscheint Elpore ihrem Vater und verkündet ihm Pandoras Wiederkunft. Als Mitgift bringt sie ihm ein irdenes Gefäß, dem liebliche Luftgebilde entschwebten. Die Menge hascht nach ihnen, aber erreicht sie nie. Als unerfüllte Sehnsucht schweben sie über dem Volke. Mit dem Anbruche des Tages, an dem Pandora wiederkehrt, schliesst das Stück. Für den weiteren Verlauf der Handlung sind wir auf das Schema verwiesen.

Wie Pandora bei ihrem ersten Erscheinen auf der Erde ein irdenes Gefäß mit sich brachte, so geht ihr jetzt eine geheimnisvolle Lade, die Kypsele, voran. Schon von weitem sieht man sie kommen. Prometheus, der allem Göttlichen feind ist, will sie vergraben; die Krieger wollen sie zerschlagen und den Inhalt rauben; die Schmiede wollen sie stückweise auseinandernehmen, um daran zu lernen. Da erscheint Pandora und paralisirt die Gewaltsamen. Ihre Anhänger sind sie friedliebenden Fischer, Winzer, Ackerleute und Hirten. Ihnen bringt sie Himmelsgaben: Glück, Bequemlichkeit, Frömmigkeit, den Ruhetag nach schwerer Arbeit, den Sabbath und das Geheimnis der Schönheit. Alle Menschen halten jetzt zu ihr, nur Prometheus nicht. Dann schlägt sich die Lade auf, wir blicken in einen Tempel und sehen Dämonen von Kunst und Wissenschaft darin. Schnell deckt ein Vorhang das Innere wieder zu. Der Tempel aber ist eine Gabe, die Pandora nun den Menschen für immer zurücklässt.'

In den Tempel der Kunst und Wissenschaft, so verkündet Goethe in seiner "Pandora," sollen seine Landsleute sich flüchten, da ihr Reich in der wirklichen Welt zertrümmert am Boden liegt. "Er bewies sich auch hier," sagt Wilamowitz-

Moellendorff,<sup>6</sup> "als der Lehrer seines Volkes, indem er den Verlust menschlich und männlich übernahm und den Weg in Regionen wies, wo das Gegenwärtige, Momentane, Räumlich-beschränkte verblasst und verschwindet vor dem Ewigen. Das Priestertum von Kunst und Wissenschaft gehört nur äusserlich in ein Reich, das ein Napoleon zerschlagen und ein Franz aufgeben kann." So hoch Macht, Besitz und Reichtum auch zu schätzen sind, den höchsten und letzten Wert haben sie dennoch nicht, den können dem Menschen nur Kunst und Wissenschaft verleihen.

Was Goethe in diesen Spielen seinem Volke ans Herz legen wollte, ist recht bezeichnend, ich möchte sagen, symbolisch für ihn. Bei allen Schicksalsschlägen, Todesfällen und dgl. kannte er nur ein Mittel, sich aufrecht zu halten, und das war, die sich selbst und andere fördernde Arbeit in der Kunst und Wissenschaft. Er schien in der ersten Zeit nach der Katastrophe von Jena den tiefen inneren Zusammenbruch, den das deutsche Volk hier erlitten hatte, nicht recht empfunden zu haben. Wichtig und fördernd wie die Arbeit, das Wirken im engeren Kreise, auch war, so genügte es doch nicht, den inneren Aufbau herbeizuführen. Dass Goethe dies auch bald erkannte, werden wir aus dem Folgenden sehen.

## II

Während er in Karlsbad weilte, erhielt Goethe am 7. August 1808 von dem Philosophen Niethammer in München, mit dem er schon von Jena aus befreundet war, einen Brief und einen Vortrag, den Niethammer im bayrischen Staatsministerium des Innern gehalten hatte. Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer (1766-1848) gehörte mit zu den Männern, die Jena gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts zum Mittelpunkt des deutschen Geisteslebens gemacht hatten. Er lehrte zuerst Philosophie und dann Theologie an der Universität. Als Philosoph schloss er sich Fichte an. Mit Goethe wurde er im Jahre 1795, als dieser in Jena weilte und bei ihm förmlich einen halbjährlichen Kursus in der Philosophie nahm, näher befreundet.<sup>7</sup> Im Herbst 1803 nahm er einen Ruf als Professor der Theologie an die Univer-

<sup>6</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *U. v. Goethes Pandora*. Goethe-Jahrbuch, Bd. 19, 1898, S. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. A.D.B., Bd. 23, S. 690.

sität Würzburg an, von hier wurde er von dem bayrischen Minister Montgelas als Zentralschulrat und Oberkirchenrat nach München berufen, wo er den Auftrag erhielt, einen neuen Lehrplan für die Gymnasien auszuarbeiten.

Der erwähnte Brief nun enthielt im Auftrage der bayrischen Regierung eine Anfrage bei Goethe, ob er geneigt sei, die Arbeit zu übernehmen, worüber Niethammer sich im Vortrag des Längeren verbreitet. Es handelt sich da um die Herausgabe eines Volks- und Nationalbuches. Am folgenden Tage bestätigt Goethe den Empfang der sehr erfreulichen Mitteilung und beilegt sich, diese sogleich anzuzeigen, um sich von dem Verdacht zu befreien, er könne einen so ehrenvollen Antrag gleichgiltig aufnehmen und nachlässig behandeln. Die nächsten ruhigen Stunden will er anwenden, diese wichtige Sache zu überdenken, und in der Tat enthält sein Tagebuch in der Zeit vom 7. bis 19. August fast täglich Aufzeichnungen über diesen Gegenstand. So am 7., Gedanken über Volksbücher überhaupt, am 8., Gedanken über ein allgemeines deutsches Volksbuch schematisiert, am 9., Über eine lyrische Sammlung für das deutsche Volk, am 13., Über die lyrische Sammlung, am 18., Den Erlass nach München und sonstiges durchgedacht, und am 19., Den Aufsatz nach München expediert. Einige Briefe. An Niethammer. Goethe schien zwei Werke ins Auge gefasst zu haben, ein Volksbuch historisch-religiösen Inhalts und eine allgemeine Lieder- oder Gedichtssammlung. In seinem Tagebuche zum 13. September nennt er sie eine Liederbibel.

Niethammers Vortrag<sup>8</sup> führt den Titel "Das Bedürfnis eines Nationalbuches, als Grundlage der allgemeinen Bildung der Nation betr." In ihm beklagt er zunächst den Mangel an Kunstgeschmack unter den Deutschen und insbesondere das Fehlen des sicheren Taktes, der mit einer fast unfehlbaren Sicherheit das Klassische in der Literatur entdeckt. Dass dem so ist, geht schon aus dem grossen Ansehen hervor, das die minderwertigen Schriftsteller geniessen, während die Klassiker entweder recht kalt aufgenommen oder sehr zurückhaltend gelobt werden. Auffallend ist diese Erscheinung, da es dem Deutschen im Allgemeinen weder an Kunstsinn noch an Kunstliebe fehlt. Den Grund dafür sieht Niethammer in dem Umstand, dass die Deutschen ihre klassischen Schriftsteller zu wenig achten, weil

<sup>8</sup> S. Goethes Werke, Weimarer Ausgabe, Abt. II, Bd. 42, S. 397 ff.

sie dieselben zu wenig kennen. Die Nachbarvölker haben nicht nur ihre Klassiker, sie studieren sie auch, an ihren Werken unmittelbar und nicht durch ästhetische Theorien bilden die Franzosen, die Engländer und die Italiener ihren Geschmack. Ganz anders ist es bei den Deutschen. Sie haben zwar auch ihre Klassiker, aber sie lesen und studieren sie nicht. Anstatt dessen haschen sie in ihrer Lesewut immer nach dem Neuen und verschlingen gedankenlos Gutes wie Schlechtes. Das Übel wird aber durch den Zustand der Kritik, die eigentlich nur Tadelsucht ist, vergrößert. Der durch eine falsche Kritik hervorgerufene Zustand wird noch durch die Mittel, die zur Abhilfe angewendet werden, verschlimmert. Anstatt den Kunstsinne und das Kunstgefühl durch klassische Werke zu wecken und zu bilden, verfährt man umgekehrt, nach abstrakten Theorien, nach der Ästhetik soll er sich bilden. Nur durch die Bekanntschaft mit einer Auswahl des Vorzüglichsten aus den Werken der Klassiker, durch ein Nationalbuch, ist dem Übel Einhalt zu thun. In der Gestalt eines Nationalbuches ist diese Auswahl unter das Volk zu bringen. Es soll in alle deutschen Schulen eingeführt werden. Die Kinder sollen es auswendig lernen, erst so wird es im Volke lebendig und zum Bestandteil der Bildung des ganzen Volkes und an den Mustern unmittelbar wird sich der Geschmack läutern und bilden. Dies Nationalbuch soll für das deutsche Volk das sein, was einst Homer für die Griechen, oder was die Bibel einmal für einen grossen Teil Deutschlands war—das allgemeine Bildungsmittel. Der Vereinigungspunkt der Bildung aller Stände, der Gebildeten und Ungebildeten, der Hohen und Niederen.

Ein solches Nationalbuch aber lässt sich nicht nach Willkür machen, und einen Homer haben die Deutschen nicht. Aber etwas Analoges, was zum Ersatz dienen könnte, ist doch vorhanden. Es wäre eine Sammlung des Vorzüglichsten der deutschen Klassiker. Eine solche Sammlung aber, die klassisch werden soll, kann nur durch Klassiker selbst erschaffen werden, und dabei kommen für Niethammer nur Goethe und Voss in Betracht. Der eine hat den Deutschen den Homer, der andere ihnen viel Homerisches geschenkt.

Wie hat Goethe diese Volksbücher nun gestalten wollen? Die Schemata zu den beiden Büchern geben uns hierüber Aufschluss. Nehmen wir zuerst das Schema zu dem lyrischen Volks-

buch. Von zwei Gesichtspunkten aus könnte man, meint Goethe, an den Stoff herantreten. Wenn man eine solche Sammlung frei und ohne irgend welche Rücksicht auf einen äusseren Zweck veranstaltete, könnte man sie sich entweder historisch-genetisch denken und dann würden nur solche Gedichte Aufnahme finden können, an denen klar würde, wie sich die einzelnen Dichter ausgebildet haben, teils für sich, teils unter dem Einfluss ihrer Vorgänger; oder man könnte nur etwas Abgeschlossenes, Fertiges bringen. Dabei müssten aber doch die vorangegangenen Entwicklungsstufen berücksichtigt werden, allerdings wäre nur das Beste aus ihnen anzuführen. Hat man aber bei einer solchen Sammlung einen äusseren Zweck, wie hier, den Volksbedarf, die Volksbildung im Auge, dann wird das Unternehmen schwieriger, weil der Bildungsgrad des Volkes berücksichtigt werden muss.

Nachdem Goethe den Begriff Volk als "eine ungebildete, bildungsfähige Menge, ganze Nationen, insofern sie auf den ersten Stufen der Kultur stehen, oder Teile kultivierter Nationen, die untern Volksklassen, Kinder," definiert hat, stellt er drei Fragen, die durch ein solches Volksbuch beantwortet werden müssen. Was bedarf das Volk wohl? Die Antwort lautet ein Höheres, aber seinem Zustande Analoges. Damit soll gesagt werden, dass der Inhalt dem Volke Besseres und Höheres bieten muss, als es bereits besitzt, doch darf er nicht dem Verstande und dem Fassungsvermögen desselben zu weit überlegen sein. Was wirkt auf das Volk? Der tüchtige Gehalt mehr als die Form. Was ist an dem Volke zu bilden wünschenswert? Der Charakter nicht der Geschmack. Die beiden letzten Antworten sind für Goethes Auffassung von dem Unternehmen bezeichnend. Der tüchtige Inhalt ist ihm das Erste. Aus ihm wird sich die Form von selbst ergeben. Und der Charakter des Einzelnen ist ihm wichtiger als dessen Geschmack. In einem Buche, das vorzüglich der Volksbildung dienen soll, stehen der tüchtige Gehalt und die Charakterbildung an erster Stelle. Es ist wichtig, dies hervorzuheben, da Goethe so oft hingestellt wird, als habe er das Aesthetische über alles geschätzt.

In eine solche Sammlung würde manches aufgenommen werden müssen, meint Goethe, das wohl die Fassungskraft des Volkes überstiege. Es soll etwas Unerreichbares über sich sehen und verehren und achten lernen, auch wo es nicht be-

greift. Wir wissen, wie hoch Goethe die Ehrfurcht und das Verehren schätzte. Nur wenige aus dem Volke können aber auf diese höchste Kulturstufe herangelockt werden. Dann würde es ein Mittleres geben, das wäre dasjenige, wozu man das Volk bilden wollte und was es nach und nach in sich aufnehmen soll. Das Untere aber ist das, was ihm schon gemäss ist, was es befriedigt und anlockt.

Der Inhalt ist nach Rubriken zu ordnen. An erster Stelle stünde das Hohe und Ideelle, Gedichte über Gott, Unsterblichkeit, höhere Sehnsucht und Liebe kämen zuerst, dann Lieder, die abstraktere, mehr begriffliche Themata, wie Sitte, Tugend, Sittlichkeit, Anhänglichkeit an Familie und Vaterland behandelten. Die Grenze zwischen den Gedichten der ersten und zweiten Rubrik ist allerdings keine sehr scharfe. Diese Lieder dürften jedoch nicht didaktisch im engeren Sinne sein, sondern müssten das Gemüt und das Gefühl ansprechen. Goethe wollte kein blosses Lehrbuch schreiben. Auf diese mehr abstrakten Gedichte, folgten dann solche konkreteren Inhalts. Die Phantasie würde durch Gedichte, die Begebenheiten des täglichen Lebens, Mythen, Legenden und Fabeln zum Gegenstand haben, erregt. Der Sinnlichkeit würde durch naive Scherze. Neckereien, derbe Spässe und durch die Liebe, mit ihrem Wohl und Wehe Genüge getan. Auch das, was sich nicht leicht in die erwähnten Rubriken einreihen lässt, das Geistreiche. Witzige und Anmutige, dürfte nicht fehlen. Kein Gegenstand wäre auszuschliessen. Wenn man mit einer Ode an Gott oder an die Sonne anfinke, so dürfte man mit Studenten- und Handwerksliedern, ja mit einem Spottgedicht endigen. Nur die Extreme, wie das Abstruse, das Flache, das Freche, das Lüsterne müssten vermieden werden. Alle poetischen Formen müssten vertreten sein, der echt deutsche Knittelvers, sowohl wie die künstlichsten Sonnetten und Terzinen.

Nach den Angaben des Schemas würden die Gedichte, hauptsächlich der letzten Rubriken, das Gepräge des Volksliedes tragen, ganz nach dem Begriff des Volksliedes, wie Goethe ihn von Herder übernahm. Kraft, Stärke, Natürlichkeit und eine gesunde Sinnlichkeit müssten ihre Hauptmerkmale sein.

Da keine moderne Nation Anspruch auf absolute Originalität machen kann, so darf neben dem Eigenen, d. h. Deutschen, auch Fremdes in die Sammlung aufgenommen werden.



Wie die deutsche Poesie ist wohl keine andere, was sowohl Form als Inhalt betrifft, von Fremden beeinflusst worden. Durch Übersetzung und innigere Behandlung ist aber das fremde Gut zu deutschem Eigentum geworden. Da das Buch ja auch für Kinder bestimmt ist, müsste man ausdrücklich auf die Verdienste fremder Nationen aufmerksam machen. Von so einem freien und weitherzigen Standpunkt aus trat Goethe an das Unternehmen heran! In seiner äusseren Form soll das Buch einen Oktav-Band ausmachen, es soll schon durch seine Masse imponieren und so dem Broschüren- und Zeitungswesen entgegen treten.

Das Schema zu dem Volksbuch historisch-religiösen Inhalts besteht leider zum grossen Teil aus Stichwörtern, die an verschiedenen Stellen wiederkehren, und deren Sinn und Bedeutung schwer zu erraten ist. Doch lassen sich gewisse Grundzüge erkennen, die ich hervorzuheben hoffe. In vieler Hinsicht deckt es sich mit dem Vorhergegangenen. Auch hier wird das Charakterbildende betont. Der tüchtige Gehalt allein wirkt auf die Menge, sie interessiert sich nur für den Stoff, die Form und die Behandlung ist ihr gleichgiltig, doch wäre eine höchst naive die geeignetste. Der Zweck ist hier, wie im lyrischen Volksbuch, auf den Charakter zu wirken, nicht auf den Geschmack. Der Charakter wird von dem Tüchtigen angezogen, es stählt ihn. Er äussert sich, nach Goethe, in der Fähigkeit zu wirken, gegenzuwirken, und was mehr ist, sich zu beschränken, zu dulden und zu ertragen. Er dringt überall in die Tiefe, während der Geschmack ohne Charakter sich an der Oberfläche, an der Erscheinung hält. Den Hauptzug des Charakterlosen erblickt er im Mangel an Gerechtigkeit im Urteil.

Der Inhalt soll die ganze Weltgeschichte umfassen, aber alles in Auszügen, in Symbolen; der ungeheure Stoff verschwindet, sobald man das Beste herausnimmt. Das Tüchtige, das Kernhafte, "das Bedeutendste vom Bedeutenden" soll Aufnahme finden. Wie es Niethammer in seinem Vortrage verlangte, soll das Buch allen Volksklassen gemäss sein und auf alle unterrichtend wirken. Dem Volke soll Gelegenheit geboten werden, die Tiefen der menschlichen Natur und der menschlichen Schicksale an den grossen Männern der Geschichte kennen zu lernen. Das Charakteristische der antiken Menschen erblickt Goethe in der leidenschaftlichen Tat oder Handlung,

die ungeheure Folgen nach sich wälzt. Die neueste Zeit schmeichelt der Schwächlichkeit und äussert sich in schwankendem Wollen. Von beiden soll im Volksbuch keine Spur sein. Für die höchste Art eines Volksbuches hält Goethe die Bibel. Unsere gesamte neuere Kultur entstammt ihr, sie ist das eingreifendste Buch der neueren Zeit und wirkt heute noch fort.

Für Goethe ist das Christentum ein zurückgedrängtes Martyrtum, dessen Haupteigenschaften Duldung und Resignation sind. Das Tüchtige und die individuellen Tugenden, die durch dasselbe in die Welt gekommen sind, sollen aufgesucht und ihr Einfluss auf die Kultur gezeigt werden. Dies Buch soll das ganze Gebiet des Menschlichen, vom Heiligen bis zum Fratzenhaften, darstellen. Nicht nur die Taten der grossen Männer der altchristlichen Zeit und der Kirchenväter, sondern auch die Narrenstreiche des Till Eulenspiegel und der Hofnarren werden erzählt. Bis zum Auftreten der Deutschen in der Geschichte werden die Taten und Hauptbegebenheiten im Leben der älteren Völker flüchtig skizziert, dann aber dient die deutsche Geschichte dem Buch als Faden und Symbol. In diesem Volksbuch soll das deutsche Volk auch auf seine Vergangenheit aufmerksam gemacht werden, daher wird Tacitus ganz oder im Auszuge an den Anfang gestellt. Die Geschichte Kaiser Karls des Grossen in ihrer historischen und in ihrer legendarischen Gestalt, die Taten einzelner bedeutender Kaiser und Fürsten sollen dargestellt werden. Die Einwirkung, die von den grossen Männern der Kirche ausging, von den Aposteln der verschiedenen Provinzen, wie Bonifazius und Winfred, bis auf Luther, soll auch geschildert werden. Die Chroniken der einzelnen Provinzen und Länder (Tschudi, Aventin), Reisebeschreibungen, bedeutende Anekdoten und interessante Ereignisse oder Fälle, die für den Geist der Zeit oder des Landes bezeichnend waren, werden auch herangezogen. Die Zeit der Reformation und der Bauernkriege wird durch die Selbstdarstellung berühmter Männer, die daran teilnahmen, veranschaulicht. Aus der Literatur der ältesten Zeit dürfen selbstverständlich das Nibelungenlied und die nordischen Mythen nicht fehlen. Auf die herrliche Vergangenheit Deutschlands auf dem Gebiete des Handels will Goethe auch die Aufmerksamkeit seiner Landsleute lenken; dazu dient ihm die Geschichte der grossen Handelsstädte im Süden, Augsburg, Ulm, Nürnberg

und der mächtigen und reichen Hansastädte im Norden. Der Einfluss, den die grossen Entdeckungen des 15. Jahrhunderts auf die Geschichte Deutschlands ausübten, wird auch betont, und gezeigt, wie einerseits deutsche Fähigkeiten und Talente dadurch geweckt wurden, wie andererseits aber auch der Deutsche verlor, als die Welt sich ins Weitere auftat, d. h., es gelingt ihm nicht, wie Spanien, Frankreich und England, sich Land zu erwerben, Kolonien zu gründen und seinen Handel auszudehnen.

Die Verdienste der Deutschen um Kunst und Wissenschaft, einerlei ob selbständig oder unter fremdem Einfluss, sollen hervorgehoben werden, und die Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts und die neuere deutsche Literatur kommen auch in den Bannkreis des Buches. Die französische Revolution in ihrer Entstehung, ihrem Verlauf und in ihren Folgen für das übrige Europa soll einen besonderen Abschnitt des Buches bilden.

Was ist nun Goethes Absicht in diesen Volksbüchern gewesen? Ich glaube zunächst ganz allgemein sagen zu dürfen, erzieherisch auf das Volk zu wirken. Wir sahen, wie er in der "Pandora" auf den unzerstörbaren Wert von Kunst und Wissenschaft und in dem Festspiel zur Wiedereröffnung des Weimarer Theaters auf die Arbeit und das Wirken im engen Kreise hinwies. Bald sah er aber ein, dass dies nicht genügte. Mit den besten Geistern seiner Zeit war es ihm klar geworden, dass das deutsche Volk nur durch eine innere Wiedergeburt sich aus dem tiefen Zusammenbruch, den es bei Jena erlitten hatte, aufraffen könne. Es galt jetzt, ein neues Geschlecht von starken, charaktervollen Menschen zu erziehen. Ich brauche hierbei nur an Fichte zu erinnern, dessen "Reden an die deutsche Nation" schliesslich keinen andern Zweck hatten, als den Weg zu dieser Wiedergeburt—durch eine neue Erziehung—bahnen zu helfen. Goethe wollte in den Volksbüchern einen ähnlichen Weg einschlagen. Ich habe darauf hingewiesen, wie er in den Schematen immer das Hauptgewicht auf den tüchtigen Gehalt, auf das, was den Charakter bildet, auf den Charakter selbst legte. Die Form und der Geschmack, die in schwächeren Zeiten von einem seichten Ästhetentum so hoch gepriesen werden, kommen erst an zweiter Stelle in Betracht. Im Volksbuch historischen Inhalts bekundet sich weiter Goethes Bestreben, den Sinn des Volkes auf seine ruhmreiche Vergangenheit zu lenken, damit es sich daran aufrichte und neue Kraft und neuen Mut gewinne.

Obwohl die Angelegenheit mit dem Volksbuche Goethe sehr am Herzen lag, und von ihm und teilnehmenden Freunden oft und anhaltend bedacht und überlegt wurde,<sup>9</sup> so ist die Arbeit an demselben doch nie über das Schema hinausgediehen. Das warme und lebendige Interesse aber, mit dem Goethe den Antrag der bayrischen Regierung aufnahm, zeugt von seiner deutschen Gesinnung. Trug er sich doch gerade im Jahre 1808, zur Zeit des Erfurter Kongresses, da Napoleon in Erfurt weilte und auf alle, die sich ihm näherten, und auch auf Goethe, einen gewaltigen Eindruck machte, mit dem Gedanken auf den Winter 1808-1809 nach Weimar einen Kongress der bedeutendsten Männer Deutschlands einzuberufen, die sich über Angelegenheiten der deutschen Kultur beraten sollten. Dazu gehörte Mut und eine tüchtige, über allen Zweifel erhabene deutsche Gesinnung! Sollte es möglich sein, diesen Plan mit dem Volksbuch in Verbindung zu setzen?<sup>10</sup>

Goethes Interesse an der deutschen Vergangenheit ist auch in den folgenden Jahren recht rege. Durch Zacharias Werner wird er im August 1809 auf die deutschen Altertümer der Stadt Köln, hauptsächlich auf die Gemälde der altdeutschen Schule aufmerksam gemacht; im Jahre darauf lernt er Boisséré, den Vorkämpfer für den Kölner Dombau kennen. (Vgl. Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft. XIV, S. 41 und 321). Gesehen hat Goethe diese Schätze aber erst auf der Rheinreise, die er vom 25. bis 29. Juli 1815 mit dem Freiherrn vom Stein machte, und die sein Interesse an der deutschen Vergangenheit erweiterte und vertiefte. Ihm wurde jetzt bewusst, wie viel er, durch das unselige Kriegs- und Knechtschaftswesen auf einen kleinen Teil des Vaterlandes eingeschränkt, für seine Bildung vermisst hatte. Dem Freiherrn vom Stein aber schrieb er am 10. August 1815: "Da mir das Glück nicht geworden Ew. Exzellenz am hiesigen Orte meine Verehrung zu bezeigen; so eile schriftlich für die genussvollen und lehrreichen Tage gehorsamst zu danken, deren Sie mich mit so viel Güte teilhaft gemacht. Ich finde mir eine neue Ansicht des Lebens und der Erkenntnis eröffnet, indem ich durch dero Vertrauen hellere Blicke in die uns zunächst umgebende moralische und politische Welt richten, so wie eine freiere Übersicht über Fluss und Landegenden gewinnen

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Brief an Niethammer vom 7. April 1809.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. Goethe-Jahrbuch, Bd. 6, S. 116-117.

konnte." Die Frucht dieser Reise hat Goethe in der Schrift, "Über Kunst und Altertum in den Rhein- und Main-Gegenden," niedergelegt.

Als der Freiherr vom Stein am 20. Januar 1819 in Frankfurt "die Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde stiftete, wurde Goethe auf dessen Veranlassung hin zum Ehrenmitgliede der Gesellschaft ernannt. Dies geschah in seiner Vaterstadt bei der Feier seines 70. Geburtstags. Am 5. Oktober 1819 entrichtet er der Gesellschaft seinen Dank für die ihm erwiesene Auszeichnung. Eine Stelle in diesem Dankbrief lautet: "Waren meine dichterischen und sonstigen Arbeiten zwar immer dem nächsten und gegenwärtigsten Leben gewidmet; so hätten sie doch nicht gedeihen können ohne ernsten Hinblick auf die Vorzeit. In diesem Betracht darf ich wohl mich der erwiesenen Gunst bescheiden dankbar erfreuen und die Hoffnung nähren zu jenen herrlichen vaterländischen Zwecken einigermassen mitzuwirken."<sup>11</sup> Sein Interesse an der Gesellschaft blieb kein rein akademisches. Er beteiligte sich auch alsbald an ihren Arbeiten. Zunächst beschäftigten ihn historisch-antiquarische Fragen. Seine volle Sympathie aber brachte er der Beschreibung der in Jena und Weimar befindlichen Handschriften deutscher Geschichtsquellen entgegen. Er selbst arbeitete hierfür ein Schema aus, das noch heute verdiente manchem Handschriften-cataloge als Muster vorgehalten zu werden. Er hat dann auch nach demselben zwei Handschriften beschrieben.<sup>12</sup>

Wenn Goethes Interesse für diese Gesellschaft mit der Zeit erlahmte, so lag dies an gewissen äusseren Gründen. Inzwischen war nämlich über eine von ihm selbst angeregte historisch-antiquarische Frage, ein Streit der Meinungen entstanden. In dem bekannten langen Gespräch mit Professor Luden am 19. August 1806 hatte er die Ansicht ausgesprochen, dass nichts in der Geschichte über allem Zweifel erhaben sei, alles vielmehr ungewiss, das Grösste wie das Kleinste. Hier fand er nun die Bestätigung jener Ansicht. Öffentlich hat Goethe sich nicht weiter über die Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde

<sup>11</sup> Brief an die Centralkirection der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. Schüddekopf Carl, Goethe und die Monumenta Germaniae. Goethe-Jahrbuch, Bd. 21 S. 75 ff.

vernehmen lassen. Mit ihrem Gründer aber blieb er in freundschaftlichem Verkehr, besuchte ihn doch Stein mit seiner Tochter Therese im Mai 1827. Die aktive Teilnahme aber, die Goethe an der Arbeit der Gesellschaft eine Zeit lang nahm, ist ein weiteres Zeugnis für seine deutsche Gesinnung und für sein Interesse an der deutschen Vergangenheit.

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## SIXTEENTH CENTURY DEFINITIONS OF THE GENTLEMAN IN ENGLAND

Like every other term which covers an accumulated array of abstractions, gentleman has teased men to attempt definition and at the same time has eluded them; far easier is it to recognize a gentleman than to say what makes one. Sixteenth century England was particularly interested in the problem, for those who lacked the title were busy trying to acquire it, and those who had it were anxious to resist encroachment, but the sixteenth century was no more successful than its predecessors in arriving at a complete, unambiguous, and generally acceptable definition. The methods of the renaissance scholars to begin with doomed their efforts to failure, for they made little attempt to approach the subject from a fresh point of view, but accepted the accumulations of the past, drawing indiscriminately from the laws, the ancients, the church fathers, and the poets, and likewise from the prolific treatises of contemporary Italy and France. If what Plato, Cicero, Justinian, Thomas Aquinas, Dante, and every commentator and interpreter of renaissance Italy and France have to say on nobility must be worked somehow into the conception of the true gentleman, no reasonable, consistent, clear result is possible.

The vocabulary which they had to employ was time-worn also and contributed to the confusion. Nobility, gentility, and generosity, which currently passed for synonyms, were felt to mean different things, but there was no agreement upon the differences.<sup>1</sup> Up to the middle of the century nobility was the general word employed to signify the status of a man who stood above the common crowd through the possession of special rights, privileges and powers, conferred either by the king or by noble descent. All who ranked above plebeians therefore were called noble. By the end of the century, however, common usage restricted noble to the upper ranks, that is, of baron and above, and thus associated it with titles rather than

<sup>1</sup> Robert Glover, *Catalogue of Honour*, trans. Thomas Milles, London, 1610, "Of the first Roman Nobility."

with qualities either of birth or person. Gentility, or gentry, by this time had taken the place of nobility as the general term to mark the distinction between high and low.<sup>2</sup> But it was also used for the lowest order above the plebeian, and therefore as the foundation upon which all the other orders are built, it is differentiated from nobility as an inner and inherited quality which distinguishes all who have it from plebeians, and of which nobility with its titles is the outward sign.<sup>3</sup> The simple gentleman, the lord, and the prince all prided themselves first of all on being gentlemen.<sup>4</sup> Nobility and gentility might therefore in reality not mean the same thing, since kings in their wisdom sometimes saw fit to confer high rank not only on the base-born but on wicked and worthless men, and hence arose the often repeated boast, "The king cannot make a gentleman." Blurred as class lines became during the sixteenth century, and new as many of England's prominent families were, the idea that gentility meant fundamentally gentle birth is never lost. Sir Thomas Smith might admit gentlemen made "good cheap" to the title, but he defined gentlemen as those whom their blood and race "doth make noble and knowne."<sup>5</sup> The other term generosity, when differentiated from nobility, had reference like gentility to personal qualities rather than dignities and honors, and when differentiated from gentility to merit rather than birth.<sup>6</sup> But even in the midst of definitions writers "wittingly confound"<sup>7</sup> the three terms, and leave them with little more value than synonyms.

<sup>2</sup> John Selden, *Titles of Honor*, London, 1614, Preface. See also the edition of 1631, pt. II, chap. VIII, (p. 716 of the ed. of 1672), where Selden translates *nobilitas* gentry, and *nobilis* gentleman.

<sup>3</sup> See Annibale Romei, *The Courtiers' Academy*, London, 1597, "Of Nobility"; and Andreas Tiraquellus, *De Nobilitate*, Leyden, 1573, cap. II.

<sup>4</sup> Mulcaster says, "Truth being the private protest of a gentleman, honour of a nobleman, fayth of a Prince, yet generally they do all ioine in this, as they be true gentlemen." *Positions*, rep. London, 1888, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> *The Commonwealth of England*, London, 1612, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Selden, op. cit., 1672, p. 709; Abraham Fraunce, *Insignium . . . explicatio*, London, 1588, beginning of Bk. II, "*Nobile id est quod ex bono genere profectum est, generosum, quod e sua natura non degenerat.*"

<sup>7</sup> For example, John Ferne, *The Blason of Gentry*, London, 1586, p. 5; Mulcaster, op. cit. p. 198; Lawrence Humfrey, who urges the new nobles to study their book in order "to ioyne and purchase aunciente Noblesse, to this theyr newe gentry," *The Nobles*, London, 1563, Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.



Such were the difficulties imposed on sixteenth century definers of nobility by the dead weight of authority and the confusion of terms, and out of them arise the difficulties of the student of today who would learn what the much bandied word gentleman meant to the educated Englishman of the renaissance. So much that is quoted is quoted perfunctorily, so much that is said is said ambiguously, that what follows must be taken purely tentatively. On no other subject is it less safe to be dogmatic.

Out of the double meanings that nobility with its synonyms were made to bear arose its classification by the medievalists into three kinds: Christian or theological, natural or philosophical, and civil or political. The first, Christian nobility, is given by God to the elect and is therefore the highest kind and most to be desired; but since it falls inscrutably upon some whom the world dishonors, slaves for instance, and not upon all whom it honors, it must be left to God. Thus a ready answer was found for those who tried to use this kind of nobility as an argument against the recognition of ranks in society. The second, natural nobility, comes through perfection of nature, and belongs to all things animate and inanimate, according as they perform their functions properly. The peculiar function of man is to live according to reason, that is to be virtuous; but so difficult is this of achievement that this kind of nobility belongs only to philosophers to understand. Thus were answered those who would deny nobility and therefore obedience to wicked men, tyrants. The third, civil nobility, comes from honors bestowed by princes, and can therefore be discussed by everybody, learned and unlearned.<sup>8</sup> Renaissance writers often begin with this classification and sometimes attempt to use it as the basis of their discussion, but usually they abandon it without ceremony, after paying their respects to it, or like Muzio finally give up in despair and leave the task to their readers. "Fit what I say in my confused discourse," says Muzio, "to whichever sort it belongs."<sup>9</sup>

The third, as a matter of fact, is all that we need to concern ourselves with here since by the generally accepted definition it includes all the variants of human nobility, whether it arises

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Upton, *De Studio Militari*, London, 1654, (written c. 1447), Lib. I, Cap. XIX; Selden, op. cit., 1614, Preface.

<sup>9</sup> Girolamo Muzio, *Il Gentiluomo*, Venice, 1575, p. 114.

from birth, virtue, learning, office, or honors bestowed by the king. So Milles, as he says, "aiming to redeem so fair a subject from the wandering Ideas of discoursing philosophers and contemplative divines," defines civil nobility as "a dignity bestowed by sovereign grace upon persons of virtue or ability, for life or forever, whereby a man exempted and raised by degrees, becomes lawfully preferred above the vulgar people, the better to do service to the king and commonwealth."<sup>10</sup> This civil nobility was usually considered to be of two sorts, derived either by direct acquisition from the prince, and then called nobility dative, or by descent from noble ancestors and then called nobility native.<sup>11</sup> It will help to keep the distinction.

Nobility native is the most obvious and most desirable kind of nobility. Among the common people the name of an old house coupled with a lordly air and a velvet cloak constitutes the chief claim to the title of gentleman; and though, as Bodin remarked, "It is one thing to reason of degrees in the assembly of wise men and another thing to do it in the presence of the vulgar sort and scum of people," even in the assembly of wise men of the sixteenth century descent from an ancient and noble house is to be accounted "a blessing to thank God for." The presumption at least is always in favor of the gentleman-born; he achieves in a moment what the base-born must labor years to attain, for he has opportunity, expectation of success, and all the assistance that his position, connections with the powerful and reverence from his inferiors can give.<sup>12</sup> The truly noble of course follow in the footsteps of their illustrious ancestors, but as Sir Thomas Smith says, "If they doe not, yet the fame and wealth of their ancestors serve to cover them so long as it can, as a thing once gilted though it be copper within, till the gilt be worne away."<sup>13</sup>

Other reasons for valuing gentle birth, however, bear great weight with the true gentleman. Aristotle taught that those sprung of better stock are likely to be better men, inheriting an inclination to do well and shun evil.<sup>14</sup> Experience shows that

<sup>10</sup> His Peroration to his translation of Glover, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> Glover, op. cit., "To the learned and modest reader."

<sup>12</sup> Hoby's Castiglione, Tudor Trans., p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> Op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> *Politics*, Jowett's trans., p. 91.

men, like animals, birds, and trees, produce their kind; from one house proceed virtuous, brave, wise men, from another the opposite. Bad education, it was admitted, and free will to choose between virtue and vice may give a worthless son to an excellent father, but to begin with, such a son inherits an inclination to virtue, the manners and high spirit of his ancestors, and their ability for the tasks that fall to gentlemen, government and leadership in war.<sup>15</sup> The son of the ignoble man, on the other hand, inherits a disposition to vice, skill in low and mechanic arts, and a servile and mercenary spirit, and even if he turns to virtuous ways and performs worthy deeds, he is not actuated by the disinterested love of virtue which inspires the gentleman, but by desire for gain, perhaps even by fear.<sup>16</sup> The more ancient nobility is, therefore, the purer it is, as having bred into a man all the accumulated impulse toward virtue of a long line of illustrious ancestors, and bred out of him every lingering inclination toward the baseness of obscure progenitors. But it is only *inclination* to virtue, not virtue itself, that is inherited. Therefore if a man has only the good name of his ancestors to boast of, he has nothing that is really his.

Besides the advantage of inheritance, the nobly-born has a better education, from his cradle up surrounded by gentle influences and honorable men, so that there is produced a harmony between birth and virtue. Greater than either of these advantages is the spur to noble actions which comes from a long line of ancestors whose valorous deeds and wisdom in high counsels have filled the pages of history. Example is more powerful than blood, than education, and desire to prove worthy of the past pricks the noble spirit on to emulation. Such a spur the base-born lack, nor can their virtuous deeds shine so graciously against their dark and obscure background. A diamond in a splendid setting shines so much the more fair.

For certes, the landes, renown and worthy fame,  
And noble enterprises of your olde progenitours,  
Are left as bright sparkles yong mindes to inflame,

<sup>15</sup> Mulcaster, op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>16</sup> Paris de Puteo, *De Re Militari*, 1509, Bk. VII, cap. I, *De Origine Nobilitatis*, 1475 (?), "De nobilitate fidelum honoranda"; Bonus de Curtili, *Tractatus Nobilitatis*, pt. 2; Romei, op. cit., "Nobility"; Francis Markham, *The Book of Honour*, London, 1625, Decade II, Epistle II.

And as sede provoking their minds to honours,  
Not by ambition nor by heaping of treasure,  
Nor rentes augmented without lawe or measure,  
But by godly vertue and maners cleare and pure.<sup>17</sup>

Such nobility is to be valued by men, because they thus show gratitude for the noble deeds of the past and give a spur to their continuance, and because such nobility is the main pillar of every well-established community.<sup>18</sup>

This was the generally accepted view in the sixteenth century, based on the assumption that nobility in the first place had been conferred on remote ancestors for their good qualities, and that the descendants of such illustrious men continued to exhibit the qualities which had made their ancestors famous. The greatness of the past is the spur applied by those who saw in the aristocracy the only hope for a well governed country, and who feared its destruction through what they called its degeneration. Philosophers, historians, and reformers all joined in creating a splendid dream of a time in the past when all gentlemen devoted themselves to service of country, eager for high deeds, choosing by instinct and habit to follow the worthy, and shun the unworthy. Whatever basis of truth underlay this fiction of ancient honor and glory and inherited qualities, there were not wanting those whose study of less biased historians, or whose clearer-eyed observation of existing conditions led them to find no essential difference in the substance of the body of the noble from that of the ignoble but rather in the bringing up.<sup>19</sup> The seeds of virtue, they said, are sown in all by the goodness of God, and prove fruitful according to their cultivation. A man well brought up may more easily attain to the nobility of personal excellence than can a man merely well-born, as experience amply proved.

There is an obvious difficulty, however, in insisting upon ancient lineage as a prerequisite for nobility. Ancient lineage would make every one noble, if pushed back to Adam, an

<sup>17</sup> Alexander Barclay, *The Mirror of Good Manners*, (Preface), trans. from the Latin of Mancinus c. 1523. Rep. Spenser Society, vol. 38.

<sup>18</sup> Primaudaye, *The French Academy*, London, 1589, vol. I, p. 694; Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, ed. by Mayor, p. 40.

<sup>19</sup> La Perriere, *The Mirror of Policy*, London, 1598, conclusion.

absurdity, or else it must ignore a beginning. Nobility therefore cannot rest on noble birth for its beginning. Granted that perfect nobility rests on the good deeds of ancestors joined to the good deeds of descendants, there must be some efficient cause, as the philosophers say, for the beginning and the renewing of nobility, since time changes all things and old families die out or are lost from the rolls of honor. We are brought thus to the other sort of nobility, nobility dative.

Whatever a common man's claim to reward for excellence in himself and service to the state, it is presumption and disobedience to the law, subversive of the established order of things, for him to assume on his own authority the name and state of a gentleman. The king must judge of his worthiness and by the conferring of dignity raise him above the state of the multitude. Nobility dative, therefore, involved ideally two prerequisites, the existence of some merit which deserved reward, and the conferring of reward by royal action. The absence of one or the other derogated from the individual's claims to gentility.

Royal action was at least theoretically involved even in the assuming of the gentleman's status, for though the College of Heralds issued the coats of arms which established the legal right of a man to the description gentleman, it bore its license by grant of the king and acted in his name. Such at least was the theory, and the higher ranks, which were conferred directly by the king, represented an increase only in honor and dignity, not in quality. The coat of arms indeed became so closely associated with the idea of gentility that a current definition of gentleman was one who bears arms.<sup>20</sup> But it must be said that the heralds themselves were chiefly responsible for both the definition and the currency. Once important as a distinguishing mark in military operations, and assumed voluntarily by those who needed it, the heraldic device had first become hereditary (in the reign of Henry III) and then been reduced to system and emptied of meaning by the formation of the College of Heralds (under Richard III), which assumed that no one was a gentleman unless he were registered there.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Ferne, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>21</sup> James Dallaway, *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry*, 1793, sec. II, III.

As a matter of fact heraldry was a part of the feudal system and passed with it so far as any vital meaning was concerned.<sup>22</sup> By the end of the sixteenth century the College of Heralds had fallen into evil repute, for the sale of coats of arms was notorious, and the devices were stolen from old families without shame or designed to suit the whims of their buyers to the utter confusion and degradation of the honorable sign language of chivalric days.<sup>23</sup> The devices, however, were accepted as a convention, and the heralds exercised a certain dominion sanctioned by royal grants and popular acceptance, though not acknowledged by lawyers.<sup>24</sup> New gentlemen, at any rate, hastened to seek the herald's offices in establishing a visible claim to a new status. Old families whose gentility had been assumed and acknowledged for generations might and sometimes did defy the herald's visitations and edicts, for in England, as elsewhere, gentility also grew up from the soil with generations of thrift well applied and good living, without asking by-your-leave of the king, or seeking from heralds the outward badge of gentleness.<sup>25</sup>

The line separating plebeian and gentleman was a very thin and movable line. Sir Thomas Smith's often quoted passage on the point will bear quoting again:

"Ordinarily the king doth only make knights and create barons or higher degrees: for as for gentlemen, they be made good cheape in England. For whosoever studieth the lawes of the realme, who studieth in the universities, who professeth liberal sciences, and to be shorte, who can live idly and without manuell labour, and will beare the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman, he shall be called master, for that is the title which men give to esquires and other gentlemen, and shall be taken for a gentleman."<sup>26</sup>

He raises directly the question which was perhaps most vehemently discussed of all the points bearing on nobility, whether the manner of England in making gentlemen so easily is to be allowed. Most writers inveigh against it, lamenting the growing difficulty of distinguishing between high and low born, the con-

<sup>22</sup> Sir Egerton Brydges, *Censura Litteria*, vol. 3, p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> Sir Thomas Smith, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>24</sup> F. Warre Cornish, *Chivalry*, London, 1901, p. 288.

<sup>25</sup> Paris de Puteo, op. cit., lib. VII, cap. I; Ximenez di Urrea, *Dialogo del Vero Honore Militare*, pt. II; John Guillim, *Display of Heraldry*, London, 1610, sec. 6, chap. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Op. cit., p. 28.

fusion of callings, the encouragement to idleness and consequent dearth of laborers and increase in crime.<sup>27</sup> Sir Thomas, however, finds nothing objectionable in the system, for the king and state profit: there is no loss of revenues, as in France, since the gentleman is more heavily charged than others in payments to the king; moreover the gentleman himself to make and preserve his reputation must live more magnificently than others, dress to suit his station, arm himself if he goes to the wars, show higher courage, better education, more liberality, and keep about him idle servants to wait on him. No one is hurt but himself, who may be carrying a bigger sail than he can maintain. "For as touching the policie and government of the common wealth, it is not these that have to do with it which will magnifie them selves, and goe in higher buskins than their estate will beare: but they which are to be appointed, are persons tryed and well knownen."<sup>28</sup>

The assumption throughout, however, whether the status of gentleman is acquired by royal or private action, is that some distinction exists in the individual which raises him above his fellows. As legitimate ground for royal action in conferring nobility dative three qualifications were commonly discussed, virtue, learning, and riches. The chief claim to distinction was admitted to be virtue, that is, conspicuous personal merit and ability shown in actions beneficial to the state. A man may practice the private virtues all his life and still not be worthy of nobility,<sup>29</sup> for virtue that is private is restricted in its influence, while that virtue that is suitable for ennobling, is public, conferring benefits on the whole state and reaching to posterity as it raises a family to distinction and honor. Virtue then which is profitable to one's country is sufficient cause for ennoblement, in fact the only true cause and test, "as philosophers, divines, poets, historiographers, and almost all lawyers agree."<sup>30</sup> Next to virtue learning held a favored place. Mul-

<sup>27</sup> *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen*, London, 1598, p. 137 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit., bk. I, chap. 21.

<sup>29</sup> John Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man*, Oxford, 1607, Bk. I, Preface.

<sup>30</sup> Bodin, *The Six Books of a Commonweal*, trans. Richard Knolles, London, 1606, Bk. I, chap. VII.

caster sets wisdom and valor as the chief means to advancement, and gives the honors in the order of their importance to the counsellor, the divine, the lawyer, and the physician.<sup>31</sup> A student in the university or the Inns of Court by that fact assumed the standing of gentleman, and the lawyer in particular rose in esteem with his reputation for learning, the Tudors delighting to honor him with place and title.

Riches were undeniably regarded by the crowd as a main reason for reverencing their possessor, because certainly ancient descent in tatters dropped into the gulf of nonentity, whereas vulgarity richly clad imposed its pretensions on the indiscriminating.<sup>32</sup> Scholars too recognized wealth as an essential concomitant if not foundation for nobility, for two reasons. Liberality, one of the chief distinguishing virtues of the gentleman and Christian, is not possible without wealth, and the practice of the liberal arts, the arts of the gentleman, must fail lacking the wherewithal for their support.<sup>33</sup> Theoretically wealth should have been honestly come by, or old enough for the memory of its dishonest origin to have been lost. The stoics and others who repudiated riches utterly in relation to nobility did so partly because of the evils that luxury introduced and partly because of the assumed wicked origin for all riches in dishonesty, robbery, murder, and all other crimes. English theory admitted their desirability and almost their necessity.<sup>34</sup> Cecil in his precepts to his son says, "That gentleman that sells an acre of land, loseth an ounce of credit, for gentility is nothing but ancient riches. So that if the foundation do sink, the building must needs consequently fall."<sup>35</sup> The rapid decay and disappearance of old families because of poverty furnished adequate object lessons, no less impressive because of the correspondingly rapid rise of thrifty yeomen and merchants by the purchase of the forfeited estates. The strongest argument for the English practice of primogeniture was that

<sup>31</sup> Op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>32</sup> *Civil and Uncivil Life*, 1579, rep. Roxburghe Lib., p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Bodin holds riches no source of true nobility and laments Aristotle's evil influence in having put them first. Op. cit., Bk. III, chap. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Lawrence Humfrey, *The Nobles*, London, 1563, Bk. I, "Second Question: What is Nobility," (p. 84, ed. 1559).

<sup>35</sup> William Cecil, Lord Burghley, *Certaine Precepts*, London, 1617, Precept I.



if the family possessions were divided among all the children, none could support the charges of maintaining high estate and the whole house must sink.<sup>36</sup> The results of such distribution on the continent, which filled France and Spain with ragged nobles, who abated no whit of their pride but lowered the dignity of nobility, was often called in point. But after all, riches in themselves were admittedly inadequate cause for ennoblement unless accompanied by the worthiness of their possessor.

One other cause of nobility dative should not be omitted. The old saying had it, "Arms bred nobility," and still enumerated among the causes that ennoble is service in the wars, but not without specifications. Ten years of active service is usually set as necessary to assumption of gentility, and not merely as a rough soldier in the lower ranks but in some position of command. Nor may any common hireling be honored but such a man as "is given by his owne disposition to delight and folowe the Cannon wheele, whose countenance and chearfull face, beginnes to smile and reioyce when the Dromme soundeth, and whose harte is so high, it will not stoupe to no servile slaverie. But hath a bodie and mynde able to answere that is looked for, and hath often been tried and experimented in Marshall affaires: through hauntyng whereof he is become ignoraunt of drudging at home, and made a skilfull scholler in the discipline of warre: which is not learned without some losse of blood, charges of purse, and consumyng of tyme."<sup>37</sup>

The theory of gentility in England of the sixteenth century yields upon analysis the same elements as that of the preceding centuries. The difference lies in change of emphasis. Much more is heard about the part that personal worth plays in acquiring and maintaining nobility and less about birth, which becomes desirable for its initial advantage rather than for its assured heritage of personal superiority. Many things have brought about the change. The spread of education enabled the son of the common man to match his wits with the son of the noble, and, as many ruefully admitted, the encounter brought small credit to the latter. Education rather than heredity thus

<sup>36</sup> *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen*, p. 109.

<sup>37</sup> Churchyard, *A General Rehearsal of Wars*, London, 1579.

became the explanation of superiority, and few interested in reform fail to urge the need of better education for gentlemen, not only that the country may be better governed, but that government may remain in the hands of the nobility, from which there was danger of its slipping. Salvation for nobility, as a matter of fact, came rather from the infusion of new blood which the encouragement by the Tudors of merit wherever found made easy, than from the regeneration of the old families. But these upstarts, as they were called, assimilated the customs and the manners and the very thoughts of the old nobility so rapidly that by the end of the century their newness was forgotten. Sir Philip Sidney was exhorted by his father to be ever mindful of his noble descent on his mother's side, as a spur to noble action, though the Dudleys began to rise so lately as under Henry VII.

Another cause of the change in emphasis from birth to ability was the increase in occupations recognized as suitable for the gentleman. Until the sixteenth century arms were the most proper calling. But with the decrease in power of the individual nobles, and the growth of security which a strong central government brought about, arms were no longer sufficiently important to monopolize the attention of a whole class. On the other hand the business of governing became correspondingly more complex with the forming of great states, increase in population, and the extension of communication and commerce. Men trained for the various offices of government as directly as they had been trained for war were the need of the time.<sup>38</sup> With the need grew the supply, and the nobility became far more identified with civil than with military offices. As the unknown author of *A Remedy for Sedition* says, "It is small losse, if a lorde shoote not well, or at the least the losse hurteth but hym selfe. But gyve the governmente of common wealthes, unto their handes, that can not skylle thereof, howe many must nedes goe to wracke?"

A third potent influence toward the change is humanism itself,<sup>39</sup> which insisted upon the dignity of the individual man, and taught a code of morals which rested upon that conception.

<sup>38</sup> See Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance*, chaps. I and II.

<sup>39</sup> Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore, 1909, p. 360.

Emphasis therefore has changed, but it would be a mistake to suppose that either in theory or in practice gentle birth played a negligible part in determining a man's status. The presumption of superiority in character and ability still lay with the man well-born, who, as Mulcaster says, when he adds desert in his own person "doth well deserve double honour among men as bearing the true coat of right and best nobility, where desert for virtue is quartered with descent in blood, seeing anciency of lineage and derivation of nobility is in such credit among us and alway hath been."<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Op. cit., p. 199. What I have said here of the importance the sixteenth century attached to birth in the making of a gentleman helps to bear out Mr. Vogt's surmise (see his article in the January issue of this journal, p. 122). The frequency with which virtue is mentioned as a necessary qualification of the gentleman through the middle ages and the renaissance is misleading unless due attention is paid to current general definitions of nobility and explanations of the value of gentle birth. True nobility is almost always defined as that of race and virtue, and much of the insistence on virtue is intended not to comfort the lowly born but to admonish the well born who seem generally to have prided themselves on birth to the neglect of virtue. I should have been glad to supplement Mr. Vogt's list but unfortunately this article had gone to press before I saw his.

## PARADISE LOST AND THE APOCALYPSE OF MOSES

An interesting precedent and a possible source of some of Milton's non-biblical amplifications of the story of the Fall as related in *Paradise Lost* is found in the Jewish apocryphal book known in one recension as *The Apocalypse of Moses* and in another as *The Lives of Adam and Eve*. The original Hebrew form of this book is lost, and the later recensions in Greek and Latin, containing many Christian adaptations, are of uncertain date between the first and the fourth centuries. They were popular all through the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, particularly in England, Italy, Germany, and Russia, being connected with the Lignum Crucis (Holy Rood) legend, and consequently translated into most of the modern languages. It was first published in 1866 by Tischendorf in a volume of *Apocalypses Apocryphae* under the fictitious title *Apocalypsis Mosis*.<sup>1</sup> A better title would have been, *The Testaments of Adam and Eve*, for Moses is not mentioned in the text, and the true subject of the book is the death of Adam and Eve, or rather their ante-mortem statements.

In Eve's account of her fall (XVIII, 4) she reports Satan's persuasive speech by which she was seduced. One of his arguments is identical with the one Milton, without biblical authority, puts into his mouth, namely, that through envy God had forbidden the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, wishing to keep man ignorant.

"And he saith to me 'Fear not, for as soon as thou eatest of it, ye too shall be as God, in that ye shall know good and evil. But God perceived this that ye would be like Him, so he envied you and said Ye shall not eat of it.'"

This sounds as if it might have suggested the thought in the lines (IX, 727-730)

<sup>1</sup> The title of one of the Greek manuscripts is, *The Story and Conversation of Adam revealed by God to Moses His Servant taught by the archangel Michael*. Moses is named in the headings of four of the Greek manuscripts extant.

"What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree  
Impart against his will, if all be his?  
Or is it envy? and can envy dwell  
In heavenly breasts?"

Immediately after Eve's seduction Satan descended from the tree and vanished" (XX, 3) This is what Milton also says he did:

" . . . . Back to the thicket slunk  
The guilty serpent.<sup>2</sup> . . . ."

One of the immediate effects of the eating of the apple was sexual excitement. This Eve accounts for as follows: "He went and poured upon the fruit the poison of his wickedness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch to the earth, and I took of the fruit, and I ate." (XIX, 3)<sup>3</sup>

The corresponding passage in *Paradise Lost* is found in Book IX, 1011ff.

. . . . "But that false fruit  
Far other operation first displayed,  
Carnal desire inflaming. He on Eve  
Began to cast lascivious eyes; she him  
As wantonly repaid; in lust they burn."

For this Oriental embellishment, the Jewish apocalypse furnishes a more striking precedent than the lines Addison cites, in lieu of biblical authority, from Homer's account of the converse between Jupiter and Juno in the fourteenth book of the *Iliad*.

In their despair consequent upon the full realization of their guilt, Eve suggests to Adam that he kill her forthwith, "for on my account hast thou been driven thence." Adam answered: "Forbear, Eve, from such words, that peradventure God bring not some other curse upon us." (III, 2-3)

Similarly in *Paradise Lost* (IX, 992-1006) Eve counsels suicide for both, but Adam warns her (X, 1020ff).

<sup>2</sup> IX. 784-785.

<sup>3</sup> This idea is also found in the *Slavonic Book of Baruch* (97) and in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

"Or if thou covet death, as utmost end  
Of misery, so thinking to evade  
The penalty pronounced, doubt not but God  
Hath wiselier armed his vengeful ire than so  
To be forestalled. Much more I fear lest death  
So snatched will not exempt us from the pain  
We are by doom to pay; rather such acts  
Of contumacy will provoke the Highest  
To make death in us live."

Following upon the completion of their sin, Adam and Eve "heard the archangel Michael blowing with his trumpet and calling to the angels and saying: Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to Paradise and hear the judgment with which I shall judge Adam." This seems to be the same trumpet (shofar) that Milton mentions in a similar connection (XI, 72ff).

"He ended, and the Son gave signal high  
To the bright minister that watched. He blew  
His trumpet . . . .  
. . . . from their blissful bowers  
. . . . the Sons of Light  
Hasted, resorting to the summons high,  
And took their seats, till from his throne supreme  
The Almighty thus pronounced his sovran will":

Finally, Michael, the angel of justice, as in Milton's account (XI, 366ff) showed to Adam, but not to Eve, a vision of the future history of Israel. It is an expression of the Jewish Messianic hope, and is worthy of quotation, at least in part, because, although its resemblance to Milton's "Mask of Death" is slight, it yet furnishes the most striking precedent to be found in the ancient writings for Milton's device of securing a happy ending for the epic by sending forth Adam and Eve from Paradise sorrowing yet in peace.

"The Lord will appear in a flame of fire, and from the mouth of his majesty he will give commandments and statutes<sup>4</sup> . . . . And they will sanctify him in the house of the habitation of his majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which he shall prepare for them, and there they will transgress his statutes and their sanctuary will be burnt up and their land will be deserted<sup>5</sup> and they

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the giving of the law. Cf. *Paradise Lost* XII, 226ff.

<sup>5</sup> A reference to the Babylonian captivity, Cf. *Paradise Lost* XII, 338ff.

themselves will be dispersed; because they have kindled the wrath of God. And once more He will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God;<sup>6</sup> and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And thereafter God will dwell with men on earth in visible form, and then righteousness will begin to shine . . . ." (XXIX, 4ff).

The correspondences in word and thought between *Paradise Lost* and *The Apocalypse of Moses* do not, it must be admitted, afford conclusive proof that Milton was acquainted with it. The fact that it was not printed till long after his time makes his knowledge of it still more questionable. The fact remains, however, that we do find in the *Apocalypse* certain non-biblical embellishments of the primitive Genesis legend which also appear in Milton's epic. Since these expansions of the story could have come from nowhere else than the *Apocalypse*, we must suppose either that Milton had read it or that he accidentally reproduced imaginatively the very same details that had been added to the legend twelve centuries before.

The latter alternative seems on the whole more improbable than to suppose that Milton had seen either one of the ancient versions—Latin, Greek or Syriac,<sup>7</sup> or, what is more probable, a later copy of one of these manuscripts such as were known to many men of letters of his time.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Paradise Lost* XII, 344ff.

<sup>7</sup> Milton's knowledge of Syriac is a matter of record.

<sup>8</sup> There are at present six manuscripts known of the *Apocalypse of Moses* dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, and numerous versions of the *Vita Adae et Evae*, the latter mostly medieval.

## MUSIK UND DICHTUNG IM 18. JAHRHUNDERT

### EINE MORPHOLOGISCHE STUDIE

Die morphologisch-vergleichende Betrachtung der Künste ist noch nicht genügend beachtet. Naturgemäss ist sie ein Spätprodukt des Kunstverstehens. Die morphologische Beziehung tritt da besonders hervor, wo auf Grund naher Verwandtschaft eine Wechselwirkung wesentlich und beständig vorhanden ist. So bilden Malerei und Plastik eine engere morphologische Gruppe, sowie Musik und Poesie einander morphologisch sehr nahe stehen. Für die folgende Untersuchung wird das elementare morphologisch-genetische Verhältnis von Musik und Poesie als bekannt und selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt. Kurz zusammengefasst stellt es sich etwa folgendermassen dar: Die formale Struktur der Poesie hat sich durchaus unter dem Einfluss der Musik in ursprünglicher Vereinigung mit ihr gebildet. Musikalische Formgesetze haben der Poesie ihre äussere Form gegeben. Das wesentlichste Formprinzip der Poesie, die symmetrischen Verszeilen, aus rhythmische Akzentteilen bestehend, ist rein musikalisch. Alle metrischen Elemente poetischer Form sind musikalische Takte; ebenso sind auch die Strophenformen musikalisch bewirkte Gebilde.

Es soll nun in dieser Studie vornehmlich gezeigt werden, dass der Intellektualismus, der vom ausgehenden siebzehnten Jahrhundert bis weit in das achzehnte hinein Europa beherrschte, durch den Voluntarismus überwunden wurde, welcher sich in der Musik, die den Willen an sich zum Ausdruck bringt, sein reinstes Symbol und stärkstes Werkzeug geschaffen hat. Die Musik, welche das endliche Hervortreten des freien, intensiv lebendigen, zu höchstem Leben dringenden Menschen bezeichnet, hat langsam das Eis der Begriffe, welches die Dichter in Banden gehalten, gebrochen, und es kommt darauf die neue Lyrik, die das Wollen und Begehren des Menschen in freier, individueller Selbstäusserung ausspricht. Diese Auffassung von Wesen und Wirkung der Musik verdanken wir



Schopenhauer, der in seinem Werk: "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," die Musik zum erstenmale in ihrer wesentlichen Bedeutung erkannt hat. Es wird daher für unsere Ausführungen von grösstem Wert sein, wenn wir auf die Wesensbestimmung des Musikalischen, wie wir sie bei Schopenhauer antreffen, zunächst etwas näher eingehen.

Die Musik ist nach ihm die metaphysische Kunst, die mit dem Weltgrund verwandt ist. Sie ist Abbild, nicht der Objektivation des Willens, d. h., der Erscheinungen der wirklichen Welt, sondern des Willens selbst. Die Musik ist eine so unmittelbare Objektivation und Abbild des ganzen Willens, wie die Welt selbst es ist, deren vervielfältigte Erscheinung die Welt der einzelnen Dinge ausmacht. Die Musik ist keineswegs gleich den anderen Künsten das Abbild der Ideen, sondern Abbild des Willens selbst, dessen Objektivität auch die Ideen sind; deshalb ist die Wirkung der Musik so sehr viel mächtiger und eindringlicher als die der anderen Künste; denn diese reden nur vom Schatten, sie aber vom Wesen. Sie erzählt des Willens geheimste Geschichte, malt jede Regung, jedes Streben, jede Bewegung des Willens, alles das, was die Vernunft unter den weiten Begriff des Gefühls zusammenfasst. Sie spricht nie die Erscheinung, sondern allein das innere Wesen, das An-sich aller Erscheinung, den Willen selbst aus. Sie drückt daher nicht diese oder jene einzelne und bestimmte Freude, diese oder jene Betrübniß, oder Schmerz, oder Entsetzen, oder Jubel, oder Lustigkeit, oder Gemütsruhe aus, sondern die Freude, die Betrübniß etc. selbst. Man könnte demnach die Welt ebensowohl verkörperte Musik als verkörperten Willen nennen. Die Musik gibt den innersten Kern, oder das Herz der Dinge. Sie ist bloss Form ohne den Stoff, wie eine Geisterwelt ohne Materie. Allerdings haben wir den Hang, sie beim Zuhören zu realisieren, sie in der Phantasie mit Fleisch und Bein zu bekleiden, und allerhand Szenen des Lebens und der Natur darin zu sehen. Jedoch befördert dies, im Ganzen genommen, nicht ihr Verständnis noch ihren Genuss, gibt ihr vielmehr einen fremdartigen, willkürlichen Zusatz; daher ist es besser, sie in ihrer Unmittelbarkeit und rein aufzufassen. Alle die anderen Künste sind Darstellungen bestimmter Dinge, die Musik ist ganz unabhängig von der Erscheinungswelt, ignoriert sie gänzlich.

Diese Sätze aus Schopenhauers Kapitel über die Metaphysik der Musik bedürfen keiner weiteren Erläuterung. Sie sind grundlegend für das Verständnis des Musikalischen in jeder Hinsicht. Zusammenfassend können wir sagen: Schopenhauer begreift die Musik als Symbol der Kraft, welche die Welt geschaffen hat, und in jedem Geist, der seine Welt will und fühlt und somit schafft, immanent zugegen ist. Wenn er sagt, die Melodie sei eine beständige Abweichung vom Grundton, dass sie aber stets wieder zu ihm zurückkehrt, so erkennt man ohne Schwierigkeit die Verwandtschaft dieses Vorganges mit dem Begriff der Polarität, welcher im Mittelpunkt der Goethe'schen Weltanschauung steht, dem Prinzip der Systole und Diastole, des positiven und negativen Poles im Lebensprozess und in der dynamischen Wirkung physischer Energien. Wenn gesagt wird, dass die Musik nicht die einzelne und bestimmte Freude oder Betrübniß ausdrücke, sondern die Freude, Betrübniß selbst, so wird dadurch angedeutet, dass die Musik sich an jene allgemeinen und generellen Gefühls- und Willensmodi wendet, die man in der Sprache einer neuen psychologischen Richtung als seelische Komplexe bezeichnet. Da sich nach Schopenhauer Wille und Gefühl am reinsten und vollständigsten durch die Musik offenbaren, so ergibt sich der Schluss, dass sich die Menschheit erst durch die fortschreitende Entwicklung des Musikalischen ihrer Gefühlsmöglichkeiten und des Wertes dieser Kunst als eines seelenbildenden Agens bewusst wird. Das Streben nach unmittelbarer Gefühlsäußerung anstatt einer teilweisen und gemischten Mitteilung vermittelt der Worte und Begriffe, ist ja der wesentliche Trieb, aus welchem die musikalische Äußerung hervorgeht. Indem der Seelenorganismus nach unmittelbarem Ausdruck strebt, greift er natürlich instinktiv zu Ton, Melodie, Rhythmus und Harmonie, denn hierdurch ist die Möglichkeit eines freien, direkten Gefühlsausdruckes am vollkommensten gegeben. Da nun die Musik die adäquate Kunstform der Willens- und Gefühlsäußerung ist, so muss die Dichtung, die hierin der Musik am nächsten steht, von ihr die lebhafteste Anregung empfangen, sich mit ihr, wie das von jeher geschehen ist, auf mannigfachste Art verbinden. Dies zur allgemeinen Einstellung.

Der jenem um die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts angehenden, phänomenalen Aufstieg des geistigen Lebens vor-

aufgehende Zeitraum trägt vorwiegend intellektualistisches Gepräge. Es ist das Zeitalter des Rationalismus, die Eiszeit des Gefühls. Die Aufklärung drängte tatsächlich das Gefühlsleben derart zurück, dass die Mitteilung der persönlichen Gefühls- erfahrung geradezu für unanständig galt. Reine Lyrik, die doch ein Ausdruck des Gefühls, folglich Selbstoffenbarung und Be- kenntnis sein soll, war den Dichtern jener Zeit nicht kongenial; sie vermeiden vielmehr absichtlich, Eigenes, Ernsteres, Tieferes zu sagen. Eine Ausnahme bildet hier und da das Religiöse, das aber als Kirchenlied zu sehr objektiven Kultcharakter trägt und betont Persönliches kaum duldet. Hallers philoso- phische Gedichte, die einen bedeutenden Stimmungsgehalt aufweisen, sind, wie Günthers Beichten, vereinzelt geblieben. An der Tagesordnung waren die leichten Lieder und das Lehr- hafte, was ganz im Einklang mit der Herrschaft des begrifflichen Denkens, der sogenannten "Vernunft" steht.

Inmitten dieser gefühlsmässigen Zeit ereignet sich das Wunder des raschen, mächtigen Emporwachsens der Musik als der intimsten Seelensprache: Eine Antinomie scheinbar, die ihresgleichen nicht hat. Diese Kunst was bisher lange in streng- sten Formzwang gebannt. Mit einer Schnelle, die wunderbar erscheint, erhebt sie sich zu vollkommener Grösse, Freiheit und Formvollendung. In der fortschreitenden Entfaltung des See- lischen bedeutet diese erstaunliche Offenbarung und Subli- mierung des Gefühls eine einzigartige Mutation. Man könnte nun das vielgescholtene saeculum rationalisticum ebensowohl das saeculum musicum nennen. Für Deutschland ist es doch gewiss das goldene Zeitalter der reinsten Gefühlskunst. Man müsste also das besonders in Literaturgeschichten übliche Psychogramm jener Zeit ganz wesentlich berichtigen. Für die musiker und diejenigen, die an ihren Schöpfungen Anteil nahmen, war es das idealste, seelenvollste, poetisch-romantisch- ste Zeitalter der ganzen europäischen Geschichte. Auf den eingangs ausgesprochenen Gedanken zurückgreifend statuieren wir, dass es, morphologisch gedeutet, eben die Musik ist, die sich als voluntaristisches Seelenprinzip schlechtweg gegen den Intellektualismus, der gar keine biologische, seelenbildende Wirkung mehr hat, auflehnt, um ihn am Ende zu besiegen. Der Umschwung kam nicht mit einemmale. Die Musik Bachs und Händels konnte ihre Maximalwirkung damals noch nicht

erreichen. In den sechziger Jahren setzte jene zweite Musikschöpfung ein, die der Aufstieg des Seelentums zu der bisher nur einmal erreichten höchsten Höhe ist. In der Musik Haydns und Mozarts sind die Erlebnisse, welche bald nachher die Dichtung auszusprechen beginnt, in der reinen Gefühlsregion, in der diesen Menschen eigenen Veredlung und Vertiefung vorgebildet. Es spricht sich in diesem neuen Lebensgefühl in neuer Stilform die Bejahung des besten Menschentums aus, das sich von den Formen der Idealwelt kaum noch unterscheidet. Die vollendetste Darstellung des Ideals wird also in der Kunst erreicht, die allein absoluter Schönheit fähig ist; denn sie steht über der Erscheinungswelt, in der das Vollkommene, zumal in menschlichen Dingen, selten realisiert wird. In die Dichtung und die bildende Kunst drängt sich fast immer die Missgestalt des Lebens mit ein. Wenn sich Ähnliches in der Musik der Gegenwart bemerkbar macht, so sieht man eben, das selbst das Edelste vor Entstellung nicht sicher ist.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten des 18ten Jahrhunderts beginnt der mächtige seelische und geistige Gesamtaufstieg, eine aufs höchste gesteigerte schöpferische Regsamkeit auf allen Gebieten des geistigen Lebens. Jetzt erhebt sich die Dichtung vom Tiefstand der vorklassischen Zeit zu einem Höchstmass künstlerischer Leistung. Man kann geradezu sagen, dass die Poesie in der Lyrik Goethes zum erstenmal ganz lebendig wird. In der Romantik setzt sich dieses Neue fort. Auch in England erscheint in Byron, Keats und Shelley eine Poesie von solcher Tiefe und Schönheit, dass man sie mit der deutschen auf eine Stufe stellen kann. Um ganz zu begreifen, welche tiefe Umwandlung sich hier vollzogen hat, muss man sich den Charakter der vorausgegangenen Dichtung im wesentlichen Punkt gegenwärtigen.

Das vorrevolutionistische Weltgefühl sieht die Welt als bestimmten Seinszustand, als Masse und Gestalt in festem Gleichgewicht im Raume stehend, nicht als Werdeprozess in fortwährender Verwandlung begriffen. Diese Ansicht spricht zu uns aus der älteren Dichtung bis herauf zu dem einschneidenden Wandel der Weltanschauung. Hieraus lässt sich verstehen, dass die Dichtung der Renaissance und ihrer lange nachwirkenden Tradition wesentlich in beschreibender Schilderung des Zuständlichen besteht. Der Dichter vehält sich

betrachtend, seine Welt und die eigene Seele durch Vergleich, Metapher, Allegorie, Beiwort reflektierend, beschreibend. Der Dichter spiegelt die Welt und sein Verhältnis zu ihr ab, anstatt den lebendigen Verlauf der Erfahrung in offener Mitteilung des Erlebten lebendig zu wiederholen. Wie nun Goethe der Urheber des Entwicklungsgedankens ist, so ist er auch der Schöpfer der neuen Dichtung dynamischer Bewegung, welche den Verlauf des Erlebten lebhaft wiederholend, den Lebensprozess selbst in die Dichtung einführt. Was erlebt wurde, wird in seinem Werden und Wirken, verbal nicht adjektivisch wiedergegeben. Das stärkste Symbol dieses neuen Begriffes und intensiven Gefühls einer beständig werdenden, im Inneren bewegten Welt ist wohl in den Worten des Erdgeistes gegeben:

In Lebensfluten, im Tatensturm  
Wall' ich auf und nieder,  
Webe hin und her!  
Geburt und Grab,  
Ein ewig Meer,  
Ein wechselnd Leben.  
So schaff' ich am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit  
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid.

Nietzsche, wohl unter dem Einfluss Schopenhauers, sieht in den Künsten ein zweifaches Prinzip, welches er unter dem Namen des Dionysischen und des Apollinischen in die Aesthetik einführt. Der dionysische Instinkt ist eine Art von Berauschung und Ekstase, ein begeistertes Aufgehen im Strome des Lebens, (Lebensfluten und Tatensturm). Die Musik ist dionysisch. Sie ist eins mit dem All-sein, dem Herzen der Welt, und in ihr wird das individuelle Sein eins mit dem All. Ihre Wirkung erregt den gesamten Gefühlsorganismus. Die apollinische Kunst ist Betrachtung. Sie hat es mit der Wiedergabe der Erscheinungswelt sub specie der Dauer zu tun. Sie entspricht dem principium individuationis. Maler und Bildhauer sind die apollinischen Künstler. In den Zeiten seelisch-geistiger Erhebung und Erneuerung steht das Dionysische wirkend und herrschend im Vordergrund.

Wir sahen also, dass gegen das Ende des 18ten Jahrhunderts das Seelentum europäischer Menschheit aus einem negativen Zustand zurückgedrängten und stagnierenden Willens in ein positives Maximum freier und schöpferischer Bewegung um-

schlägt. Der, Wille, zum höchsten Dasein fortzudringen, ist zu keiner Zeit so leidenschaftlich hervorgetreten wie damals. Es war einerseits eine Prometheische Auflehnung gegen das erstarrte Verstandeswesen, anderseits ein titanisches Streben, die gesammten Lebenskräfte mobil zu machen, damit man auf den Gipfel des Daseins komme. Höchste Dynamik mit höchster Veredlung gibt diesem Streben seine Signatur.

Für den Interpreten dieser Erscheinung ist die Frage nach dem Ursprung der Wandlung die Kardinalfrage. Dem Verlauf selbst ist die Antwort zu entnehmen. Das Musikalische als das Primäre, als Willens- und Gefühlselement, bricht rein als solches, als spontane Lebenserneuerung hervor. Das Lebendige, Werdende überwindet das Tote, Gewordene. Ununterbrochen weisen Natur und Leben das Beispiel der Zeugung und Wiedererstehung auf, sonst wäre ja längst der Gesamttod statt immerwiederkehrenden Lebens. Dem Willen als der Urmacht des Lebens gelingt die Wiederbelebung. Nichts anderes als ein mächtiger Impuls aus dem Zentrum des Willens konnte die schwere Lähmung der Seelenfunktion überwinden. Vergewärtigt man sich nun, dass ein Jahrhundert lang vor dem Erwachen des poetischen Gefühls ein Strom der tiefsten Gefühlsbewegung in der Musik, der Gefühlskunst an sich, tätig gewesen war; dass so vom Urgrunde des Willens her die Wirkung der seelischen Belebung andauernd und auf immer weitere Kreise, selbst nach England übergreifend, dem Bewusstsein gegenwärtig war, so ergibt sich von selbst der Schluss, dass das Wiederaufleben des dichterischen Gefühls durch die Musik langsam vorbereitet und wesentlich veranlasst wurde. Man könnte ebensowohl sagen, dass es erst infolge des grossartigen Aufblühens der Musik der Poesie überhaupt möglich wurde, den höchsten Grad ihrer Entfaltung zu erreichen. Es kommt hier garnicht darauf an, den Einfluss der Musik auf den oder jenen Dichter zu untersuchen—obwohl das auch interessant und nicht schwer sein würde—sondern die Gesamtwirkung der vorausgegangenen musikalischen Gefühls- und Willenserregung, als des Primären, auf das später in die Erscheinung tretende Poetische ist dasjenige, was für das Verständnis der Morphologie des Seelentums fundamentale Bedeutung hat. Goethe und Schiller bezeugen ausdrücklich den Einfluss der musikalischen Suggestion auf ihr dichterisches Schaffen. Was so für den

einzelnen Dichter in so vielen Fällen gilt, muss auch im Ganzen für den Entwicklungsverlauf angekommen werden.

Das ist also für die morphologische Betrachtung der Sinn des lange vorwirkenden Stromes musikalischer Schöpfung, welcher an sich das stärkste und sublimierteste Produkt des Lebensgefühls ist, durch seine im 18ten Jahrhundert so mächtige und ausgebreitete Wirkung das ganze Seelenwesen ungemein steigert und auf das Poetische, das in Form und Absicht sehr enge mit dem Musikalischen verwandt ist, im höchsten Grade stimulierend wirkt. Es ist also natürlich, dass man sich die Musik als den Kern jener grossen Gefühlssteigerung und -befreiung vorstellt, welche wir als die bedeutsamste Erhebung der europäischen Menschheit betrachten. Ihr Einfluss auf die Dichtung entspricht durchaus ihrem Wesen als absoluter schöpferischer Phantasie. Die Dichtung kehrt jetzt von ihrer intellektualistischen Verirrung zu sich selbst zurück und erkennt ihren wesentlichen Zusammenhang mit dem Gefühlsleben entschieden und endgültig an. Indem sie sich von nun an wieder dem Leben zuwendet, tritt der seelische Inhalt des Erfahrungsverlaufes in den Mittelpunkt. Die Künstelei verschwindet, das epigrammatische Spiel des Witzes und die reflektierend- beschreibende Manier ist erledigt. Der Dichter steht nicht mehr nur betrachtend neben oder über dem Gefühl, sondern er teilt es unmittelbar mit. Ohne Metapher und Metaphrase tritt das Erlebte gleich ins Wort über, sodass das Gedicht eine "helle Spur des Lebens" wird. Musik ist ihrem Wesen nach Bewegung, lebendiger Ablauf in der Zeit. Sie steht in genau parallelem Verhältnis zu dem stetigbewegten Verlauf des Schauens und Fühlens. In diesem Sinne hat sich die Poesie nach der Musik hin umgebildet. Die uralte Einheit zwischen den beiden stellt sich wieder her. Auf dieser späteren höchsten Stufe ihrer Entwicklung erzählen beide intimste Seelengeschichte, zeichnen den Gefühlsvorgang in lebensähnlichster Wiedergabe zusammengefasst und gesteigert ab. Man vergleiche die Lieder Goethes oder Shelleys in ihrer hinreissenden Dynamik mit den konventionell stilisierten, halbphilosophischen Gedichten eines Fleming oder Milton. Es ist nicht die Absicht, zugunsten einer konstruierten Antithese den grossen Wert jener älteren Dichtung herabzusetzen oder zu verschweigen, dass auch da vieles durchaus Lebendige, Musikalisch- poetische vorhanden

ist. Es liegt aber vollkommen zutage, dass im Ganzen gesehen, die Einstellung auf das Erlebte, folglich Inhalt und Methode der Darstellung wesentlich anderer Art waren. Der Grund liegt zuletzt in der Lebensstimmung selbst. Die ältere Periode trägt den Charakter der Gebundenheit. Wie schwer trug damals die europäische Menschheit an der Last einer weltfremden Religion und drückender feudaler Lebensform. Wer naiv weltfroh sein wollte, galt für entartet. Daher der unglückliche, beengte, resignierte Ton gerade bei den Besten. Ganz neu tritt mit Mozart, Beethoven, Goethe, Schiller, Byron, Schelley der autonome Mensch auf. Die damals gewonnene Position kann der Menschheit trotz empfindlicher Rückschläge nicht wieder verloren gehen.

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## THE NATIONALITY OF KING ALFRED'S WULFSTAN

Of the two voyagers from whom King Alfred obtained his accounts of Scandinavia and the Baltic, Ohthere, as is well known, was a Norwegian, but no indication is given of the country to which Wulfstan belonged. To judge merely by his name there is a strong presumption that he was an Anglo-Saxon, and this probability is strengthened by one or two features of the narrative itself. The first of these is the use, in several of the clauses, of the first personal pronoun: "Burgenda land wæs *us* on bæcbord," "æfter Burgenda land wæron *us* þas land . . . on bæcbord," "Weonodland wæs *us* ealne weg on steorbord." This introduction of the direct narrative would on the whole be more natural if the writer were taking down the actual words of the speaker, than if he were relating or redacting an account given by a foreigner. Throughout Ohthere's narrative the third person alone is employed. The second point is the prevalence in this part of the text of Anglian forms which are either rare or altogether absent in the rest of the *Orosius*. The most notable of these is the form of the third person singular of the present tense of verbs. In the *Orosius*, as in Alfred's other works, this naturally appears as a rule in the contracted West Saxon form, with mutation wherever this is possible. There are a few exceptions to this at the very beginning of the work, limited, however, to the forms *hāteð*, *lizeð*, *nemneð*, and *floweð*. But in the same passages in which these occur the contracted forms prevail, as *hæt*, *līð*, *onginð*, *irnð*, *wyrceð*, *scetl* (*scyl*), and subsequently become regular up to the end of Ohthere's narrative, which contains *gyll*, *līð*, *cymeð*, *fylð*, *hæt*, *stent*, and *hȳrð*. In contrast to this, Wulfstan's narrative exhibits a striking number of uncontracted forms, viz. *belimpeð*, *cymeð* (twice), *standeð*, *lizeð*, *hafað*, *zearneð*, *rideð*, *forbærneð*, and a minority of the West Saxon type, viz. *līð*, *tōlīð*, *nimð*, *benimð*, *byrð*, and *hæt*. Another clear indication of an Anglian element in this section is the occurrence of the form *Weonodland* four times against one instance of *Winodland*; in the other

sections of the geography only *Wineda lond* and *Windeum* occur.

It thus seems clear that for this portion of the *Orosius* we must either assume a Mercian or other Anglian scribe, whose hand is not prominent elsewhere in the book, or suppose that the difference in language is due to following pretty closely Wulfstan's own fashion of speech. The retention of *us* in the clauses cited above favours the latter alternative, and suggests that Wulfstan was an Angle by birth and upbringing, whatever reasons may have led to his voyaging in the Baltic.

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## THEME AND TECHNIQUE IN THE *NOVELLEN* OF FERDINAND VON SAAR

To many today, nineteen years after his death, Ferdinand von Saar is but a name, to others he is merely the "Viennese elegist."<sup>1</sup> And yet, in recording the outstanding names in Austrian letters in the second half of the nineteenth century, it would be rank injustice to omit that of Saar. Perhaps the most obvious reason for this neglect of a great poet is the elegiac note which runs like a recurrent minor strain throughout almost all his stories. But what a richness and charm, what delicacy of invention in description and background to offset the monotony of this sombre tone! And if we are to condemn a writer for his emphasis on this note, let us begin with Turgenev, whose influence on Saar was considerable.<sup>2</sup>

But one feature alone should secure permanence for these stories of Austrian life, viz., their value as documents of society in the dual empire after the revolution of 1848. Gifted with the ability to retain salient points in the character of friends and events, the poet made the most of a checkered career. Entering the Austrian army at an early age, Saar had the opportunity to become acquainted with most of the Austrian crown-lands. After eleven years of service the young officer became a literary free-lance, his interests being still closely identified with the variegated life of his beloved Austria. Personal experiences furnish the key to all of the *Novellen*. Similarly, Austrian political and social life forms the background for many. Even in his first story, the idyllic *Innocens* (1865), there is a hint of the difficulties between Church and State and of the Italian campaign of 1859. The background of *Der*

<sup>1</sup> Kummer, in the 1908 edition of his *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, makes no mention of Saar, but has, I understand, devoted considerable space to the author in his 1922 edition. Adolf Bartels deserves commendation for his vigorous championship of the poet.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the biography of Saar by Anton Bettelheim in the complete edition of the poet's works by Minor and Bettelheim, Leipzig, 1909, 12 volumes in 4, Vol. I, p. 73 ff. Unless otherwise specified, all further references are to this edition.

*Exzellenzherr* is political. In *Vae Victis* the liberal bourgeois element is triumphant. The hero, if such he can be termed, is a general who distinguished himself in 1848, but who bore the brunt of Austria's ill-starred campaign in Piedmont in 1859. Forced to see his profession discredited, he loses his position, and his wife gives her hand to a liberal parliamentary leader, the lion of the hour. *Schloss Kostenitz* is the counterpart of *Vae Victis* in that the hero is a victim of his liberal principles, when the reaction is victorious in 1849. *Leutnant Burda* unfolds a picture of Vienna in the fifties with a glimpse into the Burg and Kärntnertor theaters.<sup>3</sup>

If Saar gives us political and social background in the *Novellen*, he also presents Austrian, particularly Viennese landscape and monuments. The author of the popular *Wiener Elegien* (1893), celebrating the beauties of the ancient city, depicted Vienna and its environs with the same loving care as did Fontane in the case of the Prussian capital. Saar also records in his stories the transformations effected in the course of time in sections of Vienna. The changes in his residence, Döbling, are skillfully and accurately shown in *Die Geschichte eines Wienerkindes*.<sup>4</sup> For Saar, streets could have a physiognomy as well marked as that of a person.<sup>5</sup> Nor are descriptions of other sections of the old dual empire wanting. *Innocens* contains a bit of the topography of the old Bohemian royal city, while *Die Steinklopfer* introduces us to the engineering feat represented by the railroad over the Semmering.

Indeed, Saar's stories came to reflect more and more the Austria of his time, so that Alfred von Berger could justly claim that the Austrian should be as familiar with Saar's *Novellen* as with Grillparzer's dramas.<sup>6</sup> What our author wrote of a group of his *Novellen* applies equally to all his stories: "Die jetzt vorliegenden 17 Novellen sind alle aus einem Gesichtspunkte zu betrachten, nämlich als Kultur- und Sittenbilder aus dem österreichischen Leben von 1850 bis auf die Gegenwart. Nur wenn man ihren Zusammenhang erkannt hat,

<sup>3</sup> Ella Hruschka, *Ferdinand von Saar, Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft*, 12. Jahrgang, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. I, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Note the opening paragraph of *Requiem der Liebe*, Vol. X.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. I, p. 151.

begreift und würdigt man sie vollständig.<sup>7</sup> And yet, as Bettelheim states,<sup>8</sup> Saar never aimed to present a connected series of *Zeitbilder* in the manner of Zola or Balzac.

Coming now to the foreground of the *Novellen*, we note a certain sameness in the plots. The erotic triangle with its variations is a favorite theme: a priest, after a brief struggle, becomes resigned to celibacy (*Innocens*); the hero finds his beloved in the wife of another (*Mariamne*); a woman wastes her love on an undeserving man (*Die Geigerin*, *Das Haus Reichegg*, *Die Geschichte eines Wienerkindes*); conversely, the man is deceived by an unworthy woman (*Vae Victis*, *Ginevra*, *Requiem der Liebe*). A number of the stories deal with misunderstanding or the hostility of circumstances (*Der Exzellenzherr*, *Tambi*, *Leutnant Burda*, *Doktor Trojan*). In several, the milieu is prominent. *Die Steinklopfer* is a realistic story from the life of day-laborers. *Familie Worel* presents the descent of a servant in a nobleman's family to the ranks of the proletariat, while *Der Hellene* is devoted to the world of art. *Dissonanzen* is nothing more than a conversation illustrating the deep-seated opposition of conservative and radical.

When we examine the technique of the *Novellen*, we find the author employing an old-fashioned mould for his invention. A large number of the stories are *Rahmengeschichten*. Of the thirty-two, sixteen are set in a frame of some sort, nine are related in the first person, while only six are in the third person.<sup>9</sup> This mode of narration is the natural one, since the poet is closely identified with the stories, which are in a superficial sense merely novellized experiences and observations. Many of the stories are told directly by Saar (or his double), as *Der Exzellenzherr*, *Herr Fridolin und sein Glück*, *Dr. Trojan*; in others, the main character or the narrator is a thin disguise of the author: an Austrian officer in *Innocens*, *Das Haus Reichegg*, *Ginevra*, a writer in *Die Geigerin*, *Tambi*, *Die Geschichte eines Wienerkindes*, *Ninon*, and a poetizing officer in *Leutnant Burda*. Even in the six stories told in the third person the subjective

<sup>7</sup> Written to his publisher, June 9, 1896, and reprinted in the introduction to Vol. VII, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>9</sup> One, *Mariamne*, is an epistolary *Novelle*, suggesting in technique as well as theme, Goethe's *Werther*.

stamp is not lacking, since the protagonist is a man of Saar's temperament.

At times Saar develops his action quickly and dramatically, as in the case of some of his best stories, such as *Die Steinklopfer*, *Vae Victis*, and *Schloss Kostenitz*, (all related in the third person). But usually he cares little for suspense, preferring to follow the fortunes of his characters through a number of years, as he or his double has observed them. This memoir mode of narration, which reminds one somewhat of Turgenev, Saar handles with consummate skill, and he is thus able to combine the advantage of the subjective and objective methods: the warmth and intimacy of a story in the first person, together with the resemblance to actual life of a chronicle. By selecting merely the crucial years in the lives of his characters, the author is enabled to dispense with psychologizing and moralizing. Saar does not take sides. As Hruschka points out,<sup>10</sup> he convinces us that nature herself has shaped the destinies of the men whom he presents.

We are brought now to the weakness as well as to the special strength inherent in Saar's technique. Like Theodor Fontane, he is less the inventor than the observer. The chronicle method was most natural to him because, roughly speaking, he could only work from models. And, in the course of his checkered career, he found these in abundance. However, we must guard against seeking in the *Novellen* undisguised photographs of the author or his contemporaries. For that, he was too great an artist. He says in this connection: "Ich bin nun einmal nicht imstande zu analysieren. Ich male mehr oder minder gelungene Porträts und der Leser muss sich aus den Farben und Konturen die Geschichte der Personen selbst machen. Ergo bin ich . . . kein eigentlicher Novellist und Romancier. Aber ein Poet, denk' ich, bin ich doch und damit muss ich mich über sonstige Mängel trösten."<sup>11</sup> At another time, the poet terms himself a plastic artist (*Plastiker*).

Although Saar's portrait-gallery contains a wide variety of types and classes, ranging from the proletariat in *Die Steinklopfer*, *Der Burggraf* and *Die Familie Worel*, through the

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. I, p. 159.

aristocracy of birth, intellect or money in many stories, up to royalty in *Leutnant Burda*, yet, as Bettelheim notes,<sup>12</sup> he succeeds best with male characters of his own passive nature. But he is also very skillful in depicting charming, romantic Viennese women.

Properly to understand the technique in Saar's *Novellen*, we must bear in mind that the poet's art is closely akin to that of the painter. Bettelheim remarks a talent for landscape and portrait painting in the Saar family.<sup>13</sup> That our author, as many another distinguished writer, might have gone far with brush and palette, is indicated not merely by the technique of his stories, but also by many references to painting and painters throughout the *Novellen*. Instead of building up a word portrait or genre-scene, the poet sometimes merely mentions the work of an artist. *Mariamne*, in the story of the same name, reminds the narrator of one of Greuze's woman's heads. The luxuriant charms of the countess in *Das Haus Reichegg*, our author maintains, deserves the combined brushes of Rubens and Murillo, while her ascetic-appearing daughter might well have been done by Cranach. The newly-married pair in *Die Geschichte eines Wienerkindes*, as they disappear behind some trees, suggest an old Dutch landscape. One *Novelle*, *Der Hellene*, is even devoted to a depiction of the milieu of the art-world, the conflict between classicist and realist, and the meteor-like appearance of Hans Makart.

In the broad sense of the word, Saar's *Novellen* are portraits, skillful sketches of the author in various stages of his career, or of arresting characters with whom he had come into more or less close contact. The novelist himself applies the title *Frauenbilder* to *Ginevra* and *Die Geschichte eines Wienerkindes*, but this designation would fit a number of other stories equally well. But the word "portrait" in the narrower sense can be applied to the many word-paintings or etchings scattered throughout the *Novellen*. Sometimes we are given full, detailed pictures, as in *Das Haus Reichegg*, where the seductive Countess Reichegg is posed, fan in hand, quite in the grand manner.<sup>14</sup> Again, in *Die Geschichte eines Wienerkindes*, Elsa Röber, with

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> Vol. VII, p. 214 f.

all the elegance and brilliance of her mature charms, sits for the artist.<sup>15</sup> As a foil for Frau Röber, Saar draws her intimate friend, the masculine, strong-minded Frau von Ramberg.

More common than these detailed pictures are portraits in which the author with a few delicate strokes suggests rather than describes his figures. In *Innocens* the priest is first sketched with a touch of humor as he walks absent-mindedly along with flapping cowl, book under arm.<sup>16</sup> This method of sketching characters, which is closely allied to impressionistic art in painting, is practised with consummate skill. Similar to the description of *Innocens* is that of Tertschka in *Die Steinklopfer*, as she sits, a picture of desolation, before the workmen's shack on the Semmering.<sup>17</sup> In *Die Geigerin* the three musician sisters are drawn with rare virtuosity—we learn only enough to pique our curiosity.<sup>18</sup>

Worth remarking, too, is Saar's habit of indicating a person's significance by stressing a few points of appearance. In *Vae Victis* the lion of the day, a parliamentary leader, is late for Corona's party. "Endlich—endlich trat er ein. Man sah, dass er unmittelbar von der Arbeit weg in den Frack geschlüpft sein müsste. Sein Haar war verworren, seine Wäsche zerknittert und die Beschuhung wies den Staub des Tages auf. Aber man beachtete dies alles gar nicht, als er jetzt in seiner imposanten Männlichkeit auf Corona zuschritt, ihr kräftig die Hand schüttelte und dann, mit raschen Blicken die Versammelten überfliegend, an ihrer Seite durch den Salon ging . . . ." <sup>19</sup> This example is a model of impressionistic treatment. At times, the strokes of the artist become even fewer, as when Saar etches the guests at Elsa Röber's dinner party in *Die Geschichte eines Wienerkindes*. Some of the portraits, too, incline to caricature, as the description of the radical scholar in *Dissonanzen*: "Dieses kaltäugige Vogelgesicht! Dieser haarlose zuge-spitzte Schädel!" <sup>20</sup>

Saar is fond of introducing his characters in genre pictures.

<sup>15</sup> Vol. IX, p. 255 f.

<sup>16</sup> Vol. VII, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166 f.

<sup>19</sup> Vol. VIII, p. 29.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. XI, p. 175.



Particularly in the idyllic *Innocens* and *Mariamne* are there a number of exquisite intimate scenes: an invalid sitting beneath an apple tree in the garden, while her youthful companion springs up startled, scattering a mass of wild flowers;<sup>21</sup> a girl rocking a child, her hair and face illuminated by the sun shining through the branches of trees;<sup>22</sup> troopers sprawling on benches in the castle courtyard, as servants come out to the well.<sup>23</sup>

But our artist does not stop with the use of line in his descriptions. Indeed, his manner of handling pigments should gain him the name of colorist. Note the following impressionistic gem from *Mariamne*. The rustic wedding-procession is before the church: "Alles strahlte in Freude und Heiterkeit; beim Aussteigen gab es ein helles Gewirr von schimmernden Gewändern, wehenden Schleiern und duftenden Blumen; selbst die eintönige schwarze Tracht der Männer war durch farbige Sträusschen belebt."<sup>24</sup> Quite in the same style is a passage in *Das Haus Reichegg*.<sup>25</sup> While gazing into the castle garden with its "funkelnde Farbengemisch von Blumen und Rasen, von Himmel und Baumwipfeln," the young officer discerns a slender golden-haired maiden with white dress and dark girdle, picking a rose.

Although Saar devotes more attention to man than to his surroundings or background, he neglects neither exteriors nor interiors. A building of some sort usually occupies the center of his landscapes. In *Innocens* we receive in the opening paragraph a very clear, yet succinct sketch of the Wyschehrad citadel with its picturesque environs. Here, as often in his descriptions, to change the figure, the author by a few notes indicates the key of the composition, which is usually minor. Thus, in *Das Haus Reichegg* the elegiac note of the story is struck at once. The gloomy hospital occupies a desolate position. "An dem kahlen Mauergeviert ziehen sich lange Reihen halb erblindeter Fenster hin. Kranke und Genesende, in lange Spittelröcke . . . dämmerige Halbdunkel der Treppen und Korridore."<sup>26</sup> In the

<sup>21</sup> *Innocens*, p. 55.

<sup>22</sup> *Mariamne*, Vol. VII, p. 81.

<sup>23</sup> *Schloss Kostenitz*, Vol. IX, p. 304.

<sup>24</sup> P. 102.

<sup>25</sup> P. 210.

<sup>26</sup> P. 203.

description of the old-fashioned summer house in the Kostenitz park<sup>27</sup> the mood suggested is the perfect peace and happiness of seclusion. That Saar was capable of producing more objective, realistic landscapes is shown by such examples as the distant mountain view from the stone-quarry up on the Semmering,<sup>28</sup> and the model vista of castle Kostenitz and surroundings, including a glimpse of the neighboring market-town with its thriving industry and agriculture.<sup>29</sup>

Turning now to the interiors of the *Novellen*, we observe that they suggest the habits and life of the characters. We are given brief, but telling descriptions of rooms. Often, as in *Innocens*,<sup>30</sup> the furnishings lead to conversation. The way in which the apartment of Count Reichegg is made to frame the character of the gloomy old fanatic is striking. Hassock and crucifix, portraits of the ruling couple and of Metternich and Radetzky are in evidence, but also busts of Schiller and Goethe, of which the count remarks: "Aber man darf sich von ihren Ideen nicht fortreissen lassen; denn Fantasie und Wirklichkeit sind zweierlei."<sup>31</sup> Similarly, the bachelor apartment of the roué officer in *Schloss Kostenitz* affords a perfect background for the dramatic encounter between host and guest:<sup>32</sup> whips, gloves, sabres, a half-smoked pipe and the remains of a hasty breakfast.

Leaving Saar's use of pictorial effects in his stories, let us consider briefly his treatment of nature. Since man holds the center of the stage, nature descriptions are not given for their own sake. But the dominant note of the narrative is reinforced, the lyric quality emphasized by the most delicate, sure touches. The silent mystery of a moonlight night in a castle park reminds somewhat of Lenau's *Postillion* or one of Böcklin's fantasies: "Kein Blatt regte sich; in hellem Tau schimmerte der Rasen, und geisterhaft leuchteten die Blumen hinter den Laubgängen auf . . . bis mir endlich der Teich glitzernd und flimmernd entgensah. Mit weitgeöffneten Kelchen lagen die Lilien im feuchten Glanze, kaum unterscheidbar von dem Gefieder der

<sup>27</sup> *Schloss Kostenitz*, p. 282.

<sup>28</sup> *Die Steinklopfer*, p. 120.

<sup>29</sup> P. 277.

<sup>30</sup> P. 33 f.

<sup>31</sup> *Das Haus Reichegg*, p. 213.

<sup>32</sup> P. 320.

Schwäne, die auf einer kleinen Insel schliefen und träumerisch die Flügel regten . . . .”<sup>33</sup> A good example of how Saar can make his weather reflect the mood of the actors is found in *Vae Victis*.<sup>34</sup> It is a typical March day with violet-scented air and radiant sun one moment, and the next, suddenly stormy. Thus the author foreshadows the approaching squall in the apparently smooth domestic life of the general and his young wife.

Before closing this analysis of Saar's technique, some attention should be given to his diction. Our author's use of words is aptly characterized by Alfred von Berger: “Er (sc., Saar) ist ein Feinschmecker mit dem Herzen. Alles, was in einem Eindruck enthalten ist bis zu seiner zartesten, nur gewiegtsten Kennernerven verspürbaren Blume wird von ihm empfunden und genossen, und wenn er es schildert, so wird von ihm die Wirkung jedes Wortes auf Sinnlichkeit und Phantasie auf das Sorgfältigste vorgekostet . . . . Saar ist ein stilistischer Epikuräer und darin kommt der Österreicher, der Wiener, der in ihm steckt, veredelt zutage.”<sup>35</sup> The language of the *Novellen* is roughly that of the classics. Yet at times it approaches a more realistic diction. For example, there are traces of dialect in *Der Burggraf* and *Die Pfründner*, while the words of the brutal overseer in *Die Steinklopfer* are well suited to the man, and the Jewish flavor in the speeches of old Seligmann Hirsch (in the story of the same name), is indicated by the most subtle touches.

The dialogue in the *Novellen* is always easy, and possesses at the same time a certain cadenced elegance. Saar is especially adept in suggesting the tense undercurrents in the clash of personalities or views. The table and after-dinner conversation of the motley society in *Die Geschichte eines Wienerkindes*, the electric atmosphere hidden under the mask of polite phrases and clever acting, is worked out with great skill. Moreover, the poet often obtains the highest dramatic effects in his sharp, subtle dialogues. The quarrel scene in *Leutnant Burda* is a case in point, likewise the final meeting between Baron Günthersheim and the young count in the latter's quarters (*Schloss Kostenitz*). Piquancy is lent to Saar's conversation by the

<sup>33</sup> *Das Haus Reichegg*, p. 220.

<sup>34</sup> P. 12.

<sup>35</sup> Vol. I, p. 152 f.

clever use of witty phrases. Thus Egon is introduced in *Das Haus Reichegg* as "Rittmeister ausser Dienst und Attaché ohne Attachement."<sup>36</sup> Clumsy Seligmann Hirsch in Venice suggests a rhinoceros in an aquarium. Often Saar is able to sum up his observations in aphoristic sentences. The story of Seligmann Hirsch ends in a characterization of the old man's socially prominent granddaughter: "In der Tat, ein wunderbares Geschöpf!" "Voilà: die Enkelin von weiland Seligmann Hirsch."<sup>37</sup> The quarrel over Makart between classicist painter and realist sculptor in *Der Hellene* ends as follows: "Was verstehen Sie von Malerei! Sie sind nichts weiter als ein Steinmetz!" "Und Sie nichts anderes als der höhere Schildermaler."<sup>38</sup> After a bitter dispute between conservative nobleman and radical scholar in *Dissonanzen*, each stamps the other in phrases expressive of a whole philosophy, "aristokratischer Hohlkopf,"<sup>39</sup> "moderner Esel."<sup>40</sup>

In concluding this discussion of Saar's *Novellen*, the fact must be explained that the author is not a pessimist who turns away disgusted and disillusioned from the banquet of life. On the contrary, he was always a partaker, even if a moderate one. As Hruschka notes,<sup>41</sup> Saar championed discreetly the right to live out one's life, long before the "moderns" did. The frustration which is the portion of so many of his characters is chiefly the result of hostile circumstances, and has little personal cause. Likewise, the flavor of resignation pervading most of the stories proceeded from an interest in conditions and characters as they existed in his early life. Saar himself never took sides *intellectually* against the modern and progressive. In the introduction to *Die Geigerin* he writes: "Ich bin ein Freund der Vergangenheit. Nicht dass ich etwa romantische Neigungen hätte und für das Ritter—und Minnewesen schwärmte—oder für die sogenannte gute alte Zeit, die es nie gegeben hat, nur jene Vergangenheit will ich gemeint wissen, die mit ihren Ausläufern in die Gegenwart hineinreicht und welcher ich, da

<sup>36</sup> P. 214.

<sup>37</sup> Vol. IX, p. 115.

<sup>38</sup> Vol. XI, p. 159.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>40</sup> P. 186.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

der Mensch nun einmal seine Jugendeindrücke nicht loswerden kann, noch dem Herzen nach angehöre."<sup>42</sup>

But even in those stories in which destiny becomes too strong for the actors, Saar often opens up before the end a broad perspective, in which time has smoothed out the inequalities of the present. Thus, in *Vae Victis* the parliamentary leader, who is responsible for the tragedy in the life of the general, is finally retired by fickle fortune. Similarly, in *Schloss Kostenitz*, era succeeds era. The action proper terminates with the death of Klothilde, but the elderly husband lives on until he chances upon the report that the officer who has wronged him has been slain in battle. At the close of this story, twenty-five years have elapsed since the death of the owner of the castle, and the property has become the possession of a financial magnate. Electric lights and groups of tennis-players betoken the change: "Aber auch dieses Geschlecht wird dereinst zu den vergangenen zählen—und wieder ein neues ausblicken nach den ungewissen, ewig wechselnden Fernen der Zukunft."<sup>43</sup>

We have observed how Saar, in spite of an apparently old-fashioned technique, achieves his end with great economy of means, so that even his digressions often have a purpose.<sup>44</sup> Our author's portraits introduce us to many persons in various classes of Austrian society. Yet the artist himself objected to large canvases. "Ich halte dafür, dass jetzt in der Kunst Beschränkung nottut. Die Zeit der grossen Maler, die alles darstellen durften, weil sie es konnten, ist vorüber!"<sup>45</sup> But, as Bartels points out,<sup>46</sup> these outwardly simple stories reveal not merely typical significance, they often rise to the heights of symbolical greatness, "Ist doch das Leben jedes einzelnen ein Stück Weltsgeschichte."<sup>47</sup> Saar richly deserves what he claimed for himself, a place in Austrian letters beside the other great writers of his era: Ebner-Eschenbach, Hamerling, Anzengruber and Rosegger.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> P. 157.

<sup>43</sup> P. 345.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hruschka, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>45</sup> Saar's tragedy, *Tempesta*, Act III, Scene IV.

<sup>46</sup> *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1909, 2 vols., Vol. II, p. 691.

<sup>47</sup> *Der Exzellenzherr*, p. 51.

<sup>48</sup> Vol. I, p. 186.

## NATURE IN EARLY GERMAN

An examination of early German literature discovers few cases of the personification of Nature and almost none developing the metaphor into allegorical significance.<sup>1</sup> In comparison with the employment of Nature in Old French, the use is meager. A possible explanation is that German literature was less closely connected with the extraordinary "humanistic" activity in Latin which took place in France during the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, many sources of German literature were quite different from those of the French. Again, poems like the *Nibelungenlied* have few figures of speech. Even in cases of translation or paraphrase from the French, the exaggerative device repeatedly employed by French authors to indicate the exceptional beauty of a lady—the declaration that Nature had made a masterpiece—is nearly always dropped, as in the poems *Erek* and *Iwein* which Hartmann von Aue derived from Chrétien de Troyes.

Several instances of French influence occur, however. Thus Heinrich von dem Turlin employed it in *Die Crône*,<sup>3</sup> an Arthurian romance after Chrétien (ca. 1220):

<sup>1</sup> This paper does not aim to discuss the treatment of outdoor nature, that is, the attitude toward flowers, birds, spring, etc. That aspect has already been treated in numerous monographs; it suffices at present to mention the admirable study by W. Ganzenmüller, *Das Naturgefühl im Mittelalter*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1914, and B. Q. Morgan, "Nature in MHG. Lyrics," *Hesperia*, Göttingen, 1912. I believe that the evidence which Ganzenmüller presents and the evidence here confirm each other in the conclusion that the Middle Ages were far from uniformly hostile to Nature.—Moreover, works like *Das Buch der Natur*, Konrad von Megenberg, ed. F. Pfeiffer, Stuttgart, 1861, are not to the immediate purpose. Similarly, I do not take up the personifications of the World and the Earth. For some consideration of personification in the period, see Galle, *Die Personifikation als poetisches Kunstmittel d. mhd. Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1888. [See, however, Der Stricker, *Kleinere Gedichte*, p. 69 where nature appears as 'der ander got' and the passage in Rudolf von Ems, *Der gute Gerhard*, ll. 6336 ff., implying the same idea.—Editor.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "The Goddess Nature in Early Periods," *Jour. Eng. Germ. Phil.*, XIX, 224 ff., and also "Nature in Old French," *Mod. Phil.*, XX, 309 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. G. H. F. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852.

Natûre hât dehein scham  
 Erworben an ir lîbe  
 Ich waen, sie nie von wîbe  
 Niht schoners gemachet . . .  
 So hat sie mit huote  
 Natûre gestellet.<sup>4</sup>

With various writers Nature possesses diverse functions. As in French, she not only forms or creates, but bestows gifts.<sup>5</sup> These are summed up in a didactic poem by Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner* (1266-1313):

Der mensche hât fünf dinc von natûre,  
 Er si rich, arm, herre oder gebûre:  
 Schoene, sinne, sprâche, stimme und kraft:  
 Daz aber er werde tugendhaft,  
 Kuische, milte, dêmüetic und reine,  
 Diu genâde get von got alleine. (I, 6477ff.)<sup>6</sup>

Though a man derives these physical attributes—personal beauty, mind, speech, voice, and strength—from Nature, he obtains virtues of character such as kindness, humility, and purity only from God. This passage of itself indicates no hostile relation between the functions of Nature and God, but implies the same cooperation between God and his agent in the physical world as that which we find in Old French.

The ancient functioning of Nature as a goddess occurs in Ulrich von Eschenbach's *Alexander* (ca. 1285),<sup>7</sup> but the instance (II, 24479ff.) is based on a passage in the beginning of the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon.<sup>8</sup> A different turn to the action is given, however, by an apparent misunderstanding of the source. As Ulrich read Walter's story in Latin,

Leviathan opposed Alexander and complained of his excessive ambition. Nature replied that anybody living against her commandment lived contrary

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 8167ff. Cf. *Minnesinger*, F. H. von der Hagen, Leipzig, 1838, 4 vols., I, 79b, Rudolf von Rotenburk, III, 22. This is in Marold's list, for which see footnote 12.

<sup>5</sup> Lamprecht von Regensburg's *Diu Tohter von Syon*, Paderborn, 1880, l. 1223.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. G. Ehrismann, Tübingen, 1908-11, 4 vols.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. W. Toischer, Tübingen, 1888.

<sup>8</sup> See "Nature in Early Periods," work cited, pp. 235-6.

to God, and accordingly she would punish the king. (Needless to say, her response pleased the hosts of Hell, and the conspiracy to poison him went forward.)

Though there is in such a situation something that may today appear whimsical, the principle involved means that the laws of Nature, or those of God,<sup>9</sup> extend even to within the confines of Hell. The doctrine represents the old humanistic opposition to human excess,—a doctrine supported by Latin allegorical writers of the twelfth century and by Chrétien, when he illustrated the standards of knighthood.

A significant aspect is shown in the employment which Master Eckhart made of the terms "ungenâtûrte nâtûre" and "genâtûrte nâtûre" to correspond with "natura naturans" and "natura naturata."<sup>10</sup> The mystic made the former equivalent to the Reason of God (the Son) and the latter equivalent to the phenomenal world. The Platonic doctrine of the creative agency of ideas (*Timaeus*) is operative here, even if with the intermediary influence of the pseudo-Dionysius and others. There is specifically no hostility between God and nature.

Yet for the most part the uses of Nature in early German did not involve such important matter. They were largely restricted to the sort which we find in Hugo von Langenstein's *Martina*:<sup>11</sup> "als ein nature gebiutet," "der engel nature," "nach menschin nature," "wider siner nature." Some of these instances, it may be noted, are not cases of personification.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For the orders of Herod against nature and God, cf. Priester Wernher, *Marinenleben*, ll. 4307ff., in *Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, I, ed. P. Piper (D.N.L.).

<sup>10</sup> *Deutsche Mystiker des 14ten Jahrhunderts*, (cf. edit. Göttingen, 1906), Leipzig, 1857, ed. F. Pfeiffer, II, pp. 537ff. Cf. C. A. Bennett, *A Philosophical Study of Mysticism*, New Haven, 1923, p. 47; also W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899, p. 152; K. Pearson, "Meister Eckehart, the Mystic," *Mind*, XI, p. 30; W. Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1874-1881, I, pp. 378ff.; R. M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1909, p. 227; W. K. Fleming, *Mysticism in Christianity*, London, 1913, pp. 121-2. Cf. also H. Siebeck, "Ueber die Entstehung der Termini *natura naturans* und *natura naturata*," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, 370ff. Cf. Pfeiffer, work cited, vol. I (1845), pp. 349, 383, for uses of similar verb forms in works once attributed to David of Augsburg (ca. 1210-ca. 1272).

<sup>11</sup> Ed. A. von Keller, Stuttgart, 1856.

<sup>12</sup> K. Marold in "Ueber die poetische Verwertung der Natur und ihrer Erscheinungen in der Vagantenliedern und im deutschen Minnesang," *Zeits. f.*



The comparatively few examples of extended personification or allegory, nevertheless, confirm the tradition of the Latin humanists of the twelfth century and the writers in Old French. A man should behave temperately and live in accordance with the law of Nature, which is the law of God.

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*deut. Philologie*, XXIII, pp. 6-7, gave as earliest examples Heinrich von Melk's *Erinnerung*, 692, his *Litany* (Fundgruben, II, p. 222, 30), and Wernher der Pfaffe's *Marie* (Fundgruben, II, 182, 23). I find only the first case clear. He adds a list from Hagen's *Minnesinger*: I, 68b Eberhart von Sax 3 (a subjective genitive); II, 245b K. Marner, XIV, 14; II, 261b von Buwenburk, III, 1; II, 337b Heinrich Vrouwenlop, I, 2; II, 350a H.V., IV, 1; III, 143a H.V., II, 8; III, 144a H.V., III, 1 and 2,—a long case; III, 147a H.V., III, 17; III, 337a H.V., VII, 3; II, 380b Boppe I, 14; III, 414a Heinzelin von Kostenz 74 (Nature's power from God). I would discard the example from Boppe and the first from Vrouwenlop; I question the second, fifth, and sixth of the latter. Marold adds that examples are in Albrecht von Halberstadt, Konrad Fleck, and Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Kröne*. The specimens I find in Albrecht and Fleck seem doubtful.

I would add *Der Edel Stein* by Ulrich Bonerius (1324-49), ed. C. F. Benecke, Berlin, 1816, (after Latin sources), XX, 55; LXV, 8. *Apollonius von Tyrland* by Heinrich von Neustadt (ca. 1312), ed. S. Singer, Berlin, 1906, ll. 5763ff. Heinzelein von Konstanz, *Der Minne Lehre* (ca. 1300), ed. F. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1852, ll. 385-6 (by Nature, Minne born blind). *Lieder Muskatblut's*, ed. E. von Groote, Cöln, 1852, 95, 68. Cf. Heinrich von Mügeln, *Der Meide Krans*, pp. 49, 51 (D.N.L.); Heinrich von Melk, ed. R. Heinzel, Berlin, 1867, *Erinnerung*, (ca. 1163), 691ff. M. Lexer, vol. II, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (1876), cites Nicolaus von Basel, 208; but I have been unable to consult the text. Possibly I might include *Willehalm von Orlens* (1200-1252?), Rudolf von Ems, ed. V. Junk, Berlin, 1905, l. 4648; *Das Schachgedicht*, Heinrich von Beringen, ed. P. Zimmermann, Tübingen, 1883, l. 3196.

## REVIEWS AND NOTES

**THE LITERARY HISTORY OF HAMLET. I. THE EARLY TRADITION**, by Kemp Malone, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of English in the University of Minnesota. Heidelberg; 1923. *Anglistische Forschungen*, Heft 59.

This book represents the first attempt yet made to explain the development of the story of Hamlet; it is to contain three parts, of which the first is before us. The author claims that indulgence which is the right of the pioneer, but he is entitled to much more than indulgence. His attempt is, I think, both praiseworthy and successful.

Along with the development of his main thesis, Professor Malone has discussed a number of points which, though important in various ways, arise only incidentally out of his subject and might perhaps with advantage have been cast into footnotes. Moreover, if the space thus saved had been devoted to emphasizing the bearings of the various parts of the argument upon one another, the book, which is not easy to read, might have been made somewhat easier. There is no reason why a book of this sort, even though confessedly written for specialists, should not be as readable as the subject-matter permits. They order these things better in France, and, for that matter, usually in England, sometimes in this country.

These defects of exposition are more to be deplored since this is a very important book, so important that I shall give a fairly detailed summary of it.

For purposes of clearness, I may insert at this point the outline of the primitive or pre-Saxonian plot which our author does not give until p. 248: "1) Feng slays Ørvendill; 2) he marries Geruth, his victim's widow; 3) victim and villain are brothers; 4) Feng succeeds to his brother's throne, Amleth, the son of Ørvendill and rightful heir, being set aside; 5) Amleth remains at the king's court as a dependent; 6) in order to save himself from his father's fate he feigns madness, and his ruse is successful; 7) eventually he entraps and slays Feng, and succeeds to the throne; 8) he marries a foreign princess, a woman of the *Þryð* type; 9) he is finally defeated and killed in battle; 10) his widow marries her husband's murderer."

Now, the general questions that arise are: Who were these persons? Whence came these episodes? How did these various elements come together? What various forms did they assume in different regions, and why? The answers are derived from

history, from mythology and legend, from what we know or may plausibly conjecture as to the modes of thought and feeling characteristic of mankind in general and of the Scandinavian tribes in particular. They are reached through emendation of texts, as well as through reconstruction of the mythical and the historical background. Obviously, results so attained will always be in a degree uncertain. Nevertheless, in the present state of at least the reviewer's knowledge (for he cannot claim authority in this field), Professor Malone's theory compels acceptance in its main outlines. It will no doubt undergo correction and revision at the hands of scholars, but probably in minor matters only. The treatment of the subject is extremely competent. Professor Malone's mind is admirably resourceful. He is like a metaphysical poet in his power of detecting and revealing remote analogies and resemblances. He displays remarkable fertility in plausible conjectures, and can produce a rabbit from any apparently empty hat. But his conjectures are never fantastic; rarely do they seem forced or superfluous. He develops the argument with closeness and cogency. If you grant his assumptions, like Calvin, he will impose his conclusions.

The first chapter, *The Germanic North in the Migration Period*, examines the geographical location of the Anglo-Frisian and Scandian tribes in the first few centuries of our era, investigates certain changes in religion among them, and finally presents a sketch of their political relations. It thus furnishes a background for the more detailed study of particular features of legend formation and transmission in the succeeding chapters, and, at the same time, introduces the statement of the main thesis of the book (p. 50), which runs as follows.

"Finally, it is the chief purpose of this treatise to show that the Amleth tale of Saxo was likewise a product of Geatish tradition as developed in Jutland. That Saxo derived the tale from Jutland is unquestioned; its Jutish timbre was established one for all by Olrik. . . . I purpose to demonstrate, however, that the roots of the story go back to Geatland, and that traces of it are to be found in its original home.

"If for the moment this theory be accepted without proof, it follows that the so-called Jutish kings of Saxo without exception were originally aliens. Ørvendill, Feng, Amleth, Hüglek and Hather (?) were of Geatish origin; Vermund and Uffe were Angles; Viglek represents a blending of the two streams of tradition."

The second chapter discusses the name *Amlödi*, for which no satisfactory etymology has ever been brought forward. Professor Malone modestly suggests that the explanation he has to offer has been overlooked because of its very obviousness. "In brief, I interpret the word to mean simply 'mad Ole.'" The first element, *Anl-*, is the result of the development of a

common Scandinavian name, *Anale* or *Anule*; the second element comes from *ðð*-, "mad." Originally, the two would form a descriptive phrase, *Anle ððe*, which later becomes a single word, "the name of the man in question." The change from *n* to *m* remains to be accounted for, and this task is achieved by calling upon Irish influence. The name occurs in Irish in such a form that, if we can suppose that Ireland had any influence upon the growth of the Hamlet story, it may well be called upon to explain the change from *n* to *m*. Now, in this chapter, Professor Malone deals chiefly with the phonetics involved in the assumption of Irish influence, but he points out briefly certain strong reasons for believing that Ireland did influence the growth of the legend, and promises to deal with the matter in the next volume. Meanwhile, who was "mad Ole"? Let us remember that *Anale* or *Anule* = OE *Onela*.

Chapter three, entitled *Beowulf* and *Onela*, traces the tendency to convert the Swedish usurper *Onela* into a Geatish king, in spite of the fact that he was killed in the invasion of Sweden by the Geats when they placed the rightful heirs, his nephews, on the Swedish throne. The beginnings of the process are observable in the strangely sympathetic treatment of *Onela* in the *Beowulf*, which is owing to the facts that *Wiglaf*, *Beowulf*'s successor, may be supposed on plausible grounds to have been a blood-kinsman of *Onela*, that, through *Weohstan*, his father, "he must in any case have had a loyalty of his own to his father's lord," and that "no Geatish skald singing before *Wiglaf* or his successors would have dared to present *Onela* unsympathetically or *Eadgils* other than unsympathetically." "There is reason to believe that the tendency was worked out to its logical conclusion." In Norway, *Onela*, through a misunderstanding, became a Norwegian king (at least according to Norwegian tradition as preserved in Iceland). In Denmark he became a Danish king, *Áli* of the *Skjöldungasaga* (the argument here is complex and elaborate, and cannot readily be summarized). "His consistent loss of his proper nationality was not accidental. It grew naturally out of his hostility to his kinsmen *Eanmund* and *Eadgils* and his final defeat at the hands of the latter. The neighbors of the Swedes, who were continually at war with the Uppsala monarchs, would easily identify with their own side a man who likewise was an enemy of those monarchs. This alone, however, would not account for *Onela*'s ready adoption and great success (if you will) as a saga hero. His personality and his exploits must have been such as to make him an attractive and sympathetic figure, a good subject for poetical treatment, so that the skalds would pounce upon any link they might find which would give them an excuse for making him into a hero of their own people."

Before continuing his examination of the career of Onela, Professor Malone deems it necessary to spend some time on that of Beowulf. The fourth chapter, Beowulf and Hroðulf (Hroðulf is the Danish Hrólfr), is chiefly devoted to establishing an identification of Beowulf and Bjarki, accomplished by a careful comparison of their respective sagas, in the course of which very plausible explanations are found for all of the important points in which these sagas differ. At first, the reader is somewhat puzzled to know what the material in this chapter has to do with the subject of the book, but the last paragraph casts the needed light on the matter. "It seems likely, then, that a Geatish hero known at home by the nickname Beowulf, among the Danes by the nickname Bjarki, was drawn into the Danish cycle of stories centering around Hrólfr. This serves to explain the absence in Selund of a specific Beowulf saga. Does it throw any light on the Onela story? It presents at least a striking parallel, in that here too an original alien enemy becomes a national hero. And as we proceed other bearings will appear."

Chapter five, Ermuthrud, is the first of a series of chapters each having as its title the name of one of the characters in the story of Amleth as told by Saxo. Ermuthrud is Amleth's wife. Two features of her story are important: first, that she, like Amleth's mother, marries the slayer of her husband; second, that in its main features the story of Ermuthrud is the story of Þryð, the wife of the Anglian king Offa. Now, if we accept for the moment the identity of Amleth with Onela, can we find anything about Onela's wife that will explain the marriage repetition and also the transfer of the Þryð story? Accordingly, the chapter begins: "It is obviously of the greatest importance to determine who was the wife of the historical Onela." The complex argument can be only briefly and hence unsatisfactorily stated.

Professor Malone accepts Miss Clarke's Yrsa emendation for *Beowulf*, 1, 62, which gives us Yrsa as Onela's wife, but he regards Yrsa as Headfdene's daughter-in-law, not daughter, hence the mother of Hroðulf, and married to Onela after the early death of Healfdene's son Halga (cf. ch. 11). A comparison of the *Beowulf* with the Scandinavian monuments yields the probable conclusion that Yrsa had as her third husband Eadgils, the slayer of Onela. The repetition is thus in part accounted for (but for the complete explanation we must await chapter 6). The character and activities of Yrsa are of importance, and these can be determined with great probability by a study of the various versions of Hrólfr's (Hroðulf's) journey to the court of Aðils (Eadgils) for the purpose of rescuing his mother from the improper marriage. Professor Malone believes that Saxo's version is the more, the Icelandic versions the less primitive.

The difference between the two he thinks to be in large part accounted for by the absorption of Beowulf (Bjarki) into the Hrólfr cycle (here one of the further bearings of the study in chapter four appears). The character of Yrsa as thus revealed turns out to have marked "points of kinship with Þryð herself," and it becomes very easy to understand how she should have attracted the story of Offa's wife into the Amleth legend. "Nothing could be easier than a psychological association between the faithless widow and the woman who is the death of her suitors. What we have learned about the character of Yrsa from our study of the Expedition to Uppsala tends to confirm this theory of transfer, and certainly it seems unnecessary to go all the way to England in search of the source of a Jutish tale the original home of which was in the Jutland peninsula!"

Chapter six takes up Amleth's father, Ørvendill. He is to be equated with Onela's father, Ongenþeow of the *Beowulf*, Egill of the Scandinavian monuments, Angantýr of the *Hervararsaga*. (Before proceeding, attention should be called to the fact that in ch. I, p. 32, in his discussion of the Nerthus cult, Professor Malone had come to the conclusion that in the Scandinavian mythology "Earendal or Aurvandill . . . is simply an hypostasis of Týr, and . . . is especially connected with the dawn.") Etymologizing Angantýr, our author concludes that the word means "phallus-Týr," a designation "appropriate to the representative of Týr in the early Nerthus celebration." It would then be a by-name, and the real name of the king is Egill. Ongenþeow may then be interpreted either as equivalent to Aganþér, "servant of the phallus," or perhaps as a euphemistic form introduced after Christianization. "Why did this by-name get attached to Egill and to no other king?" "We have already seen that with the development of Nerthus to a bi-sexual deity Týr was forced out of the cult, and Ing brought in as son of Nerthus." There ensued a cult-war, the Swedes championing Týr, the Danes Ing, of which some evidences are traced in the *Ynglingasaga*, and the name Angantýr clung to Egill because he was "the great champion of the old cult in its fight for existence." "After his death, things seem to have cooled down. We have no evidence that his sons took an aggressive stand in the matter, and it is clear that his grandson Aðils was identified with the new cult . . . The character of Egill, the 'terrible Ongenþeow' of the *Beowulf* (2929a), thus marks the end of an era, and must have made a deep impression on the entire North. It is, therefore, not surprising that the story of his death should meet us at every turn. We have, in fact, no less than eight versions of the tale." I am compelled to pass over many interesting matters in this chapter, and the next point I shall mention is the discussion of the connection with Egill of the term Vendilkráka, which, Professor Malone thinks, would be

early and readily reduced to Egill the Vendel, i. e., a man hailing from Vendel (in Sweden). But there was a Vendel in Jutland, and this would serve "to give the Jutes a claim to him, and they would not fail to put in this claim, as his fame would do them credit." Among the Vendelfolk his by-name Angantýr "might easily have been supplanted by the name *Ørvendill* (Icel. *Aurvandill*), which, as we have seen (cap. 1), was the name of a hypostasis of the god." The last few pages of this chapter are devoted to showing how tradition would reverse certain historical facts. Actually Ongenþeow killed Hæðcyn, but, for reasons which I cannot take space to enumerate, it would seem probable that, when Ongenþeow and Onela came to be Geatish kings, Ongenþeow-Ørvendill took the place of Herebeald (elder brother of Hæðcyn, and, accidentally, slain by Hæðcyn), thus reversing the order of events. Hæðcyn thus becomes the villain of the piece, who gains the throne by slaying his elder brother; the villainous younger brother marries his brother's widow, for Hæðcyn, in the historical war, had surprised Ongenþeow and temporarily captured his wife, while the faithless widow motif already in the historical complex (see above, ch. 5) would eliminate the historical fact of her rescue; and Onela-Amleth avenges his father. We have now before us what our author calls "the nucleus of the Hamlet Tale."

Chapter seven, *The Hervararsaga*, is a long and complicated chapter, in which, through a minute examination of this saga in connection with passages in Saxo and Messenius, as well as in other sagas, Professor Malone seeks and finds support for the development already outlined. Only a few general points can be here noticed. The main point is that the theory of the development of the Hamlet story enables us to understand and account for the *Hervararsaga*, and only that theory does. The three Angantýrs of this saga are all to be equated with Ongenþeow, being legendary differentiations of the same historic personage. In the saga are episodes which can be accounted for only when we accept the working up of the history of Ongenþeow in Jutland along the lines laid down in the last chapter. Still other episodes can be explained only through a reconstruction of the historical relations between Hreðel, father of Hæðcyn, and Ongenþeow. In other words, whatever the superficial aspects of the *Hervararsaga*, the tale can be understood only as a legendary transmogrification of the historical facts of the relations between Geats and Swedes, in which transmogrification are implied the steps already outlined in the development of the Hamlet story. Thus interpreted, the saga becomes thoroughly intelligible. It affords minor correspondences of interest and importance; at the same time, the way in which, when thus interpreted, it falls into line with the conclusions already reached makes us feel that the Hamlet theory is a good hammer for cracking a hard nut.

In chapter eight, entitled Feng: Geruth, there comes to be considered the question of Hæðcyn's change of name. We have seen how he was converted into the slayer of Ongenþeow-Ørvendill; but the slayer in the Amleth story is called Feng. The answer to the problem is briefly given. We know that *Fengr* and *Fjölñir* are two names that belong to Óðinn in his capacity as the god that stills the tempest, and in the only two passages where these names occur, they are associated. In the Amleth story, Amleth, besides killing Feng, kills also a certain Fjaller, etymologized by Bugge as Fjölñir. This coincidence is striking. Professor Malone finds reasons for believing that both *Fengr* and *Fjölñir* are epithets originally belonging to Freyr, and later transferred to Óðinn. "On this interpretation, then, Ørvendill was at one time thought of as having been killed by Freyr. This of course fits in admirably with my identification of Ørvendill and Angantýr-Egill, who, as we have seen, according to the Ynglingatal was killed by Freyr . . . In Jutland Egill's death was confounded with that of Herebeald; as this was an accidental death it was natural enough to blame a god for it, and the god chosen would naturally be the king's historical enemy Freyr" (for Egill, see above, bitterly opposed the cult of Freyr). "In this way Hæðcyn, the instrument of the god's vengeance, came to be called by a Freyr heiti." As for the name Geruth, it is probably phonetically developed from an earlier Geirþrúðr, suggested by its similarity to Ermuthrud, because of the fact that she likewise marries her husband's slayer.

Chapter nine, Amleth, is likewise short, but important. "How did Onela become mad Ole?" He was renowned for his physical strength. But the circumstances of the saga that was forming round him inevitably made him young. "For the fratricide and faithless widow combination makes the widow young. Hence that son who is to avenge his father's death must be pictured as growing up." Hence there was a tendency for Onela to develop in the direction of the "strong fool," or "dummling." But again the circumstances of the story would influence this development in a special way, tending to bring out the prankish side of his nature, thus earning him the name of "mad Anle," not as a name denoting insanity, but as one denoting wildness, unruliness of behavior. The name once given would suggest the starting-point for the idea of simulated madness, with a view to eventually exacting the vengeance for the murdered father which was his sacred duty. But the theory that Amleth's follies were originally boyish pranks needs support, and it is the purpose of the next two chapters to furnish it.

I mention merely some of the principal conclusions reached in chapter ten, Helgi, for a summary would amount almost to a reprint. The Helgasaga contains a vengeance story originally



distinct from that of Amleth, because it is based upon another series of historical events, but this story (except in Denmark) became so contaminated with the Amleth story that its character was profoundly changed. The Helgi story exists in several different versions, all of which are carefully examined. The differences in names go back in most cases though not in all to the different historical basis. The differences in episode have of course partly the same origin, but, otherwise, can be shown to be due to the process of accommodation necessary in grafting the Amleth story on to the originally independent Helgi story. In working out these conclusions, various bits of evidence confirmatory of the theory already sketched are discovered. For instance, we find that Viðill was the name of Amleth's foster-brother, and this confirms the identification of Amleth with Onela, i. e., Áli, "since we know from the *Kalfsvisa* that Viðill was a retainer of Áli." We find also unmistakable traces of the youthful simulated madness, as well as of other features of the Amleth tale. I pass over chapter eleven, entitled *Yrsa*.

Chapter twelve has to do with Viglek, the slayer of Amleth, a more or less colorless personality whose appearance in the tale is late. Reasons are alleged for believing that Viglek is a substitute for Aðils, the historical slayer of Onela-Áli, and for supposing that some of the episodes in the life of Hæðcyn have been transferred to him, while at the same time he represents, as Amleth's successor, "a fusion of the Geatish Wiglaf and the Anglian Wihlæg."

Our last chapter, entitled *The Primitive Plot*, gathers up the threads and weaves them into a pattern. Professor Malone does not attempt to determine the plot in its most primitive form, but in that form which may be called the pre-Saxonian; in the *Fjaller* episode are perhaps preserved distinct traces of a still more primitive form, but they are too scanty to serve as a basis for reconstruction. After enumerating the ten principal features of the primitive plot as determined in the preceding chapters, he then discusses their distribution in the various versions, and also the various forms which each of these features assumes, with a view to deciding what details are to be used in filling out the story. At the end of this discussion, he sketches the primitive plot as follows: "Kind [sic] Ørvendill of Jutland and his younger brother Feng become estranged over Geruth, the elder brother's wife. It finally comes to blows and Feng kills his brother and marries Geruth. He also succeeds to his brother's throne, the rightful heir, Amleth, the son of Ørvendill, being set aside. Amleth fears for his own life and seeks safety in feigned madness. This madness takes the form of brutish, witless behavior together with talk apparently senseless but in reality full of meaning, if one is able to see through it. Amleth's bestial behavior is exemplified in his filthiness and in

his rape of his sister (?) or foster-sister. His witlessness further appears in such details as his horseback ride, where he sits facing toward the tail of his mount. The so-called riddles illustrate his practice of giving answers which are both nonsensical and to the point. This is further illustrated by his reply to his faithful retainer Vifill. Amleth spends much of his time in whittling out wooden hooks. When asked why he busies himself thus he replies that he is preparing the hooks to avenge his father with. This reply is not taken seriously, but his skill in making the hooks leads some to suspect he is not so witless as he appears to be. Feng therefore arranges for Amleth an ostensibly private interview with Geruth, but conceals in the room a spy, viz., the man who had suggested the plan. Amleth, however, suspects something and before unbosoming himself to his mother he finds and kills the spy. Feng now fears the worst and so commissions Vifill to put Amleth to death secretly. Vifill, however, allows him to escape, satisfying Feng of Amleth's death by producing a mangled body (?) which he represents as that of Amleth. Amleth's funeral obsequies are now celebrated, but toward the close of the celebration, when the company is well drunk, Amleth returns, with his hooks renders the retainers helpless and sets fire to the hall. He then proceeds to the king's bower, and kills him there with his own sword. Amleth now assumes the throne. Later he makes a viking expedition to France (later to the British Isles). In the course of this expedition he encounters a virgin queen or princess named Yrsa or Thruth (later Ermuthrud). She had hitherto been grim to her suitors. Amleth, however, meets with her favor, and she woos and wins him. The pair now return to Jutland. Finally Amleth is killed in battle with his enemy Aðils of Sweden (later Viglek). Amleth's widow thereupon gives herself to Aðils."

I select from the first chapter, pp. 5-14, one of the most remarkable examples of Professor Malone's fertility of conjecture and ingenuity of reasoning. It consists in his treatment of Tacitus's list of the tribes forming the amphictyony worshipping the goddess Nerthus, namely Reudigni, Aviones, Angli, Varini, Eudoses, Svardones, Nuitones. He assumes that "the list of members of the amphictyony took a stereotyped form, and this form would presumably be in verse." Hence,

Reudigni	Aviones	Angli Varini
Eudoses	Svardones	Nuitones

Noticing the lack of alliteration in the second line, he starts with a suggestion of Mullenhoff that *Nuitones* "had suffered at the hands of the scribes, since *ui* is not a Germanic diphthong," points out a series of scribal blunders whereby the word *Nuitones* might readily have been produced out of *Heutones* = OE *Eotan*, 'Jutes,' and thus restores alliteration while explaining Tacitus's "astounding omission of the Jutes." He then takes up Lappen-

berg's identification of the Svardones with the Sweordweras of *Widsið*, makes the necessary emendation to *Sverdone*s, observes that *Sweordweras* is equivalent to *Seaxe*, 'swordsmen,' and by the consequent identification of the Sverdone with the Saxons is able "to account for what Chambers calls 'the extraordinary omission of the Saxons by Tacitus.'" As for the Reudigni, who were the guardians of the sanctuary, their name must have been a by-name, since it occurs nowhere else. Their successors in the occupation of the island of Selund and in their sacral functions, however, were the Danes, and an examination of the history of the Danes seems to show that they drove out the Eruli from this island about 400 A. D. The Reudigni and the Eruli may then be plausibly identified, and the substitution of Eruli for Reudigni in the verse incidentally strengthens the alliteration. This conclusion is reached by a brilliant analysis, likewise involving ingenious textual emendation, of the relevant passage in Jordanes.

This brief summary, however, does not do full justice to Professor Malone's argument in this passage. As one reads, one is convinced; it is only upon reflection that one remembers the daring assumption with which it starts, the dangerous argument *ex silentio*, the textual emendations. Yet the daring assumptions are not rash, and even an unfriendly critic could not deny the great plausibility of the emendations, nor could he deny that, if the problem is to be solved at all, such methods must be employed. Professor Malone has erected a structure which, though fragile, is intellectually habitable, and philology will probably dwell in it for some time, if not permanently.

One of the most interesting and important features of the book is that so many of the author's suggestions serve to elucidate the motives and actions of the various characters in the sagas and to reconcile these motives and actions with what seem to be the historical facts of the interrelations of the tribes. A notable instance is the suggestion that Yrsa was the daughter-in-law, not the daughter, of Healfdene, hence the mother of Hroðulf, and, in second marriage, the wife of Onela (p. 104f). "Before proceeding further with the discussion it will be well to point out how admirably the hypothesis that Yrsa was the wife of Onela accounts for the hitherto obscure features of the political situation as it then existed. We understand thoroughly why the Geats allied themselves with the enemies of Hroðulf (Hrólfr) among the Danes. The intimate relations between Hroðgar and the Geats rendered any other course impossible. But what was the reason for the enmity between the Geats and Onela? If Onela had been married to a true daughter of Healfdene, we should still be at a loss to account for the political grouping, as this marriage would not bind him to either of the Danish factions—in itself, at least. If, however, he was married to Healf-

dene's daughter-in-law Yrsa, the mother of Hroðulf, we have at once a perfect explanation for the whole situation. Hroðulf's step-father would necessarily be Hroðulf's ally, and as such would be an enemy of the Geats. It now becomes clear why Eanmund and Eadgils when defeated at home turned to the Geats for help, and why they got it. Beowulf's motives for breaking faith with Onela now become clearer; his loyalty to Hroðgar played an important part here, and the campaign against Onela was only the necessary preliminary to the later campaign against Onela's step-son Hroðulf." Whether this explanation is correct or not, we shall probably never know; there are many possible reasons for enmity between two barbarian or civilized peoples. But it is consistent, simple, and clear, and it apparently takes in all the facts at present known. Professor Malone constantly projects his theory of the growth of the Hamlet legend against the historical and political background, and demands that it meet the conditions thus imposed. It is true that he is obliged at times to construct the background itself in part (as here, and in ch. 1; cf. also p. 168); but in work of this kind, where the unquestioned facts are so few and so ambiguous, a favorable presumption arises when the different parts of the whole construction support each other.

The weakness of the book, if the word weakness be a suitable one, is that Professor Malone tries to make his explanation almost too complete. He very much dislikes leaving any question unanswered. His answer is always ingenious, usually plausible, frequently convincing. At the same time, he multiplies the chances of error, and he envelops the book in a thicker atmosphere of conjecture than need be, thus making his argument appear less substantial than it really is. For instance, the suggestion as to the origin of the name Geruth seems forced. No harm, rather an argumentative gain would result from omitting this suggestion, and leaving the subject, as did Dr. Johnson on a famous occasion, in a decent obscurity. I own to a sense of relief on encountering the one or two passages in which Professor Malone admitted that he had no way of solving the particular problem in hand. I would not, of course, be misunderstood to mean that his methodology is unsound; on the contrary, I have already emphasized his competence, and he knows as well as anyone the difference between conjecture, hypothesis, theory, and fact.

It is always a question, in studying problems of this nature, how much to attribute to the self-conscious imaginative and artistic activity of the poet or story-teller. I rather think our present tendency is greatly to underestimate the importance of this factor. Professor Malone, however, is not to be accused of doing so, since many of his explanations, though they do not postulate that self-conscious activity (cf., however, p. 187),

are quite consistent with such postulation. He is, no doubt, wise in stating the course taken by the development of a legend and enumerating the steps that make it up, without complicating his argument by attempts to determine the relative responsibilities of "group activities," "the mind of the folk," the self-conscious artist. These relative responsibilities can not be apportioned, as is indeed usually the case even where evidence is plentiful, and so, in this field as in most others, students will doubtless remain divided into two groups, those who, being, paradoxically enough, either mystics or mechanists, wish to lessen the importance of the poet by explaining as much as possible through the folk-mind or the environment, and those who, being like this reviewer, old-fashioned individualists, wish to bring the poet into the foreground. Professor Malone's theory of the Hamlet story can be accepted, at least provisionally, and he asks no more, by both.

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**PHILIPP WITKOP: FRAUEN IM LEBEN DEUTSCHER  
DICHTER.** H. Haessel Verlag, Leipzig, 1923. 203 pp.

With the exception, perhaps, of Goethe and Romanticism no general subject touching the field of German literature has during the last decade or so enjoyed keener interest than the relation of women to the lives and works of men of letters. Attention has by no means been focused solely upon such women as were themselves writers. Quite regardless of their station in life, women are being studied with respect to their spiritual significance for the authors in question, their vital contribution to the soul-life of the poets with whom they came into contact. That this interest is not merely biographical but has, consciously or unconsciously, a strong sociological element, seems rather apparent.

Among the large number of recent works dealing with the subject on its various phases, it may not be out of place here to mention the following, most of which belong to the bibliography of Goethe or Romanticism.

M. G. Bach, *Wieland's Attitude toward Woman and her cultural and social Relations*, New York, 1922.

Wilhelm Bode, *Die Schicksale der Friederike Brion vor und nach ihrem Tode*, Berlin, 1920.

K. Muthesius, *Goethe und seine Mutter*, Dresden, 1923.

Julius Petersen (editor), *Goethes Briefe an Charlotte von Stein*, 2 vols. in 4, Leipzig, 1923.

Hans Gerhard Gräf (editor), *Goethes Briefwechsel mit seiner Frau*, Frankfurt, a. M., 1916.

Id., *Goethes Ehe in Briefen*, Frankfurt a. M., 1921 (selections from the previous work).

Etta Federn, *Christiane von Goethe*, München, 1916.

Reinhold Steig (editor), *Bettinas Briefwechsel mit Goethe*, Leipzig, 1922.

H. H. Houben, *Otilie von Goethe*, Leipzig, 1923.

Werner Deetjen (editor), *Die Göchhausen. Briefe einer Hofdame aus dem klassischen Weimar*, Berlin, 1923.

H. H. Houben (editor), *Damals in Weimar. Erinnerungen und Briefe von und an Johanna Schopenhauer*, Leipzig, 1924.

C. Viëtor (editor), *Die Briefe der Diotima*, Leipzig, 1921.

Paul Landau (editor), *Frauenbriefe der Romantik*, Berlin, 1923.

Heinrich Finke (editor), *Der Briefwechsel Friedrich und Dorothea Schlegels 1818-1820*, München, 1923.

Wolfgang Pauker, *Lenaus Freundin Nanette Wolf in Gmunden*, Wien and Leipzig, 1923.

Albrecht Janssen, *Die Frauen um F. Hebbel*, Berlin, 1919.

Paul Kluckhohn, *Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik*, Halle, 1922,—a general work, but of considerable value for the subject as a whole.

In a sense Witkop's work harvests some of the fruits of this interest by presenting for the general reader eleven character sketches of women, each of whom played a decisive or at least important part in the life of some author. They are, in the order treated: Mothers, Elizabeth Goethe and Elisabeth Keller; Sisters, Cornelia Goethe and Ulrike von Kleist; Wives, Christiane Vulpius-Goethe, Marianne Niemeyer-Immermann and Christine Enghaus-Hebbel; Sweethearts, Friederike Brion, Ulrike von Levetzow, Elsie Krienitz, known as Camilla Selden (Heine's *Mouche*) and Susette Borkenstein-Gontard (Hölderlin's *Diotima*).\*

The author comes to his task with excellent qualifications and no small amount of valuable experience along similar lines. Thus, in *Heidelberg und die deutsche Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1915, in *Die deutschen Lyriker von Luther bis Nietzsche*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1921, and in *Heinrich von Kleist*, Leipzig, 1921, he has already dealt with other important literary topics in a popular but at the same time generally accurate manner. Works like these, if they combine accuracy with popular appeal, undoubtedly have a most important mission, both for scholarship and for the general reading world. They serve as a link and an intermediary between the two.

Witkop, himself somewhat of a poet (compare *Eros*, his volume of lyrics), has approached his subject in the present volume from the artist's point of view. Based largely on letters

\* It is to be regretted for more than one reason that Witkop did not also include Klopstock's *Fanny* and *Mela* in his discussion.—EDITOR.

and other first-hand material, the book's outwardly disjointed chapters on eleven distinct women have a certain logical sequence and symmetry of arrangement. We are introduced to two mothers, Goethe's and Keller's, both remarkable women, both endowed with something of an epic nature and both rather neglected by their sons, the latter, however, only temporarily. Then we meet two sisters, Goethe's and Kleist's, Cornelia overshadowed by the majesty of the genius of her brother, whose best comrade she was; Ulrike, also a comrade but almost victimized by that morbid, restless rebel, the unhappy Kleist. Of wives there are three, Goethe's Christiane, a personification of sex, an ingenuous *Naturwesen*; Immermann's Marianne, combining a distinct character with these natural qualities, and hence standing one step higher in the human scale than Christiane; and finally Hebbel's Christine, who, being an artist in addition, occupies the highest plane of the three. Last we become acquainted with four sweethearts, Goethe's Friederike, who, by arousing his matutinal-vernal love, first led him to a realization of the unity and harmony of his *Lebensgefühl*; Goethe's Ulrike, in whom he bade farewell to the sensual beauty and spontaneity of life; Heine's Mouche, who typifies the desperate love of life cherished by the poet at the brink of the grave; and Hölderlin's Diotima, the symbol of the ideal, supramundane life for which he yearned, the object of his metaphysical love. It is to be noted that each of the four typical relationships of the sexes is introduced by a fitting illustration from Goethe's life, in the last instance (the Sweetheart) by two strikingly contrasted examples. In this skilful, harmonious development of the subject, unhampered by chronological considerations but leading definitely up to a climax, there is subtle, unobtrusive art.

The following points in the individual chapters, it is felt, deserve special mention.

In the chapter on Goethe's mother, the author's use of the supposition of heritability (e. g., p. 11) is opposed by recent theories of estimable psychologists, for instance the behaviorists. Another point: Is not Elisabeth Goethe's lack of complaint about Wolfgang's later neglect of her (which is in part, at least, a manifestation of his egoism) psychologically explainable by the presence of the same trait in her (attested now and then by his letters)? Finally, this chapter should contain some reference to traces of Frau Aja's character in her son's works (e. g., Elisabeth in *Götz* and the mother in *Hermann und Dorothea*).

In the chapter on Keller's mother the author shows very effectively the difference between the respective attitudes between Goethe and Keller to their mothers. Keller's mother, unlike Goethe's, always remained a living factor in her son's life. He never outgrew her influence, and the long periods in which he neglected her (1840-1842 and 1850-1851) were richly

atoned for by poetic penance (the first version of *Der grüne Heinrich* and the verses *Während eines Briefes an die Mutter, nachdem ich anderthalb Jahre nicht geschrieben*).

The chapter on Cornelia Goethe is exceptionally well done. Schlosser and Lenz are well characterized. The central thought of the section is clearly expressed in the opening paragraph (p. 45): "Neben und mit einem dichterischen Genius wie Goethe schwesterlich aufzuwachsen, ist ein Schicksal, das 'alle Freuden, die unendlichen, alle Schmerzen, die unendlichen, ganz' in sich trägt. Wenn die Lebenswende kommt, wo die Schwester einsam zurückbleibt, so wird sie, die so lange selig in die Sonne gesehen, im dämmernden Tag sich nicht mehr zurechtfinden. Frierend wird sie im Schatten des Unzulänglichen stehen und sehnend dahinwelken." A disturbing misprint occurs on p. 24, line 7. For *Maximilian von La Roche* read *Maximiliane*, etc.

In the treatment of Ulrike von Kleist, Ulrike herself is rather unduly relegated to the background, while Kleist's own sufferings and vagaries engage our principal attention. His victimization of her, however, is ably presented.

The section devoted to Goethe's Christiane ventures the explanation, so often attempted, of the Goethe-Christiane phenomenon. The problem is approached as follows (p. 91): "Auf den Höhen des Genius ist die Begegnung wertgleicher und wesensgemässer Persönlichkeiten fast unmöglich. Darum haben die wenigen künstlerischen Genies, die nicht unverehelicht geblieben sind, fast stets auf die Persönlichkeit im Weibe verzichtet und sich mit einem reinen Urbild der Gattung begnügt. Ihr einsamer, wissender Geist hat sich der unbewussten Natur vermählt." The author does well in stressing Goethe's unerring loyalty to Christiane.

The treatment of Marianne Immerman suffers from lack of unity. It consists of three separate elements: 1. Immermann's relation to Elisa von Ahlefeldt, 2. his love for Marianne and their short-lived marriage, 3. Marianne's subsequent life. Hence the chapter would be better named: *Die Frauen in Immermanns Leben*. The author points out how Immermann's love for Marianne turned him from *Weltflucht* to *Weltdurchdringung* and how under the influence of this love his Münchhausen developed into a gospel of mundane joy and activity, the over-coming of the world-negating novel of Romanticism.

In the chapter of Christine Enghaus-Hebbel the author distinguishes sharply between a pre-Christine period in Hebbel's life (a period of struggle and misery) and the Christine period (one of fulfilment and happiness). Hebbel's essentially uncritical attitude (the word "uncritical" in the sense of the German *kritiklos*) toward his wife and the reflection of her character in his works are emphasized. The statement (p. 122): "Das einzige Mal in der Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung



haben sich hier zwei ebenbürtige Menschen und Künstler für ihr Leben gefunden," overstates the case and must be challenged. A number of similar instances in German literature—some of them even better illustrations—occur to one, among them Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel, Arnim and Bettina, Varnhagen and Rahel, Kinkel and Johanna Mockel-Mathieux. The author uses the longer form of Christine's maiden name (Engelhausen) throughout, although the critics generally agree in writing Enghaus.

The last four chapters have already been sufficiently discussed. But the following happy sentence (p. 168), descriptive of Goethe after he had overcome his belated love for Ulrike and had resigned himself to his rôle as *senex mirabilis*, deserves to be quoted: "Sein Arbeitszimmer wird zur Herzkammer der Welt, in das alles Leben einströmt, das alles Leben erneuert weiter treibt."

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**FESTSCHRIFT. EUGEN MOGK.** Zum 70 Geburtstag, 19. Juli, 1924. Mit einem Porträt und zwei Tafeln. 1924. Pp. XLVIII+652. Verlag von Max Niemeyer.

Professor Mogk's colleagues, friends and former students have presented him, on his seventieth birthday with a handsome anniversary volume of researches in those departments of Scandinavian philology and Germanics in which his own shining name has held such a distinguished place for forty years. The tabula gratulatoria contains 109 names; forty investigations make up the solid scholarly content of the volume. It will not be possible here to review, or even note, these as a whole; but I shall consider a few of them, and then content myself with a brief statement about the rest. A word about Professor Mogk's own achievements in the field will be in order; though I realize they are for the most part known to the readers of this journal. Mogk's initial contribution was his "Untersuchungen über die Gylfaginning," of which Part I, on the manuscript, appeared in 1879, Part II, on the sources, in 1880. Then there follow, yearly about two studies, all in the field of Old Norse, "Ulfr, Uggason," "Ginnungagap," "Der Mythus von Frey," etc.), with the edition of *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* in 1886. There is nothing in 1888; but then begins with 1889 a productivity that is well-nigh astounding, especially when we know what heavy demands there were upon Mogk's time in other ways. The *Festschrift* gives, on pp. XI-XLVIII, the list of Mogk's writings (with the reviews of the books): first his books and articles, second, his reviews, and there are 501 contributions. Also

almost all these articles are in the nature of investigations, and appear in scholarly journals, where the reviews, which are for the most part critical, are also to be found. I shall not here speak of these works; his *Norwegisch-isländische Litteratur*, and the *Germanische Mythologie*, especially, are widely known, and have had a great influence; numerous special investigations will occur to every Germanist and student of Old Norse. And to those of us, his former students, who are far away and have not seen Professor Mogk, perhaps, since we studied with him the Icelandic saga in Leipzig, it is a pleasure to still meet, as regularly as before, with contributions from his pen. In this connection I shall call attention to his *Novellistische Darstellung mythologischer Stoffe Snorris und seiner Schule*, as *Folklore Fellows Communications*, nr. 51, and "Die Überlieferung vom Thors Kampf mit dem Riese Geirröð," pp. 379-88 of the *Hugo Pipping Festschrift*, Helsingfors, November, 1924.

From the *Festschrift*'s contents I shall first speak of A. Kjær's "Zu Fáfnismál Str. 2" (pp. 54-60). It is the troublesome stanza where Sigurd calls himself *gofugt dyr*, when Fafnir asks him who he is. The passage has never received any real explanation as Kjær shows, although Finn Magnusson, as long ago as 1823, in a footnote of his Edda translation made a very real suggestion, which has apparently been overlooked or ignored by all later commentators. Most have merely rendered the words literally: "herligt dyr" "edles Thier," "noble animal." To the views that *gofugt dyr* stands for 'the stag' Kjær rightly objects, but Sigurd says: *Gofugt dyr ek heiti*, and his name is surely not "Stag," or "Krondyr" or "der stolze Hirsch." Kjær's explanation is that the name Sigurd gives himself in answer to Fafnir's demand, is a play on his real name in a form which is intended to conceal it from Fafnir, whose dying curse coupled with the real name even Sigurd feared (whereas the curse not so coupled would have no effect whatever. This is a phase of taboo that is plentifully attested both in Old Norse and elsewhere).<sup>1</sup> Kjær starts with the German form of the name *Sigfrid*, Old Norwegian *Sigfröðr*, later *Sigröðr*. The second element of this *röðr* appears as a *galtar heiti* in the Prose Edda. In the identification of the two, and of both with Gothic *wreþus*, "Schweineherde," I think Kjær has found the solution of the difficulty, in connection with the taboo mentioned. The word *röðr*, m., "boar," can, as often elsewhere, be generalized to stand for "animal." Hence Sigurd, assuming the still living use of the form *Sigröðr*, calls himself *Sigröðr*, by a substitution of equivalents for the two component elements: *Sig*="gofugt," "excellent," + *röðr*,="dyr," "animal." In connection with the assumption noted I shall merely further mention that Kjær

<sup>1</sup> See also the prose preceding the stanza in question.

calls attention to the fact that one of Harald Fairhair's sons was named *Sigröðr*. Hence, as late as 934, the year of the latter's death, the name was in use in Norway.

In a following article, "*Kuiða*. En hypotes," pp. 61-65, E. Noreen, would derive the word from Gothic \**kuiða*; this would do away with the formal difficulty (*kuiða*, instead of an expected *kueða*, or *kuiðia*). And he assumes that the special use of the word *kuiða*, in the sense "epic lay" is also Gothic, from which it was borrowed in Old Scandinavian, in this technical sense. When the writer would derive this Gothic *qipa*, which is thus set up, but not anywhere recorded, from Greek *ἔπος* I cannot follow him. It is useless, it seems to me, to speculate here. But the author's main point as above is meritorious; I shall merely refer the reader to the considerations offered in support of it on pages 62-64. I am not prepared, however, to reject Jónsson's view of *kuiðr*, m., "Udsagn," as the source. It seems to me clear that even an original *kuiðia* could have resulted in *kuiða* by influence of the much-used word *visa* of very similar meaning. And if we assume the existence also of a form *kueða*, then *kuiðia* might the more readily become changed to *kuiða* by the influence of *visa*, and *kveða* both.

There are the following articles which I must at least mention: "Zur Chronologie der Eddalieder," by E. Sievers, pp. 15-29; "Grottasongr. Eine Probe aus dem Eddakommentar," by Hugo Gering, pp. 30-53; "Skaldendichtung und Undeutlichkeit," by Ernst A. Kock, pp. 78-80; "Die guten Ratschläge in der *Hervararsaga*," by Knut Liestøl, pp. 84-98; "Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum des 10. bis 14. Jahrhunderts," by F. Braun, 150-198; "Die nationale Aneignung der Bibel und die Anfänge der germanischen Philologie," by K. Burdach, 1-14, and 231-334; "*Paa Vidderne*. Et Digt af Henrik Ibsen. Eine stilistische Untersuchung," by W. H. Vogt, 350-375; "Um frumnorrœna tungu," by A. Johannesson, 376-386; "Die Entwicklung von schwachtonigem altnordischen *u(o)* vor *m* aus helleren Vokalen," by G. Neckel, 387-412; "Zur Flexion der gotischen Fremdnamen," by W. Streitberg, 433-454; and "Ein rumnänisches Siegfriedmärchen?" by A. Schullerus, 596-611.

In an article entitled "Einige Neuerungen der altnorwegischen Sprache in 14. Jahrhundert" D. A. Seip continues his studies in a field, phases of which he has dealt with several times before. These studies, and those of other Norwegian scholars, are of far-reaching importance. We are already now beginning to rectify upon numerous points our view of the antecedents of the present Norwegian Language, in its *Riksmål* form. I cannot here again enter into this matter; I have outlined the problem and noted some of the evidence in other reviews. I shall refer the reader to the following reviews: of R. Iverson's *Bokmål* og

*Talemål i Norge, 1560-1630*, in this Journal, Vol. XXII, pp. 151-155; and of D. A. Seip's *Dansk og Norsk i Norge i eldre Tider* in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, VII, 270-271. In the present study Seip shows, p. 145, that "eine Menge der Eigentümlichkeiten, die wir als Neuerungen in den Urkunden belegen können, stimmen zu gut mit den Verhältnissen der modernen norw. Mundarten überein, als dass wir von einem fremden Einfluss im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes reden könnten." He then proceeds to give the results of an examination of East Norwegian charters, with reference to: 1, the development of the old rising diphthong; 2, the development of *a* in weak syllables, resulting in a complete change of the declension as well as the conjugation; and 3, some characteristic East Norwegian inflexional forms. Very significant here is the extent to which the old diphthongs are simplified in E. Norw., before there is any evidence of incoming Danish influence. I may put the matter this way: The linguistic line which marks the course of innovations is not a straight line, running along the present Norwegian-Swedish border (or somewhere in the waters between Denmark and Norway); it is a very curved line that sometimes runs well into Sweden, at other points winds far into Norway, and sometimes disregards the water-barrier. The exact history of all this period in Norwegian language is as yet in its beginnings, but by means of such studies as this one it will sometime stand out fairly clear, we venture to hope.

In a very interesting article entitled "Ist das Wort *humle* in den germanischen Sprachen ein Lehnwort?" 424-432, E. Neuman with much supporting material from Scandinavian dialects, English, and German, shows that the word *humle* cannot be of East Finnish origin (*chmëli*), or of Slavic source (from Finnish again), but is a native Germanic word. For the semantic side cf. the Eng. vb. 'hop,' and the noun 'hops' (= Norw. 'humle'), and the German *zu hopsen*, and *Hopsen*, n. (= 'humle'). Neuman shows the basic meaning of all the verbs in question (*humla*, *hamla*, *fameln*, etc.) is "wie ein Blinder herumtappen, um den Weg oder eine Stütze zu finden."<sup>2</sup>

"Tors fiske på en uppländsk Runsten" pp. 474-483 is the title of Otto von Friesen's interpretation of the reading of a newly found runic inscription from Eastern Sweden. It was discovered in 1918 as part of the foundation of an old church, and is of granite, as Upland's runestones for the most part are. It is a monument raised originally over the graves of those for whom the inscription was carved. The inscription has an elaborate ornamental design, and is to be dated about 1050. Von Friesen identifies the authors of the carving (runes and

<sup>2</sup> And, further, that just so the vine under discussion gropes and seeks for a support.

decorative figures) with the two runemasters Balle and Lifsten of Upland (see von Friesen's *Upplands Runstenar*, pp. 38 and 59). The group of figures identified by von F. as the episode of Thor's Fishing shows a man in a boat holding an upraised hammer in his right hand, and in his left a long rope at the end of which there is an ox-head. Other features (Thor's feet are seen through the bottom of the boat) make the identification pretty certain; but Hymir is absent. The genuine pagan character of the myth seems to be made still more certain by this find.

"Om (old)isl. *glíma*, 'brydekamp,' " by J. Bröndum-Nielsen, 460-462, identifies this unexplained word with a number of dialectal words from Gmc. *gli*; the word *glíma* means, therefore, 'gleam,' then 'a sudden movement,' finally 'wrestling.' There are plenty of semantical parallels for this, and it is certainly correct. I am surprised that the word has so far been left unexplained.

Finnur Jónsson writes on "Kong Olafs den helliges ophold på Gotland," pp. 81-83. Magnus Olsen, discussing the *Glavendrup* stone's *uia haiþuiarþan þiakn*, would explain it, in approximate retention of Wimmer's reading, as a *terminus technicus*, ca. "hæderværdige 'tegn'"; so that the whole might be rendered "After Ali, priest of the Solvings, the high and honored thane of the sanctuaries" (haiþ-, "honor"). The volume is very attractively gotten up, and has, as frontispiece, a photograph of Eugen Mogk.

GEORGE T. FLOM

*DER WEG ZU SHAKESPEARE UND DAS HAMLET-DRAMA*, von Lorenz Morsbach. Pp. viii+111. Max Niemeyer, Halle. 1922.

The title of this work shows that the author had in mind more than a study of one of Shakespeare's plays. And when we read the work itself, we see that it is meant as an introduction to Shakespeare. And this not only for the would-be learned. Professor Morsbach tells us (p. vii), "Ich wünsche mir als Leser nicht minder den Laien als den Zünftigen." Indeed, the publishers, by printing the book in Gothic (rather than Roman) type, strive to give it a popular look. And if a layman buys it and tries to read it, he will not be disappointed. Much learning does not keep Mr. Morsbach from writing a German easy to follow, graceful and attractive for its own sake. He presents his material with a clarity, a simplicity, an esthetic appeal that make the book good reading for everybody. The Germans are fortunate to possess a scholar so competent to give others the benefit of his learning, and we are fortunate to gain so able an interpreter for our greatest literary master.

Mr. Morsbach gives his work the sub-title, *Eine Umkehr*. The nature of this *Umkehr*, as he conceives it, may be indicated by the following quotation (p. vii). "Wir müssen Shakespeare mehr mit dem Auge des Elisabethaners sehen und uns im Geiste um Jahrhunderte zurückschrauben. Führerin kann uns nur die Geschichte sein." But surely the application to Shakespeare of the historical method of study is not so new as the author implies. One would be disposed to quarrel with Mr. Morsbach here, and at many another passage, were it not for the fact (already noted) that the work under review is primarily for popular reading. Its value for the professional scholar is necessarily reduced by the popular method of presentation, but we must not blame the author for what cannot be helped. We must rather be thankful for what he has given us, remembering that a primer may be more illuminating, even to the most learned of men, than a highly technical study.

And yet the author, true scholar that he is, does not hesitate to go into details when he deems it necessary. After a valuable introduction, and a chapter on the general character of Shakespeare's plays, he devotes another chapter to the proof that Shakespeare was no unconscious artist, but knew what he was about (*Der Theaterstreit*). He then gives a perspicuous analysis of Shakespeare's dramatic technique, and thus lays the foundation for his discussion of *Hamlet* itself, a discussion which takes up the rest of the book. Here he first examines the Hamlet saga, and in particular studies Shakespeare's debt to Belleforest, with citation of numerous parallel passages. He follows with an analysis of the action of the play. Next comes a study of Hamlet's monologs, and the work is concluded with a chapter thus entitled: "Der Charakter Hamlets und die Motive seiner Handlungen; Sinn und Bedeutung der Hamlettragödie." Of the character of the hero, Mr. Morsbach says (pp. 99ff), "Hamlet ist kein Zauderer, kein Schwächling, auch nicht träge oder gar feige. Er lässt sein Ziel nicht aus den Augen, ist auch energisch, handelt wo er kann, dann rasch und entschlossen. Er ist kein Melancholiker, . . . auch kein Pessimist. . . . Er ist auch kein Choleriker, kein Heisssporn, der ohne besonderen Grund auch über minder wichtige Dinge aufbraust. . . . Er ist auch kein Phantast oder Phantasiemensch, noch weniger ein Genie oder eine Faustnatur. . . . Hamlet ist ein kluger, edler, moralisch empfindender Mensch, mit sittlichen Zwecken. . . . Die Verzögerung der Rache hat nicht ihren Grund im Charakter des Helden, sondern einerseits in dem hohen Ziele Hamlets, das Zeit und Abwarten erfordert, und andererseits in den Gegenmassnahmen und Anschlägen des Königs auf das Leben Hamlets, gegen die er sich wehren muss. . . ." This point of view is not new, of course; but Mr. Morsbach manages to present it with a freshness which leaves the reviewer, at least, more con-

vinced than ever of its soundness. Particularly to be commended is the emphasis which the author lays on story as against characterization in the study of Shakspeare's plays.

The book contains few misprints. An amusing one is *Bernhard Shaw* (p. 17).

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*THE FIRST QUARTO EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S ROMEO AND JULIET*, edited with an Introduction and Notes, by Frank G. Hubbard. (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 19.) Madison: 1924. Pp. 116.

This is a companion volume to Professor Hubbard's edition (published 1920) of the First Quarto of *Hamlet*. As in the previous study, Dr. Hubbard presents a modernized text of the First Quarto "in order that it may readily be compared with the standard modern editions of the play," and the reader may thereby be convinced of the authenticity of this quarto. The Introduction discusses the circumstances of printing each quarto; the "misprints and errors of the First Quarto," all of which, according to Hubbard, are "ordinary printers' errors, such as are commonly found in Elizabethan plays"; there follow fifteen pages of discussion of the charge of piracy brought against the printer of the First Quarto by Pollard and others; and a seven-page analysis of "traces of an earlier play in Q1." The scant page-and-a-fraction of notes are, to use Hubbard's language, "concerned chiefly with the meanings of words not found in Q2. Some of them show that the words and forms considered are not misprints in Q1."

Clearly, then, the editor's primary purpose is not to elucidate textual difficulties, but to defend the authenticity of the First Quarto against those who have scented piracy in its publication. He will allow no aspersions on the character of the printer, John Danter; will not take as serious evidence the lack of previous entry of the play in the Stationers' Register; minimizes the evidence of haste in printing; argues that the full stage directions are not notes taken by a spectator, but are in complete harmony with stage directions found in other plays of the time; sees nothing of importance in the division of the latter part of the play into scenes, a division not common in "good" quartos; and finally surmises that "those 'pirates' against whom Shakespeare is supposed to have fought so valiantly were clad in buckram."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Pollard, A. W., *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, 1917.

Mr. Hubbard's argument "that Q1 represents a form of the play standing between a more ancient form and the form found in Q2," is based chiefly on the "antique character" of certain phrases in Q1, together with inconsistency there in regard to the time of the marriage ceremony. This inconsistency Hubbard traces back to earlier versions of the story. Here again he is arguing against the theory of piracy in the printing of the First Quarto.

So definite a challenge to Mr. A. W. Pollard,<sup>3</sup> the most notable living exponent of the pirate theory, makes necessary some evaluation of the respective pleadings. If Professor Hubbard is right, the foundation of much of Mr. Pollard's reasoning falls to the ground. Where Hubbard is most persuasive is in the presentation of stage directions and parallel passages from other Elizabethan plays, serving to show that many of the variant Quarto readings need not be attributed to the ignorant craftsmanship of a spectator. Evidently, much argument of other editors on this point has been beside the mark. The First Quarto must contain many genuine Shakespearian lines that were left out of the play in later revision, notably in Act II, Scene 6, the wedding scene. On the other hand, much of the mature poetry of the most charming lyric scene of the play, the "balcony scene," is to be found in Q1. That lines fully as beautiful in this scene, such as those beginning, "My bounty is as boundless as the sea," and "Like softest music to attending ears," are not found in Q1, certainly makes one ponder. Compare, also, the following variants from the same scene to judge the nature of errors in Q1:

- Q1. Doest thou loue me? Nay I know thou wilt say I.
- Q2. Doest thou loue me? I know thou wilt say I.

- Q1. if thou loue pronounce it faithfully.
- Q2. If thou dost loue, pronounce it faithfully.

- Q1. I should haue bin strange I must confesse.
- Q2. I should haue bene more strange, I must confesse.

- Q1. It is too rash, too sodaine, too vnaduise.
- Q2. It is too rash, too vnaduise, too sudden.

- Q1. I would that I were sleep and peace of sweet to rest.
- Q2. Would I were sleepe and peace so sweet to rest.

Now Hubbard points out repeatedly that Q1 contains not many misprints. This very fact weakens his argument. For such erroneous readings of Q1 may readily be due to the transcriber rather than the printer; if so, the transcriber was not Shakespeare. It is not a misprint when Q1 reads in Mercutio's Queen Mab speech, Act I, Scene 4, "On the forefinger

<sup>3</sup> Pollard, *Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos*, (1909), pp. 69 ff.



of a Burgomaster," rather than as in Q2, "On the forefinger of an alderman." This reviewer does not believe that Shakespeare ever wrote the first line. For the sake of his cause, Hubbard is wise practically to ignore such comparisons, but for the sake of a complete understanding of the problem, they must be studied.

Yet this is not the most serious charge that may be brought against the validity of Professor Hubbard's work. In large part it rests upon a study of the misprints in the text of the *Romeo*. This doughty Wisconsin professor, with an exuberance almost youthful, has chosen to take his stand against the one scholar of highest authority in the world today on matters relating to early printed English books, a scholar likewise who knows the details of the Elizabethan printing trade far better than any one outside of England. In so challenging the conclusions reached by Mr. Pollard one admires Mr. Hubbard's boldness rather than his discretion. Surely in a case of this kind, despite the imperfection of modern proofreading, we may look for authoritative texts, both of the play under discussion and others that are quoted. At this juncture Hubbard's text disappoints us.

More misprints occur in the very discussion of misprints. On page 5, in the list of "Misprints and Errors of the First Quarto," "strike" should read "strickest." Other errata follow, all, be it noted, occurring in the text of this or other plays:

Page 23, for "Balthazor" read "Balthazar," and for "froliche," read "frolicke."

Page 24, *James IV*, for "son," read "sun."

Page 26, for "Locrine," read "Lochrine."

Page 38, line 90, for "by," read "be."

Page 42, line 79, for "they," read "thy."

Page 44, line 37, for "them," read "then"; footnote, for "That," read "that."

Page 46, line 16, for "we," read "me."

Page 47, line 54, for "cursies," read "curtsies."

Page 62, line 76, for "child'st," read "chid'st."

Page 67, line 139, for "fancy" read "saucy."

Page 77, line 11, for "tortue," read "torture."

Page 82, line 101, before "wild acts", insert "thy"; line 107, for "will," read "wilt."

Page 83, line 133, for "An," read "And."

Page 84, line 8, for "farwell," read the modernized "farewell."

This list is probably not exhaustive, but it is sufficiently long to raise a question mark against other matters in the study. At least, it can be asserted that such evidently careless proofreading renders the text presented of far less value to those who come after us gleaning here and there. Under the circumstances, the judicious will be slow to query Mr. Pollard's statement that in all probability Q1 was piratically printed.

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**SONGS AND BALLADS OF THE MAINE LUMBER-JACKS, WITH OTHER SONGS FROM MAINE.** Collected and edited by Roland Palmer Gray. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, 1924.

Professor Gray's unpretentious volume is of very real value to the student of American folk poetry. In fifty-one numbers he has exemplified pretty completely (with the exception of the obscener ditties which presumably in Maine as elsewhere form a part of the repertory of popular song) the range of balladry in America—from ancient British folk-song like *The Twa Sisters* to modern broadsides peddled about by the author like *Bar Harbor by the Sea*, which celebrates by name the leading summer inhabitants of that famous resort, and of which Professor Gray bought a copy from the author himself, J. J. Friend of Bangor, Maine. Seventeen of the pieces deal directly with the life of the lumberjack; sixteen are older songs, romantic or sentimental, mostly British stall-ballads or adaptations thereof, tho one of them is the distinctively American *Fair Charlotte*; then come twelve "Historical Ballads and Songs" upon topics ranging from Lovewell's Fight in 1725 to the sinking of the *Cumberland* in 1862; and finally a little sheaf of half a dozen modern broadsides. The last three groups do not belong in any special sense to Maine or to the lumberjacks, but are none the less constituent parts of the popular song of that—as of other—parts of the United States. It is the first group, with the editor's account of their provenience and in some cases of their making, that are of most interest to the scholar. Miss Pound's contention, based originally on Mr. Lomax's collection of cowboy songs, that the common people sing about themselves and their own lives and not about the doings of their social superiors, is abundantly borne out by these lumberjacks' songs. On the other hand, Professor Gray records an account, from the mouth of an ex-lumberjack, of the way these songs are made that bolsters up very considerably the theory of the communalists. Professor Gray's informant explained that he was a brother of one of the crew of rivermen whose exploit is told in *The Jam at Gerry's Rock*. Being asked how such songs came to be made, he replied: "Well, I will tell you. Something happens. Then, at night, when the fellows are gathered around the fire, some one, who can sing better than the rest, starts a song, and the rest chip in. Each adds a little, some make changes and additions, until the song is made. Probably one hundred and fifty took part in the making of that song." That is fairly direct testimony in the case of a specific ballad, a ballad, too, that tells a coherent (tho very simple) story, with a sweetheart left to mourn. This account of the making of such songs, the editor tells us, was supported by the testimony of five other lumberjacks. It might

even be argued that in *Sandy Stream Song*, which tells how a heroic "employer" led his men thru the snow from a burnt camp, we have an instance of that homogeneous society, unconscious of social or cultural distinctions, which Professor Gummere postulated as the basis of communal composition. The persistent skeptic within the present reviewer reminds him that he has among his papers an account, considerably less direct to be sure, localizing the story of *Fair Charlotte* in Wisconsin, and points out that the hero of *The Jam at Gerry's Rock* bears the name of Jack Monroe, the hero of perhaps the most widely popular of all British stall ballads in this country; but he does so with a consciousness of his perversity.

H. M. BELDEN

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George T. Flom. *THE LANGUAGE OF THE KONUNGS SKUGGSJÁ* (Speculum Regale) according to the Chief Manuscript, AM 243 Ba, Fol. Part I, The Noun Stems and the Adjectives. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. VII, No. 3. 1921 (Published July, 1922).

The remarkable specimen of thirteenth century Norwegian didactic literature entitled *Konungs Skuggsjá* or *Speculum Regale* has aroused considerable scholarly interest since the present author first began work upon it. At fairly short intervals have appeared Flom's phototypic edition of a hitherto unpublished Norwegian manuscript, RA, 58C, containing a fragment of the text (1911), Flom's phototypic edition of the chief manuscript (1916), Larson's English translation (1917), Jónsson's new critical edition from all the manuscripts (1920).

The present work of Flom is the first installment of a grammatical-lexicographical study of the chief manuscript, which, considering the relative paucity of Old Norwegian manuscripts and compositions compared with the great number of Old Icelandic ones, is of no little linguistic interest. A complete list of nouns together with their meanings is given, arranged according to stem-termination and gender. In the case of the adjectives lexicographical completeness was considered unnecessary, except as to compounds or derivatives, but all grammatical adjective forms are abundantly illustrated. Remarks on the various words and forms contain a wealth of etymological and other comment and add their part to making the whole a valuable contribution to Germanic philology.

Apart from the question whether a complete list of adjectives might not after all have been desirable, the only unfavorable criticism I can offer is the trifling one that the author failed

to eliminate a final residuum of errors before printing. The copy which I have thus contains a number of handwritten corrections besides the printed "Corrigenda." In looking the work through I have further noted the few following cases, some of which seem to me likely to be misleading:

P. 15. Of the thirteen words given under the suffix *-domr*, part, as for example *ricdomr*, are correctly so designated; others, as *alyctardomr*, are compounds containing the substantive *domr* as second element.

P. 18, *kristr* and p. 22, *saul* should be capitalized to conform to usage elsewhere in the book.

P. 70, *athofn* and *yfirhofn* are not compounds of *hofn*, "harbor," but perfectly clear derivatives of *hafa*, "to have"; *hofn* with the meaning "harbor" may have the same derivation, but it is not certain, and, if so, its meaning is quite specialized and secondary.

P. 71, *kvisl*, "kin" should not be given without its original meaning of "branch."

P. 96, *uppsaga*, "pronouncing" is not a compound of *saga*, "account," "story," but rather the derivative from *segja upp* corresponding to *saga* from *segja*.

A. LEROY ANDREWS

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*ANCIENT RHETORIC AND POETIC* by Charles Sears Baldwin. Macmillan, New York: 1924. pp. xiv+261.

In bringing to the student of the art of discourse the fruit of ancient experience the author has written in the conviction that "the distinction between rhetoric and poetic is more directive than the distinction, for instance, of literary forms." (p. 5) "Rhetoric and poetic," we are told, "connote two fields of composition, two habits of conceiving and ordering, two typical movements. The movement of the one the ancients saw as primarily intellectual, a progress from idea to idea determined logically; that of the other, as primarily imaginative, a progress from image to image determined emotionally." Assuming that this distinction is in Aristotle's mind, he makes his discussions of the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* basic for the two parts of his book. In the treatment of rhetoric he selects typical figures, leaving historical continuity as the achievement of a later volume, and presents in summary and paraphrase the views of Cicero, Quintilian, the Roman schools of declamation, and the late Greek rhetoricians. His summary will throw light upon the principles of choice: "Aristotle's theory of rhetoric determines its function. Cicero dignifies even its conventional tasks as training for leadership. Quintilian surveys it as a

comprehensive pedagogy. Dionysius analyzes its art. But the great unknown [Longinus] moves us to share that art ourselves." This is succinct; but one must be on one's guard, here as elsewhere, against tersely put characterizations which do not differentiate. Quintilian is quite as interested as Aristotle in determining the function of rhetoric, and Aristotle quite truly analyzes its art—perhaps more thoroughly than Dionysius.

The second half of the volume proceeds in quite different fashion. After an exposition of the *Poetics*, the author sketches with no little insight the fortunes of the two chief literary types analyzed by Aristotle. There is here a fine disregard of the conclusions of certain modern aestheticians. Professor Baldwin is certain, not only that poetic types exist as realities in the minds of their creators, but that they retain their vitality only as they are regarded as efforts of poetic rather than rhetoric. "Narrative in the ancient world," he writes, "developed along few lines. Its poetic art long remained epic. This art was at once followed by Vergil and recreated. The Aeneid is the great exemplar of all that is fruitful in literary influence. The Hellenistic art that Vergil rejected was cultivated by Apuleius and ran to seed in the Greek prose romances. Meanwhile it was practised with facile brilliancy by the Latin poet whom the middle ages knew better than they knew Vergil—Ovid. Setting aside, then, all minor forms, and in the two major forms all but what is typical, we may venture to survey ancient poetic, first in Greek tragedy, with Senecan tragedy for contrast and Latin comedy for supplement, then in Vergilian epic, with Ovidian narrative for contrast and Apuleius for divergence." (p. 168). Here the conclusion is complementary to that of the first half of the volume: corresponding to the schools of declamation in which poetic and rhetoric were being confused is the faulty art of Apuleius, "a rhetor telling stories," and the inferior poetic of Plutarch, who, ignoring the Aristotelian idea of poetic movement, uses the rhetorical terms commonly used to describe success in *prosopopæia* or characterization according to type. Professor Baldwin has thus succeeded in writing a third *Laocoon*, which, although it deals with an ancient confusion of the arts, is as pertinent to-day as the two works with which I have linked it. Especially interesting is the insistence that a poet's preoccupation with the "elocutio" of the rhetorician and his relative indifference to the problems of poetic representation indicate the decadence of art. Such a vital affirmation of the Aristotelian principle of "poesis" is of no small value in helping one to account for the comparatively unpoetical verse of many Renaissance scholars, who, in love with the rhetorical ideal, endeavored to find a reconciliation of rhetoric and poetic in their theories of poetry, such as Fracastoro's *Naugerius*. The fruitfulness of the point of view is already to be seen in the work of

one of Professor Baldwin's younger colleagues, D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*, New York, 1922.

There are useful bibliographies at the beginning of each chapter, frequent summaries and outlines, a tabular index of Greek and Latin rhetorical terms, and a comprehensive index. The material has been made accessible.

The value of separate chapters, is, of course, determined in part by the accessibility of the material to the English reader. The student of Jebb's excellent translation of the *Rhetoric* will probably gain little, perhaps because Aristotle has once more been isolated, and not seen in relation to Plato and the Sophists. The chapter on Cicero renders more assistance, since it enables one to see several treatises in relation. Here reference might profitably have been made to Petersson's excellent résumé: (Torsten Petersson, *Cicero, a biography*, Berkeley: 1920, pp. 366-442.)

We are led astray when we are told that the form of *De Oratore* is obviously the Platonic dialogue: a glance at Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, should prove a corrective. The summary of Quintilian does much for the student which he should be encouraged to do for himself. The section on the schools of declamation is valuable in contributing material not to be found in Saintsbury's extended summary (*History of Criticism*, 1. 230-240). It is to be hoped that the author will be permitted to carry out his plan to supplement this section with a detailed account of the Second Sophistic, a study of which is of importance for the understanding of the eloquence of the early church. It is also to be wished that there will be soon available a more detailed account of that merging of rhetoric and poetic in which Dionysius, Longinus, and Demetrius are important figures. In the present slight sketch only one aspect of the work of Dionysius is taken up, Demetrius is completely ignored, and Longinus is treated by way of panegyric rather than historical interpretation.

Little is likely to be gained from the chapter on the *Poetics*, perhaps because the author has chosen the task of improving upon the expositions of Bywater, Butcher, and Lane Cooper, and sometimes, relying upon the first two, prefers the less trustworthy. Love of rhetorical devices leads at p. 134 to distinctions between rhetoric and poetic which Aristotle would not recognize: "in the one field life is discussed; in the other it is presented, etc." The basic distinction between fine and useful art is ignored; and the remarks concerning "imitation" indicate a failure to see the gulf between the representative art of the Greeks and the more modern ideal which finds use for the critical term "imagination." The exemplification of Aristotelian principles in drama and epic gives the author opportunity to indulge in enthusiasms and prejudices which are suggestive but

not always sufficiently restrained. The praise of Vergil, especially in comparison with Homer, is quite in the spirit of the Maronism of the Renaissance. The characterization of Apuleius and the Greek romances, "phantasmagoria of passion, horror, and adventure," while just, is typical of a kind of "romantic" fervor of protest to which the modern "classicist" is often liable. Not least valuable is the note on Horace's *Ars Poetica* regarded as a collection of *sententiae* and thus brought into relation with the rhetorical tradition. In calling attention repeatedly to the pervasiveness of the rhetorical ideal the author has probably rendered his most important service.

One hesitates to add that, interesting as many of these ideas are, the book is not easy to read. The author's enthusiasm for Longinus and his sympathetic study of Dionysius have seemingly never led to a cultivation of those prose rhythms which help the ideas to march along. Often the movement of the sentence is retarded by formal rhetorical devices—balance, antithesis, parallelism,—the love of which has apparently kept the author from achieving in his own practice the ideal which he has warmly commended.

MURRAY W. BUNDY

*The University of Illinois*

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**WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS: A STUDY.** By Oscar W. Firkins. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1924. Pp. 356. \$4.00.

One does not reflect without a certain melancholy on the circumstances that have made William Dean Howells already a classic. Yet if he must be a classic instead of the living force in our letters that he ought to be, we cannot at any rate call him a neglected classic. Mr. Firkins has gone with unfailing zest and a very discerning critical intelligence into every nook and cranny of his art—as if he were Shakespeare. This book includes the biography of its subject, and stimulating answers to the general questions surrounding his personality and reputation, but stresses centrally his works themselves, with a minuteness of analysis and an opulence of concrete comment rarely encountered in critical writing. In this emphasis, Mr. Firkins is certain to appeal to those who read and love the works of Howells, and rather liable to disappoint those who, in one of his own phrases, seek a valuation instead of a value. I refer to the somewhat insistent demand on the part of those who have not read him or do not like him that Howells and his vogue be explained away in some broad or striking manner, in either psychological or sociological terms, as if he were a transient phenomenon in the progress of national culture.

That Mr. Firkins has not viewed his subject in any such light is no disappointment to me, although I could wish that in a different sense he had been more the scientist and less the artist. I wish that he had been endowed with a more compelling enthusiasm for Howells the interpreter of American life, and I hope that some day a book will be written on this single subject. As to the permanent value of Howells in this aspect of his work, except for scholarship, Mr. Firkins is almost conventionally pessimistic. He admits at least to this misgiving: "If a Japanese—a cultivated Japanese—who knew nothing of America by travel or reading, were to ask me whether he could repair that defect by a perusal of the novels of Mr. Howells, I should hesitate, and I can imagine myself ending with the recommendation that he get his *elementary* schooling in American life from the works of some inferior writer. The cultivated American or Englishman of a century hence might find himself in the position of this Japanese. A very considerable part of Mr. Howells's fiction deals with a highly specialized variety of Americans. The *man* in him, is not eccentric, not exotic. . . . But his simplicity is *ultimate*, not obvious; and it requires a dash of subtlety in the reader to grasp the fact of his normality." Without wishing to deny what is just in Mr. Firkins' feeling, I must say that I think him too cautious. A cultivated Roumanian, professionally a sociologist, and perhaps gifted with a greater subtlety than the hypothetical Japanese, once told me that he had received his first intimate instruction as to American life and character through the novels of William Dean Howells, and had yet to find better. Of course, there are saliences that are to be grasped more readily through, say, Mr. Sinclair Lewis.

The artist in Mr. Firkins comes out most clearly in the rigor of his insistence on topics of craftsmanship in his treatment of the novels. This is in conformity not merely to his own temperament, however, but to a tendency that I regret to see increasing in our criticism—a tendency to impose upon the novel the artificial technique of the drama. Personally, I cannot work up any excitement at all over the fact that the stories of love and finance in *The Rise of Silas Lapham* are not closely interwoven; and I think that the general judgment of *A Modern Instance*, which is a pretty conscious and explicit endeavor on Howells' part to rid a novel of the cheap theatricalities and easy explanations of the problem play, is entirely wrong in its discovery of "weak motivation."

Mr. Firkins' flair for craftsmanship stands him in excellent stead when it comes to problems of style. What he has to say of Howells's style and of his humor (pp. 316ff) is important. Other high places in the study are his analysis of Howells's democratic feeling and its sources (pp. 161ff); his explanation of the strain of pessimism in his nature (pp. 212ff); and, natur-



ally, his definition of the kind of realism that Howells stood for (pp. 225ff).

No description of this book would be adequate that did not pay some tribute to the sustained animation of its manner. I have often heard of books without a dull page in them, but this is almost the first one of its nature that I have seen. It is by no means free from a tendency to preciosity that has irritated readers of Mr. Firkins' previous writings, and its wit includes more than a few puns that deserve hanging. But there is an abundance of wit that is not for display only, but answers truly to one's feeling for passages or problems of literature, just as a delightful companion may illumine or clarify by his genius for the right word the incidents and difficulties of daily life. Whoever has sought the exact term of reproof for Mr. Howells' employment in his stories of coincidences that he used to find so inexcusable in the pages of romantic writers ought to be pleased to have the label—"unprofessional behavior." I liked too the comment on *My Mark Twain*: "He will not leave the reader alone with Mark Twain for five minutes." And I remember with gratitude the exclamation over the assertive Americanism of Howells' London travels, which led him to hunt out the street in which the wife of Elder Brewster of Plymouth Colony was born: "Patriotism can go no further!" "To write six novels like *The Lady of the Aroostook* was admirable," says Mr. Firkins; "to have written thirty would have been effeminate." Of Lemuel Barker: "But Lemuel Barker is not living a life: he is pursuing a curriculum which will fit him to pass that examination on the caste system in Boston to which he will eventually be subjected by the inquisitive Mr. Evans." And of the happy accident that overtakes the Reverend Mr. Peck in *Annie Kilburn* he remarks that it "leaves one with a heightened respect for the discernment of locomotives." The Reverend Mr. Sewell in *The Apprenticeship of Lemuel Barker* is perhaps wisely let off with the comment that "he needs all his faults to extenuate his virtues"; but as for Mrs. Sewell, I leave Mr. Firkins' study with the feeling that he allowed at least one moment to escape him in setting her down as a plain virago.

DELMAR GROSS COOKE

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**LES ROIS THAUMATURGES.** Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre. By Marc Bloch. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fasc. 19) Librairie Istra. Strasbourg. 1924.

How illuminating in various directions, and how rich in interest the study of an apparently trivial phenomenon may be when undertaken by a scholar of first rate ability, is beautifully shown in Professor Bloch's work on the thaumaturgic activities of the French and English kings. Admirably investigated, admirably ordered, the theme has emerged under his hands from the state of being merely curious, and has become of serious value as an index to the temper—political, religious, and social—of many centuries. Not that M. Bloch has discovered the whole truth about every phase of his subject, as he points out with engaging candor; but he has written a book of great worth, and he deserves the thanks of students in several different fields. His splendid monograph cannot be neglected by anyone who aspires to know the state of mind that prevailed not only in the Middle Ages, but in the centuries that succeeded them. Upon a number of large questions he has thrown a good deal of light, and in regard to a surprising number of points he has probably said everything that need be said. Withal, he has managed his store of erudition so well that the reader is led delightedly from chapter to chapter, absorbed by the amazing story that is unfolded, and charmed by the manner of its relation. In short, the book is a performance of immense interest and unusual value.

M. Bloch establishes once for all, I think, the priority of the French kings over the English as specialists in the cure of scrofula, there being the certainty that Philip I (1060-1108) practised the rite of touching, and the probability that Robert the Pious (996-1031) did so before him, while there is no likelihood whatever that any English king previous to Henry I (1100-1135) claimed the power, and no clear evidence for it until the time of Henry II (1154-1189). The notion that Edward the Confessor healed the king's evil is as baseless as the legendary attribution of the miracle to the Merovingians in France. Very interesting and very plausible is M. Bloch's theory that both in England and in France the establishment of the rite had some connection with the efforts of the dynasties concerned to assure themselves of popular support. In accepting this view, it is unnecessary to accuse either house of conscious charlatanism, for deep-seated beliefs and needs made the practice natural enough. There were the throngs of sufferers anxious for relief, and there were the kings, anointed and set apart from common men. They themselves must have found

it as easy as their subjects to suppose that hands touched by the sacred chrism might have healing power. If Henry I, knowing that his French neighbor was successfully performing the miracle, was led to experiment for himself, what wonder? He would have had every inducement, both from within and from without, to do so.

The subsequent history of the miracle on both sides of the Channel has never before been studied with such care and critical acumen as M. Bloch has devoted to it. He has shown the ups and downs, and the curious modifications of the practice, but, withal, its significant continuity in both countries through seven centuries. As long as absolutism flourished, the sick flocked to their sovereigns for cure. The Wars of the League and the Wars of the Roses may for a time have diminished the prestige of monarchy, and with it the vogue of royal healing, but not for long. The numbers of patients touched by the English Edwards, great as they were, did not equal the numbers touched by Louis XIV or Charles II. Not until the sixteenth century was the efficacy of the rite seriously challenged. George I put a stop to the practice in England, once for all, by refusing to have anything to do with it, but in France it suffered a gradual decline through the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI. The execution of the latter was simply the turning of a final page.

It is interesting that France and England should have been the only countries in which the miracle developed. At least, M. Bloch can find no evidence that the belief in royal sanctity took anywhere else this concrete form. Italians and Germans and Spaniards came to France for healing, and at least one scion of the Capets tried to establish the rite in Italy; but the miracle always remained a special prerogative of the English and French dynasties. The reason, it seems to me, must be sought in the special political development of the two countries concerned. Shifting as were the boundaries of the French and English kingdoms, they were at least more stable than the possessions of any dynasty in Spain or Italy, while the Empire was never a governmental entity. It is not strange, then, that only in England and France did kings acquire the kind of popular prestige that made their pose of miracle-working possible. The lord of a tight little principality, no matter how absolute his power, would not have been sufficiently remote from his subjects, probably; and an elected emperor would have been too vague a personage, quite apart from the question of heredity. Conditions certainly favored the Capets and the Plantagenets.

As to the origins of the kindred notions of kingship by divine right and of therapeutic powers vested in kings by virtue of their quasi-divine nature, M. Bloch's researches have borne valuable fruit. No future student of political institutions can

afford to neglect them, even though his conclusions are possibly less satisfying in this particular than in any other. It may be, of course, that we shall never know just how mediaeval kings came to have divine powers attributed to them; but it is probably not yet time to despair of knowing more than we do at present. In all humility, since I have not attempted the investigation, I should like to suggest that a more careful study of the status of the Roman emperors after Constantine might bring interesting results. M. Bloch believes, if I understand him correctly, that the cult of the emperors, though it long survived in the East, was destroyed in the West; and that, when Charlemagne revived the imperial office, he built on new foundations, which were specifically Christian. But precisely what was the relationship of the Christian emperors to the Christian Church? I fancy that writings of the fourth and fifth centuries deserve a closer scrutiny from this point of view than they have ever received. Was the notion of imperial sanctity really ever lost, or did it live on, as so many other ideas lived on, until the turmoil of the invasions began to subside? I am raising the question merely, for I cannot answer it. Yet I do not feel that M. Bloch has quite faced this particular problem—much less, settled it. What he has done, however, and in masterly fashion, is to show the complexities of opinion in regard to the kingly office that prevailed from the tenth century down to the eighteenth. The long-continued debate with the Church that began with the Gregorian movement of the eleventh century is only one phase of the matter, though a very interesting phase. Apparently the Church was hoist with its own petard. Having encouraged the anointing of kings after the manner of the kings of Israel, in order to bring them within its fold in the most explicit fashion, it had later to meet the royal claim that holy unction gave them the rights and privileges of clerks—which was inconvenient. How deep-seated the conviction became that anointing set kings apart from other men is shown by the legends of the Sainte Ampoule at Rheims and of the similar vessel brought by the Virgin to St. Thomas of Canterbury, which actually furnished the chrism used at Westminster (so people supposed) from the time of Henry IV to that of Elizabeth, inclusive. For the romantic history of these relics, the reader must be referred to M. Bloch, whose account of them not could be bettered.

Equally fascinating is the story of the cult of St. Marcoul, which began obscurely in Normandy in the ninth century, but after 906 was centered at Corbeny, near Rheims, whither the monks of Mant had fled. Before 1300 the saint had by some means gained repute as a healer of the king's evil. Every king of France, save Henry IV, from John the Good (1350) to Louis XIII, inclusive, visited the shrine on the day after his corona-

tion and invoked the saint, while the later kings adored the relics at Rheims. Naturally enough, since the kings first exercised their miraculous powers immediately after this ceremony, the belief was established that they owed their gift of healing quite as much to the intercession of St. Marcoul as to the holy oil in the keeping of the canons of St. Remi at Rheims, or to royal descent. Rheims did not altogether approve of this change of emphasis, but the archbishops were powerless to resist the current of popular belief, particularly as the monks of Corbeny were backed by various religious communities and fraternities devoted to St. Marcoul. The cult was never quite satisfactorily adjusted to the theory of a sacred kingship, but merely adapted vaguely in practice, as has been the case with so many other clashes of belief. The adherents of St. Marcoul may be said to have won the long dispute in that, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, it became the custom for the kings to invoke the saint every time they touched for the evil; but the canons of Rheims profited by the accidents of war and succeeded in having the holy relics brought to them when Louis XIV was crowned.

Extraordinary in another way was an extension of miraculous powers exercised by the kings of England from Edward II to Mary Tudor. On Good Friday, it became the custom for them to substitute for their offering at the cross of Gneyth an equal amount of treasure, and to have the offering, thus "repurchased" from Christ, made into rings, which were supposed to cure muscular spasms of any sort, but particularly epilepsy. After the fifteenth century these "cramp-rings" were made beforehand, which did quite as well and was more convenient. The fictional substitution of gold for gold was thus lost sight of; and by the time of Henry VIII they were supposed to get their virtue from the anointed hand that gave them. It is a curious fact that Henry once sent a cramp-ring to Rome, it being his royal habit to use them as gifts to eminent persons less highly endowed by heaven than was he. Yet his daughter Elizabeth refused to continue this particular miracle, which had been sharply criticized under Edward VI. Probably because it was more overtly magical, it was less easy to defend against the attacks of reformers like Ridley than the practice of which it was an offshoot.

One interesting difference between the custom of France and the custom of England in the matter of touching was the importance that the piece of money, given as alms to each patient by the king, came to assume in the rite after the Wars of the Roses. For whatever reason, the royal alms at that period became an "angel"—a gold piece of considerable value—instead of the penny that had hitherto served. One can scarcely escape the conviction that, in a time of disorder, a bid for popular

favor was made by this means. At all events, the coin came to be regarded as necessary to the cure, or, in other words, an amulet. Under Mary Tudor each patient had to promise to wear the talisman continuously; and stories were circulated to prove its magical power. If you lost it, or sold it, the evil might very well return to you. Charles II, it is worth noting, substituted for the coin, after 1665, a specially designed medal, which was not current for other purposes. This was in keeping with the magnificence of the ceremonial in his time, which rivalled that of Louis XIV. The twilight of the miracle was at least as resplendent as its noonday.

I have touched only a very few of the numberless matters of interest in Professor Bloch's book. It is rich in picturesque detail, as well as in solid and important information. Seldom is a scholarly book so amusing to read, and seldom so weighty with erudition. No one ought to miss the correspondence of Edward II with Pope John XXII, or the legend of the origin of the *fleur-de-lys*, or the account of seventh sons in relation to the royal miracle. No one, furthermore, can with impunity neglect the volume, as I have already intimated, who wishes to know the mind of the Middle Ages and the mentality of the Renaissance. They were not very different, after all, as is well demonstrated once more by the course of the miracle which M. Bloch has studied with such brilliant results. He puts the case admirably (p. 347): "Les idées qu'exposent couramment les publicistes royalistes du xvi<sup>e</sup> et du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècles paraissent souvent banales à quiconque a feuilleté la littérature des périodes précédentes. Elles n'étonnent que si l'on ne sent pas en elles le long héritage médiéval; pas plus en histoire des doctrines politiques qu'en toutes autres sortes d'histoires, il ne convient de prendre trop au sérieux la coupure traditionnelle que, à la suite des humanistes, nous pratiquons d'ordinaire dans le passé de l'Europe aux alentours de l'an 1500."

It should be said, in conclusion, that *Les rois thaumaturges* is a beautifully arranged and admirably printed volume, that it includes an iconographic list, and that it is provided with an excellent index—in regard to which the author has a note that reveals, once again, both his wit and his wisdom.

GORDON HALL GEROULD

Princeton University

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GOETHE'S FAUST, herausgegeben von Georg Witkowski. Siebente, durchgearbeitete Auflage. Hesse und Becker Verlag. Leipzig, 1924.

For many years Witkowski's comprehensive "Faust" has proven a valuable cyclopaedia, covering all phases of its subject

with sound learning, logical clarity, and admirable good-sense. Its spirit exemplifies Goethe's youthful assertion: "Es ist doch nichts wahr als was einfältig ist." In recognition of the completion of editions amounting to 40,000 copies, the publishers have spared no outlay in recasting the work in the form of one handsome, manageable volume, with a larger and much more clearly printed page.

Beside the *Urfaust* of the earlier editions, it gives in full the texts of the *Fragment* of 1790, and the *Helena* of 1800. The divisions, *Nicht aufgenommene Bruchstücke*, *Nachträgliches*, *Entwürfe*, and *Skizzen* contain some new materials. In the main the work is unaltered, but it shows careful revision of details. The *Bühnengeschichte* is much extended, and brought down to the days of the world-war. As in the case of *Faust* itself, the newer matter is not always fully assimilated: at ii, 54 is casual mention of a passage in *Meisters theatralische Sendung*—an important allusion which plainly hints that young Goethe begged a copper from his grandmother in order to see the puppet-play of *Doctor Faust* in Frankfort (W. 51, 5). This matter clearly calls for incorporation in the earlier discussion, ii, 49.

Witkowski's comments, addressed to readers of wide general culture, show a fine economy in the use of vast stores of knowledge, are quickened by refreshing humor, and scorn no homely help in clearing up difficulties—although reticent in explaining brutally suggestive passages. The limits of both the metaphysical and philological approaches are well defined. He opposes an allegorical interpretation as contrasted with naive, sensuous, dramatic effect, and takes a firm front against those "haltlose Hirngespinnste" which have not infrequently been characteristic of German scholarship. A dogmatic definition of sources is avoided by the excellent theory, "hat bewusst oder unbewusst Goethes Dichtung beeinflusst (vorgeschwebt)," but in general, the editor's method is based upon the sound principle of fathoming Goethe's probable sources in order to define his spiritual horizon as a dramatist.

All attempts to reconstruct Goethe's ideas at different stages must be colored by subjective impressions, and unanimity of opinion is not to be expected. The editor is firm in defending the artistic unity of the whole work, and entirely free in pointing out its seamy parts. His exposition of the change from the Age of Enlightenment to the period of the Return to Nature is notably clear and convincing. There is not enough said about the English Faust-book and Marlowe's use of it. The difficult problem of Goethe's possible use of Marlowe is one that may not be ignored. It is open to question whether Pfitzer was crowded out by the Christlich Meynender: condensations of Pfitzer, in perishable form, seem to have been popular even into the nineteenth century. Milchsack's investigation of the

Wolfenbüttel manuscript appears only in the bibliography: Roethe's ingenious theories as to the composition of the *Urfaust* are given but little weight, and no mention is made of his startling hypothesis that the *Hexenzunft* (4402) is really a group of merciful angels.

The *Vorspiel auf dem Theater* is moved forward from 1798 to 1802; the disputed term *dunkler* (1034) seems to have been wisely given its final interpretation, "obscure; unnoticed." The Pfitzer-materials (ii, 211) are practically all derived from Widman. The appearance of the dog in Faust's study probably owes something to a copper-plate (dealing with another subject) in Abelin's (Gottfrid's) *Chronik*, p. 833—a work which Goethe surely used in drawing his picture of the scene 5819ff. The riddle of the two spirit-choruses in Faust's study is handled, in different places, by a compromise which means something or nothing—*je nachdem*. At 3249f there should be a reference to Lessing's words, published in 1751: "die Wollust . . . vom Genuss zum Genusse schweift und selbst in dem Genusse schmachtet." The new note to 7081 makes a commendable right-about-face, which could be further defended from line 7677. Some readers will feel doubt as to the transcendent interpretation of *gemein* (10259).

The notes to the *Urfaust* and other text-materials are no less clear and learned. The discriminating "Literature" is extended from 160 to 214 numbers, but lacks the convenient editions of the English Faust-book by Thoms and Morley.

A number of minor errors have been removed. There still remain in the text the unfortunate *Bildern* (for *Bilder*; 726) and *hochverschränkten* (for *holz*-; 5964). Also, Grethes (for Goethes; ii, 179); *unvergleichliches* (for *unvergleichlichen*; ii, 243); *formmer* (for *frommer*; to l. 3040); 7428 (for 7498; ii, 323). The title-page of Widman's Faust-book is very inaccurately given, ii, 35.

Following a method used by Calvin Thomas, the editor gives at the end of the book a gallery of 48 well-reproduced pictures showing the unmistakable influence of graphic art upon Goethe's concepts. Nos. 2, 3, and 38 are not referred to in the corresponding notes. Speaking as an American teacher, I should recommend that some of them, for instance those relating to (happily) omitted scenes in the drama, be published in a separate portfolio, labelled, like the well-known cabinet in the Naples Museum: "oggetti osceni."

We cordially welcome this new edition of a distinguished Faust-authority.

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**THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE.** Edited with Introduction, Texts, Notes, Translation and Glossary by J. W. H. Atkins, M. A. At the University Press, Cambridge: 1922.

So far as the scope of his work is concerned Professor Atkins leaves little to be desired in this latest edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. Besides the customary Introduction, Notes, Bibliography, and Glossary he offers a translation into Modern English prose of the whole poem and he adds four Appendices. The first of these is devoted to the language of the C text; the second, to the "Nightingale Episode," that is the story of the lady who was led astray by the amorous song of the Nightingale; the third, to versions of the Owl and Falcon Fable; and the fourth to versions of the Cat and Fox Fable. The editor's readable translation and the broad treatment of his subject in his Introduction—see particularly §9 on the Poem as Literature—should give a wider circulation to his book than that ordinarily enjoyed by editions of Middle English literature.

The edition before us at once challenges comparison with that of Professor Wells which preceded it by some fifteen years. In many respects it is a more attractive edition. Not only are the paper, the printing, and the general format superior but the Introduction and the Commentary are fuller and more interesting. The Notes of the new edition are less statistical and more fully interpretative, and whereas Wells's glossary omits etymologies almost wholly we have here the source in O. E., O. Fr., or Scandinavian for every entry. The contrast in these particulars is, of course, in large measure a contrast of publishers rather than of editors; the glossary in Wells's edition, it should be noted, was "cut down from a complete glossary and grammatical and etymological index." Unfortunately in the matter of the text Mr. Atkins has not taken full advantage of his opportunity to improve upon the work of his predecessor. (See W. W. Gregg, "On Editing Early English Texts"; *Modern Language Review*, XVIII, No. 3, 281ff.). In his notes he has frequently had occasion to cite the valuable annotations contributed by Professor Kenyon to the twelfth volume of this journal.

In the light of Professor Wyld's investigation of South-Eastern and South-East Midland it will be necessary to reconsider Professor Atkins' account of the dialect of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. Curiously, this important paper published in 1920 in *Essays and Studies*, Vol. VI, is not listed in the Bibliography and there is no indication in the book that the editor has used it. Following Morsbach, Professor Atkins roughly describes the dialect of the poem as South-Western with occasional so-called Kentish forms. For one thing, it has been shown that the distribution of the so-called Kentish *e* is much wider than

Morsbach supposed, and Wyld concludes that we cannot place the dialect of the poem very far to the west on account of the development that it shows of OE æ¹, OE ēa-i (WS ie, i, y, non-WS ē), and of OE ea-i. Wyld would place the poem in Surrey rather than Dorset. Professor Atkins should have had these results before him not only when he was describing the dialect of the poem but when he was considering the relation of its dialect to the problem of authorship. The place name Hurtmere now Hurtmore—a locality near Guildford—is pertinent in view of the rhymes *heonne-mancunne, urne-ifurne* (Wyld, pp. 140-1; see, further, Mary S. Serjeantson, *Distribution of Dialect Characters in Middle English*, §97). "The *u*-forms," Miss Serjeantson says, "certainly spread eastward into West Surrey." So far as this testimony of the dialect has weight it would favor John of Guildford rather than Nicholas—Mr. Atkins' candidate—who

"Wunep at Porteshom,  
at one tune ine Dorsete."

Finally, the following details may be noted: l. 8, the reading [vuel]e for the MS. *wode*, which Wells preserves, may be questioned; this is an illustration of Atkins' treatment of the *w* readings throughout. Note Gregg's word of caution: "Since *w* has a meaning that *þ* cannot have, I think it would have been well to distinguish the two in the text." l. 328. *day-rewe* = dawn is not entered in the glossary. l. 596. *bihinde*, clearly a substantive, is not listed in the glossary as such. l. 1033 *noti* should be glossed "use" rather than "render service." l. 1402 for the unintelligible *monnes honde* of the MSS, the editor has adopted Kenyon's emendation *monne shonde*. l. 1438, *bistarte* is not entered in the glossary.

To the Bibliography should have been added Brandl: *Spielmannsverhältnisse in frühmittelenglischer Zeit*, Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910, 873ff.

H. S. V. JONES

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**THE ARTISAN IN ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE.** By Charles W. Camp, Ph. D. Columbia University Press. New York: \$2.00.

If Dr. Camp's dissertation is ever read as anything but a reference book, philosophers should note the fact as a signal triumph of matter over mind. The position of the artisan as a figure in literature is not, in itself, an uninteresting subject, but every obstacle to its comprehension that can result from muddled thinking, illogical arrangement, ununified paragraphs,

incoherent sentences, crude transitions, useless repetitions, and other puerilities, is thrown in the way. Such sentences as the following meet one at every turn.

"He was supplied with food, lodging, clothes, and education, not only in the craft, but also, to some extent, in reading and writing." (p. 3.)

"The most famous extant illustration in drama of the success of craftsmen in battle is Thomas Heywood's *Four Prentices of London* . . . . The play has no real delineation of craftsmen. . . . " (p. 21.)

"The stories range from moral ones to coarse farces and horseplay. Taken all in all, there is much charm in the writer; he influenced literature dealing with crafts." (p. 26.)

"*Thomas of Reading* is interesting and important because of its influence on several other works, Three *non-extant* plays dealing with clothiers are *supposed in the main*, to be based on this novel as a source." (p. 29.)

At the close of his Introduction, which contains a brief account of the rise and development of craft guilds, Dr. Camp states that during the reign of Elizabeth the character and aspirations of artisans—the terms artisan and craftsman are used synonymously—were treated sympathetically in literature, and that during the Jacobean period they were subject to satirical treatment; further, that this change in attitude is paralleled in all the literary forms considered by him, viz., novels, ballads, and plays. Naturally, the reader supposes that the writer will present his material so as to illustrate this difference in point of view. But expectation remains unfulfilled. Dates cease to be relevant as we proceed through the volume. If our attention is caught by them at all, it is only to note that they seem to refute the thesis set forth in the Introduction.

One of the reasons for our perplexity is that an altogether different system of exposition is suggested by the four chapter headings: The Craftsman as Heroic Figure, The Artisan as Speculator and Philanthropist, The Craftsman and His Work, Social Aspirations of the Artisan. These captions more nearly represent the author's method of procedure, but even they overlap and cause a deal of confusion. For example, the opening paragraph of the first chapter reads as follows: "As depicted in the literature under consideration artisans are extremely fond of spectacular exhibitions, and parades of various kinds. This is well illustrated in the Lord Mayor's Shows, a ceremony in which are often presented former patriotic and philanthropic mayors who rose from the craftsman's ranks." What the craftsman's fondness for spectacular exhibitions has to do with the craftsman as an heroic figure is not apparent, nor is the relationship made evident by either of the two sentences which constitute the paragraph. One would think the paragraph more

appropriate in the place where the Lord Mayor's Show is discussed, that is, in the last six pages of the chapter on the Artisan as Speculator and Philanthropist, although by the time we have reached this point we are wondering what the description of a spectacle has to do with speculators. In this same chapter confusion is worse confounded by a two-page description of Deloney's *Thomas of Reading*, which has little or no bearing on the subject of the chapter. Having introduced one of Deloney's novels for a pertinent reason, the author cannot resist the temptation impertinently to brief them all.

The Conclusion of the thesis has surprisingly little connection with what it has undertaken to conclude. It is arranged in five paragraphs, the first four of one sentence each.

1. "Twentieth century readers as well as students of the Middle Ages and Elizabethan period, may be interested in the preceding study of the medieval and Elizabethan craftsman in literature."

2. "Modern writers such as Carlyle, Ruskin," etc. "revert at times to the master-craftsman and his artistry, or to the medieval guild system, with its original emphasis on co-operation, brotherhood, and equality."

3. "Persistence even to the present day of a theory somewhat like that of the guild may be seen in the fact that the place formerly occupied by the latter is now occupied, to a certain extent, by the Trade Unions," etc.

4. "Medieval and Elizabethan apprenticeship . . . . was a better method of education for young persons than . . . . the rigid factory system of the 18th and 19th centuries."

5. ". . . . What could be more illustrative poetically of the speculating and commercial Elizabethan age than Whittington's dream and its fulfillment as described in the ballad? What, moreover, could be more illustrative of the great age of inventions, the 19th and 20th centuries? How could we have the five and ten cent store, the cheap automobile, or the aeroplane, were it not for such dreamers as the Woolworths, Henry Ford, Langley, and the Wright brothers? . . . ."

There is more to come. The author's Preface warns us that, "This volume does not contain all that the writer has to say on the subject of craftsmen in literature. Further discussion of the subject will soon be ready for publication."

That the author's manner of presentation should be repellant is the more lamentable in that the material presented deserves attention. If we stick to the book to the end we learn a good deal about the work, the dress, and the customs of the artificer, as well as something about his character and the effect of his most distinguishing traits upon literature. The literature in which the artisan plays either a major or a minor rôle is surprisingly extensive, yet there is in it comparatively little in-

dividualizing of character or differentiation of treatment. The portrayal of the workman's looks, feelings, and activities amounted, we might say, to a convention. As seen through the eyes of men of letters of the day, the craftsman was a comic figure, ignorant (outside his craft), gullible, fickle, vain, and not unfrequently cowardly, but given to daydreams in which he pictured himself as the friend of royalty, the leader in battle, or the merchant prince whose daring speculations and large-handed philanthropy attracted all eyes. A few flesh-and-blood persons, e. g., Sir Richard Whittington, had actually risen from the ranks of apprentice to the eminence to which all craftsmen aspired, and their lives were sometimes presented seriously. In the main, however, it was the opportunity for representing the ludicrous as it appeared in the contrast between the pretensions and the performance of artisans that attracted men of letters, especially dramatists. Craftsmen who boast of their intimacy with royalty because the king laughed when one of them was thrown from his horse; craftsmen who, like Bottom the weaver, misuse words and otherwise make themselves ridiculous by unintelligent efforts to ape their betters; vain and extravagant wives who make fools of themselves or their husbands; gullible, riotous, or knavish apprentices; braggarts, who show more wit in avoiding battle than courage once they are engaged; these are the types which appear most constantly in the literature of the period. The low comedy of Shakespeare represents very fairly the conventional treatment of the artisan group.

Such seems to be the main drift of the argument. If the author wished to produce a somewhat different impression his failure to achieve his purpose must be attributed to his shifting point of view. We can only regret that he lacked the skill in his own craft of the master-craftsmen who constitute the subject of his study.

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#### NOTES

*Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems.* Edited and Translated by N. Kershaw. Cambridge, 1922. This volume should find a hearty welcome among all students of English poetry, as well as among Scandinavianists. In particular the translator has done a real service in bringing before English students four of the best, but less well known ON poems in an English rendering that is highly satisfactory (barring, perhaps, one to be noted below). The OE poems included are "The Wanderer," "The Seafarer," "The Wife's Lament," "The Husband's Message," "The Ruin," and "The Battle of Brunanburgh"; the translations are all in prose, and for the most part excellent. One thing only will be mentioned here: the rendering of *for þon* in "The Wanderer" and "The Seafarer" everywhere by "assuredly." *For þon* occurs three times in the former poem and six

times in the latter; the passage which begins with *for þon* is apparently in every case in the nature of a conclusion to what has preceded. I myself should render "and so," or "therefore" or "hence;" but I shall not take the space to quote in illustration of this at this time. The "Brunanburgh" seems to me especially well translated.

The ON poems are "Hrafnsmál" of Thornbjorn Hornklovi, the anonymous "Eiríksmál," the "Hakonarmál" of Eyvind Skaldaspillir (Scald-despoiler), the "Darraðalioð," the "Sonatorrek," and the poem of Eddic type, found in chapters 12-15 of the *Hervor Saga*, which is called by the translator "The Battle of the Goths and the Huns"; further the Hafrsfjord stanzas of the Hrafnsmál are printed here as a separate poem under the title "The Battle of Hafrsfjord." This is a very good selection to have made; earlier translations are, except in the case of the Darraðalioð ("The Lay of the Darts") rather inaccessible; and further these very poems represent well a group that should be especially interesting in connection with the study of OE poetry, and the question of the relation of ballad to epic, and other problems. To me the best rendering here is the last poem, the one from the *Hervor Saga*; this remarkable poem deserves to be better known among English students than it is. Also here all translations are in prose; I may note the fact that we have two very good metrical renderings of *Darraðalioð*, one by Dasent, in Dasent's *Burnt Njal*, and another by Magnusson, published in the *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, 1910, pp. 10-12.

The poem that I think fails of an adequate rendering is the *Sonatorrek*. It was well to have included something by that outstanding figure and truly great scald Egil Skallagrimsson, but this poem, a lament over the death of his sons, is exceedingly difficult. It is a mistake to reproduce rather literally some of the far-fetched kennings; they can have in them nothing poetic to the modern reader. There is something remarkable about this poem if read in the original: you seem to understand more fully the depth of the father's grief, because of the halting verse form, especially in the beginning of the poem. The translation fails to reproduce this; and I doubt that it can be reproduced in English. I could almost wish the poem had not been included. Let me add finally that there is an excellent body of Notes, pp. 162-207, and brief but good introductory discussions on each poem.

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Another volume by Miss Kershaw may properly be mentioned in this connection, namely her *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*, published at Cambridge, 1921, (Pp. 256). This is a volume of translations from the *Fornaldar Sögur*, as Part I, pp. 1-150, and in Part II, mainly Faroese ballads about heroes from these sagas, but including one of the Icelandic *Rímur*, and the Shetlandic *Hildina*. It is the first English rendering of any of the Faroese ballads in question, and, so far as I know, also of the *Hildina*, or any of the *Rímur*. While the Icelandic Family Sagas and the Kings' Sagas are well-known to English readers, the above "Sagas of Ancient Days" are for the most part very little known outside Scandinavia, except among a few specialists. The present volume includes the *Þáttur of Nornagest*, *Þáttur of Sgrli*, the *Saga of Hromund Greipsson*, and the *Saga of Hervor and Heidrek*. I am glad to say that an appendix offers also the passage from the *Hervor and Heidrek Saga*, according to *M.S. 2845* in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, which describes the combat at Samsø, together with the "Hjalmar's Death Song." Most will object to departing from the metre of the original and introducing rhyme but it is so well done that I am inclined to forgive it. I shall quote, by way of illustration, stanza 2:

With sixteen wounds is my mailcoat rent:

And the world is fading fast.

Blindly I tread in the gathering gloom,

Pierced to the heart at the last

By Angantyr's sword with its pitiless point

And its edges in poison cast.

Excellent introductions and notes add much to the value of the book.

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Mr. M. H. Spielmann, the well-known authority on Shakespeare's portraits, has published a useful book: *The Title-Page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays. A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument*. (Oxford Press. Oxford: 1924.) The volume contains forty-seven illustrations and fifty-two pages of text. The author here reaffirms opinions already expressed in *The Portraits of Shakespeare* (1907) and in his contribution to the Shakespeare article in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. For instance, he once more maintains the authenticity of the Stratford Bust and the Droeshout proofs and prints as contrasted with the engraving in Dugdale's *Antiquities*, and he shows again why the "Flower Portrait" should not be regarded as the "Droeshout Original." However, he is now able to record three—possibly four—Droeshout proofs as against the two noted in the *Britannica* article. Besides the Folger-Halliwell-Phillips "Unique Proof" and The Malone Proof (Bodleian) there is now the Proof of the "Quaritch Folio," recently acquired by the British Museum; furthermore, "the late Mr. Sabin informed me that in 1911 he bought at Sotheby's auction-room a copy of the First Folio with the Droeshout plate in the 'unique state' and that within two years he had sold it to an American customer." Mr. Spielmann reproduces the "Unique Proof," with and without the title-page, from photographs supplied by Mr. Folger and he gives still another reproduction of the same proof from the Birthplace photograph. "The photograph belonging to the Trustees of the Birthplace," it appears, "is wholly misleading." The new British Museum proof is reproduced from the half-tone issued by Messrs. Quaritch. In addition, Mr. Spielmann's book contains reproduction of Droeshout Prints in the first, second, third, and fourth Folios and he has shown the influence of the portrait upon the work of modern artists—Lantéri, McCarthy, MacMonnies, Allen, Ford Madox Brown, and Blake.

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Mr. H. W. Garrod, the new Professor of Poetry at Oxford, said a word for Romanticism in his inaugural lecture on *The Profession of Poetry* (Clarendon Press. Oxford: 1924). The work of the Romantics stands, he contends, in the Miltonic dogma that "he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true Poem"; and he finds not only the peculiar function but the redeeming office of poetry expressed in Shelley's phrase, it "makes familiar objects to be as though they were not familiar." This idea it seems possible for a professed Aristotelian like Mr. Garrod not only to approve but to applaud. Poetry, thus conceived, "redeems us out of life into ourselves; out of all that seems not to matter into a world vital, organic, pulsating."

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Anxiety for the future of classicism, which may be aroused by Professor Garrod's lecture, is not likely to be laid by the open letter addressed to him by his colleague Mr. J. A. Smith, Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy. In this letter, which as published is entitled *The Nature of Art* (Clarendon Press. Oxford: 1924), Professor Smith makes four main contentions: 1. All the arts are identical, the separate arts so-called being, as it were, but dialects of a common language. 2. Art is concerned with knowing not with doing. 3. The artist's object is individual, the philosopher's universal: the artist is concerned with intuition (*connaitre, kennen*), the philosopher with conceiving (*savoir, wissen*). 4. The artist is indifferent to the distinction between appearances and realities; he shows, however, a certain bias toward appearances. Professor Smith's doctrine of the identity of the arts rests upon his conception of the Imagination. "When we imagine," he declares, "we do so with all the sensory powers together, and in its object their several objects blend and are merged. . . . Poetry, then, cannot differ from Painting or either from Music because of any difference in Imagination (which is always one and the same within itself), but only as 'organic' chemical substances differ from one another, i.e. from a mere preponderance of one or more among their self-same constituents, which are in its case the several senses or their 'ideal' namesakes."

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From the Oxford Press two interesting published lectures have come to hand, one by a gifted poet and the other by an eminent scholar. The former by John Masefield is the Romanes Lecture for 1924 on *Shakespeare and Spiritual Life*; the latter by E. K. Chambers is the British Academy Shakespeare Lecture for 1924 on *The Disintegration of Shakespeare*. The guiding principle of Mr. Masefield's criticism of Shakespeare's development is stated in the following sentence: "Artists of all kinds exist and progress by destroying those selves of them which, having flowered, have served. They are continually sitting in judgment upon themselves, and annihilating their pasts by creating their opposites." For example, in *Twelfth Night* "all the lovely, the lyrical, the golden in him overthrew all that was common, instinctive, and of the nature of habit. It was a new Shakespeare which no man could have foretold"; but it was in Julius Caesar that "he climbed from his instinctive and romantic self into the adventure of great poetry." In this play he had "profound visionary knowledge, attended with every ecstasy of power, of the spiritual nature of change in the world." Then against this vision there arises in Hamlet the fine, inquiring mind of the Renaissance. The following plays, Troilus and Cressida, Measure for Measure, and Othello continue the drama of thought as opposed to that of vision; this to be overthrown by another drama of vision, Macbeth, which differs, however, from Julius Caesar, because whereas in the latter the powers outside human life were trying to influence men for their good, in Macbeth we have powers who want "the rhythm of life broken," powers who are part of "a devilish will in things." Finally in the Tempest we have a return of the Renaissance mind now troubled "with the misgiving which comes to all who see the individual intellect soaring far beyond the social structure of its time."

Mr. Chambers' British Academy lecture offers a welcome criticism of the work of Mr. J. M. Robertson and Mr. Dover Wilson. In the case of the former, Professor Chambers comments in turn upon the three stages of the critic's progress in dealing with the Shakespeare canon: the disquieting impressions, the "inexorable" tests, the "clues" to other men. Whereas Mr. Robertson always looks for Shakespeare "at the top of his achievement," Mr. Chambers would allow for "moments of artistic oblivion or carelessness, where the brain flags or the insight fails." The "inexorable" tests largely metrical, "even if we assume the statistics to be correct, could not give an exact chronology," in fact different tests do not give the same chronology." In applying his metrical tests Mr. Robertson would deny to Shakespeare passages which do not conform to the critic's idea of the gradual evolution of Shakespeare's metre. Mr. Chambers, on the other hand, is not assured of the "smoothly progressive curve," is willing to allow, in Mr. Robertson's words, for "a literary miracle of genius elicited by some sudden supernatural troubling of the waters." The nature of Mr. Chambers' skepticism with respect to the third stage of Mr. Robertson's method, which is based largely upon the study of vocabulary, may be suggested by his pertinent questions: "Are we really able to ascribe a distinctive diction to each of Shakespeare's predecessors? Do they not largely, together with the young Shakespeare himself, use a common poetic diction, much of it ultimately traceable to Spenser and Sidney?" Mr. Dover Wilson deals with the Shakespeare canon not with reference to metre and vocabulary, but with reference to "critical bibliography," implicit in which is "the doctrine of continuous copy." Here Mr. Chambers frankly admits that "the methods of critical bibliography are a notable addition to the equipment of scholarship"; but he doubts whether the manuscript of *Sir Thomas More* has the significance which the new criticism would attach to it; that is he doubts whether the case is altogether typical; he doubts whether "the Master of the Revels would as a rule have been willing to accept for reading a play in the state of picturesque confusion which characterizes that famous document"; and he doubts further whether bibliography can always give a full explanation of those phenomena that Mr. Wilson has described as "bibliographical disturbances."

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Mr. John Buchan's *Some Notes on Sir Walter Scott* (The English Association. Pamphlet No. 58. March, 1924.) undertakes a defense of Sir Walter against the type of criticism with which the names of Stevenson and Carlyle are particularly associated. The counts in the indictment are three: "The charge against his verbal style, the charge against the form and construction of the tales, and the complaint of a lack of that quality which the Greeks call *σπουδαιότητα*—of a shallow and conventional conception of human life." For the defense, Mr. Buchan contends that Scott's "hurried frankness of composition" is an organic part of the substance and that, however much we might regret his "polite English," we should grant that "he was a master of easy, swift, interesting narrative; he was a master of dialogue, especially that of humble folk; he invented a mode of speech for the figures of past ages, which is at once romantic and natural. . . . When the drama quickens and the stage darkens he attains to a style as perfect and unforgettable as Shakespeare's, and it is most subtly compounded." The answer to the second charge is based upon Scott's own defense in his review of Jane Austen: "We are convinced that some writers have diminished the effect of their works by being scrupulous to admit nothing into them which had not some absolute, intrinsic, and independent merit"; finally, it is suggested that the charge of shallowness may be traced to Scott's avoidance of the laboriously analytical and the pathological. What he accomplishes is the "enlargement and purification of life which is the test of great literature; he makes the world at once more solemn and more sunlit."

*Bentley's Milton* was the subject of last year's Warton Lecture on English Poetry delivered by J. W. Mackail before the British Academy. (From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XI. Oxford Press. London: 1924.) Mr. Mackail touches briefly upon the history of Bentley's notorious edition, pointing out his disqualifications for the task, particularly his total lack of sympathy for the romantic aspects of Milton's genius. Nevertheless, Bentley's application of scientific method to Milton's text makes even his mistakes and absurdities instructive. "Two of the emendations," he points out, "have found their way into the received text"; "several others, not fewer I think than five, and probably not more than ten or a dozen, though they have not been formally accepted, are convincing and all but certain"; "many more are plausible in varying degree, and sometimes both acute and suggestive."

In his *John Davies of Hereford* (Palaestra, 143. Mayer and Müller. Leipzig: 1924), Hans Heidrich has assembled and systematically ordered a large amount of information under the following headings: Leben und Schriften; Belesenheit; Bekanntenkreis; Grundzüge von D.'s literarischer Kritik; Charakterisierung von D.'s Persönlichkeit nach seinen Schriften. The study is a useful work of reference; but the "Bild von Shakespeare's Umgebung" would have come out more clearly if the author had taken more space for "Zusammenfassung" and "Schlussbetrachtung."

Professor George B. Churchill has contributed to Section III of the *Belles-Lettres Series* an edition of William Wycherley's *The Country Wife* and *The Plain Dealer* (D. C. Heath and Co. New York: 1924). In his Introduction Professor Churchill gives particular attention to the dating of the plays and to Molière's influence upon the English dramatist. The chronology of Klette in *Wycherley's Leben und dramatische Werke* he accepts with some modifications. There is no mention in the edition of the *Memoirs of the Life of William Wycherley*, 1718 of which Professor Sherburn in 1922 announced the existence of two copies (T.L.S. May 11, 1922); nor is Perromat's *William Wycherley: sa vie, son œuvre*. Paris: 1921 listed in the *Bibliography*.

In continuation of the work recently begun by Dr. Snyder in *The Celtic Revival in English Literature* two books have been published during the past year (1924) by Hughes and Son, Wrexham. The first, *Wales and the Welsh in*

*English Literature*, by W. J. Hughes, lecturer in English language and literature at Bangor, is much broader in its scope than Dr. Snyder's book and cannot therefore go into so much detail, but for those who wish a survey of the influence which Wales and Welsh literature have exerted upon English literature "from Shakespeare to Scott" this book should prove useful, and occasionally it supplements Dr. Snyder's work even in his own field. In an appendix is given a 44 page bibliography of English books about Wales and the Welsh written between 1500 and 1830.

The second book, *A School of Welsh Augustans* by Saunders Lewis, deals primarily with the influence of English literature upon Welsh, but there are chapters upon Lewis Morris and Evan Evans, both of whom had some influence upon English literature. In an appendix Mr. Lewis has printed, from Panton MS. 74, sixteen letters (hitherto unpublished) written to Evans by Bishop Percy who advises him to take example from "our friend Mr. Johnson [i.e. Dr. Samuel Johnson] for seven years of his life so steadily restraining his appetite, that during that time he never admitted a single drop of any fermented liquor within his lips, and is now a great example of temperance and sobriety."

\* \* \*

There have recently been included in the *Mediaeval Library* (Chatto and Windus) the following editions: Abbot Gasquet's *The Nun's Rule or The Ancrens Riwele*, Kylie's *English Correspondence of St. Boniface*, and Robert Steele's *Medieval Lore*.

\* \* \*



## STUDIES ON THE STORY OF GAWAIN IN CRESTIEN AND WOLFRAM<sup>1</sup>

The problem of the source of Wolfram's *Parzival* has never been solved in an entirely satisfactory way. It was discovered at an early date<sup>2</sup> that Wolfram's story, excepting its two introductory and three final books, in general follows Crestien's poem *Li Contes del Graal*, although there is a great discrepancy in the names of persons and localities.

Wolfram, however, does not name Crestien as his source, but he states in a number of places<sup>3</sup> that he got his story from *Meister Kiot*. Crestien he mentions only once, at the very end of his *Parzival*, in the much discussed lines:

W. 827, 1-4

Ob von Troies meister Kristjân  
disem mære hât unreht getân,  
daz mac wol zûrnen Klôt,  
der uns diu rehten mære enbôt,

There is no doubt that Kiot represents the French name *Guiot*, but all attempts to identify such a Grail-poet have proved fruitless. On the other hand the similarities between Wolfram and Crestien cannot be denied.

Today most scholars are satisfied with the theory that Crestien was Wolfram's only source. This theory was first advanced by Birch-Hirschfeld in 1877, and was generally accepted after Lichtenstein's study<sup>4</sup> in 1897. Wendelin Foerster<sup>5</sup> in the introduction to his *Kristianwörterbuch* barely stops short of calling Wolfram a liar who tried to hide his literary plagiarism by inventing a fictitious source, which he called Kiot. Baist,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bibliography. For the literature on Wolfram see G. Boetticher, *Die Wolfram-Literatur seit Lachmann. Mit kritischen Anmerkungen. Eine Einleitung in das Studium Wolframs*. Berlin, 1880. F. Panzer, *Bibliographie zu Wolfram von Eschenbach*, München, 1897. E. Martin, *Wolframs von Eschenbach Parzival und Titurel. Herausgegeben und erklärt. Zweiter Teil: Kommentar*. Halle, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> A. Rochat, *Germania III*, pp. 81-120.

<sup>3</sup> W. 416, 20-30; 431, 2; 453, 1-455, 22; 776, 10; 805, 10; 827, 1-14.

<sup>4</sup> J. Lichtenstein, *Zur Parzivalfrage*, Halle, 1897. (E. Sievers, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 22).

<sup>5</sup> W. Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes. Wörterbuch zu seinen sämtlichen Werken*. Halle, 1914. pp. 187\*-202\*.

<sup>6</sup> G. Baist, *Rectoratsrede*. Freiburg i. B. 1909.

the editor of *Li Contes del Graal*, also states emphatically that Wolfram has no other source than Crestien. Among the leading historians of MHG literature Vogt<sup>7</sup> and Golther<sup>8</sup> do not believe in Kiot, although it is interesting to note that the latter changed his mind after having upheld the theory of such a lost source for decades.

It is, however, significant that among the small group who believe in Kiot we find Wolfram's two best translators, Wilhelm Hertz<sup>9</sup> and Jessie Weston.<sup>10</sup> Here, too, we find Ernst Martin, who devoted a lifetime to Parzival, and Richard Heinzel,<sup>11</sup> whose study on the subject is called *eine Riesenarbeit* by Foerster, though the latter does not agree with his conclusions. The main proponent of the Kiot theory is Samuel Singer<sup>12</sup> who, in 1916, tried to prove that Wolfram did not follow Crestien, but adhered to a lost French poem much more closely than anybody ever dared to suppose. He pointed out that at least half the works of Old French literature were lost, and that we therefore must not be surprised at the loss of at least three important Grail stories: the oldest one, possibly written by *Bleheris*; another which was the source of Crestien and of Guiot; and of Guiot's story itself. Singer's theory was regarded as a final solution of the problem by Bötticher, for forty years the bibliographer of the Wolfram literature.

<sup>7</sup> F. Vogt, *Geschichte der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur*. Berlin und Leipzig, 1922.

<sup>8</sup> W. Golther, *Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart, 1912. *Idem*, *Die Gralsage bei Wolfram von Eschenbach*. Rektoratsrede, Rostock, 1910.

<sup>9</sup> W. Hertz, *Parzival*. Neu bearbeitet. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1906.

<sup>10</sup> J. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Gawain*, London, 1897. *Idem*, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, Vol. I. London, 1906. *Idem*, *J. Weston, Parzival, a knightly Epic*. London, 1912.

<sup>11</sup> W. Heinzel, *Über Wolframs von Eschenbach Parzival*. Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Philosophisch-Historische Classe, 130. 1894. (Foerster, *Kristianwörterbuch*. p. 145\*: "Unter dem vielen Wust ragt aber Richard Heinzels Riesenarbeit hervor, die aber eben durch ihren Umfang und die Menge des durchgearbeiteten Materials einen Überblick kaum gewährt, eher verwirrt und deren Ergebnis der angewandten Arbeit wenig entspricht.")

<sup>12</sup> S. Singer, *Wolframs Stil und der Stoff des Parzival*. Wiener Sitzungsberichte, 1916. (See G. Boetticher, *Jahresberichte über die Erscheinungen der germanischen Philologie*, 38. Jg., p. 120: "Unter diesem sehr allgemein gehaltenen Titel wird, auf Heinzel fussend, im wesentlichen die Kyotfrage behandelt und, soweit es sich um die Existenz des Kyot und Wolfram's Verhältnis zu ihm handelt, endgültig gelöst.")

In order to reach an independent opinion I have weighed the arguments advanced by both sides. In this process I have found that the Gawain chapters have never met with the same interest which the Grail story has attracted. Martin regrets that Lichtenstein's minute study never was extended to the Gawain episodes,<sup>13</sup> and Jessie Weston says:<sup>14</sup> "The most perplexing of all the knights surrounding King Arthur, Gawain, has hitherto failed to meet with the favour accorded to his companions."

As a continuation of Lichtenstein's paper I shall, in the following pages, point out parallel passages in the Gawain adventures of the French and German stories which have escaped the attention of commentators. The texts are quoted after the editions of Baist<sup>15</sup> and Leitzmann,<sup>16</sup> partly also after Potvin.<sup>17</sup> Bartsch's edition<sup>18</sup> contains numerous note-references to text parallels. Unfortunately, however, the attention which he devotes to this matter is very unequal in the various chapters. It has seemed inadvisable to include Bartsch's findings in the following study, even for the purpose of completeness. Consequently the parallels pointed out by Bartsch are quoted below only in cases where new connections or relations can be shown.

Wolfram's Gawain story begins with his seventh book. At the end of book VI, Gawain has brought Parzival to King Arthur's court. Lichtenstein has overlooked here a most striking similarity: the general mourning at the court, especially on the part of the ladies, at Gawain's departure:

W. 335, 4-7

des trûrte manec Bertûn  
und manec wîp unde maget:  
herzenliche wart geklaget  
von in sîn strîtes reise.

<sup>13</sup> Kommentar, p. XXXVIII: "besonders genau, aber nur für einen Teil des Gedichts."

<sup>14</sup> The Legend of Sir Gawain, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Crestien's von Troyes Contes del Graal (Percevaus li galois) Abdruck der Handschrift Paris, français 794. Mit Anmerkungen und Glossar. In Kommission G. Ragoczy (K. Nick), Freiburg i. B. (Without year).

<sup>16</sup> A. Leitzmann, Wolfram von Eschenbach. (A. Paul, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek) Halle 1903.

<sup>17</sup> Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal. Publié d'après les Manuscrits originaux par Ch. Potvin. Deuxième Partie: Le Poème. Mons, 1866.

<sup>18</sup> Wolfram's von Eschenbach Parzival und Titurel. Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch. Leipzig, 1875.

- C. 4768                   Einz que il fust de cort meuz  
                               Ot lan por lui molt grant duel fet . . . .
- C. 4772                   Einz n'i ot dame si senece  
                               Qui por lui son duel ne demaint  
                               Por lui plorent maintes e maint

The introduction of the Gawain stories is very much alike:

- W. 338, 4               der werde erkande GÁwán.  
                               3               sol nû dise áventiure hân,
- C. 4775                   E mes sire Gauvains s'an va  
                               Des aventures qu'il trova  
                               M'orrez vos parler maintenant.

Gawain's first adventure is the relief of the besieged castle. Wolfram's story in brief runs as follows: Gawain, coming out of a forest, sees an army marching by, ready for battle. He addresses a retainer who is following the army. From him he learns the names of the knights and the purpose of their march. They are going to attack a lord whose daughter has jilted his king Meljanz. Gawain proceeds to the castle and dismounts near the wall without taking part in the combat. The next day, however, on the request of the lord's youngest daughter, he defeats the leader of the attackers in single combat and thus ends the battle.

Crestien's story is very similar, although much shorter. He at once plunges *in medias res*, whereas Wolfram's tale is interspersed with an abundance of thoughts and reflections of his own. To Crestien's 842 lines we find 1770 lines corresponding in Wolfram. It appears that the French poet speaks only of a tournament while Wolfram describes a real battle, but we may note as a possible sign of verbal influence that Wolfram, too, uses the word *turnei*, (W. 386, 28; W. 387, 30).

In the beginning the two stories are quite different in detail, but when the retainer is first mentioned a remarkable similarity flashes up; he is leading an extra horse, carries a shield, and Gawain asks him the same question:

- W. 342, 9               nû vuor in balde hinden nâch . . . .  
                               11               ein knappe gar unvuoge vrl.  
   ein ledec ors gienc im bt,  
   einen niuwen schilt er vuorte . . . .
- 18               GÁwán zuo dem knappen reit,  
   nâch gruoze er vrâcte mære,  
   wes diu massente wære.

- C. 4780 . . . . si demande  
 A un escuier qui venoit  
 Toz seus apres e si menoit  
 An destre un cheval espaignol  
 E ot un escu a son col:  
 Escuiers di moi qui cil sont  
 Qui ci passent?

This similarity becomes closer when Wolfram about 500 lines farther speaks of the king's Spanish horse:

- W. 357, 21 und reit ein schoene kastelân,

In both poems the retainer tells about the purpose of the marching army, but Wolfram's *knappe*, although extremely talkative, takes leave voluntarily, while Crestien has Gawain send him away. When Gawain reaches the castle he finds all the doors obstructed by walls:

- W. 351, 23 Gâwân gein einer porten reit.  
 der burgære site was im leit:  
 26 al ir porten wâren vermûret

- C. 4860 Bien furent les portes fermees  
 De pierre dure e de mortier<sup>19</sup>

Gawain dismounts near the castle wall

- W. 352, 29 unden bi der mûre  
 C. 4877 desoz la tor

from which ladies look down on him and his armor:

- W. 353, 7 ob im saz wîbe hers ein vluot.  
 sîn kamergewant man nider luot  
 undz harnas von den soumen.  
 C. 4918 E les dames e les puceles  
 Se vont par les hâuz leus seoir  
 E vîrent soz eles a plain  
 C. 4921 Le hernois monseignor Gauvain

<sup>19</sup> The Mons version reads:

- P. 6276 Bien furent les portes murées  
 De pierre dure et de mortier;

which proves that the Mons MS stands closer to Wolfram than does MS Paris, 794.



There are archers mentioned in both poems:

W. 351, 28                   dar zuo der zinnen ieslîch  
mit armbruste ein schütze phlac,  
der sich schiezens her ûz bewac:

C. 4903                   Que vos avez bons chevaliers  
E boens sergenz e boens archiers  
Qui lor chevax lor ocirront

The newcomer immediately causes comment. In the German story the lord's eldest daughter calls him a merchant:

W. 352, 16                   muoter, ez ist ein koufman.

In the French poem a lady of the court says:

C. 5022                   Marcheanz est, . . . .

In the course of the conversation this is changed to

W. 353, 26                   dort sitzt ein webselære,  
C. 5025                   Einz est changierres fet la quarte

Gawain hears what is said about him and is mortified:

W. 358, 15                   ir beider strît der worte  
Gâwân ze merke hôrte.  
19                   sol lûter herze sich niht schemen,  
daz muoz der tût dâ von ê nemen.

C. 5053                   Mes sire Gavains cleremant  
Ot les paroles e antant  
Que les dames dient de lui  
Si en a e honte e enui

The question is raised whether Gawain's horses are for sale:

W. 360, 12                   si sprach: nû vrâge in vûrbaz  
ob diu ors veile sîn  
und ob in sînem soumschrîn  
lige inder werdez krâmgewant.

C. 5024                   Toz ces chevax maine il a vandre.  
5030                   C'est monoie e vesselemante  
An ces vessiax e an ces males.

The younger daughter speaks up for Gawain:

W. 352, 21                   swester, des mahtû dich schamen.  
er gewan nie koufmannes namen:  
er ist sô minneclîch getân,  
ich wil in zeinem ritter hân.

- C. 5032                    Voir molt avez les lengues males  
                               Fet la petite s'avez tort  
 C. 5039                    Il sanble mialz tornoieor  
                               Que marchant ne changeor  
                               Il est chevaliers ce me sanble.

There is one point here where Crestien goes farther than Wolfram. The elder sister slaps the younger one's face:

- C. 5010                    Lors la fiert que toz les doiz  
                               Li a enz el vis scelez

Wolfram omits this episode. Nevertheless, we may have a reflection of it in the scene when Obie's messenger to Gawain is greeted with these words:

- W. 360, 26                mûlslege al ungezalt  
                               sult ir hie vil emphâhen.

In Crestien's poem a knight who has lost his horse approaches Gawain on the advice of a lady and is received ungraciously. Crestien's lines

- C. 5114                    Mes fui de ci si tien ta voie  
                               E si va fere ta besoigne

compare to

- W. 360, 25                er sprach: vart hin, ir ribalt!

When night falls, in both stories, Gawain follows an old knight as a guest into his house. The eldest daughter now urges the lord to rob the stranger of his goods, in Crestien's poem personally, in Wolfram's by means of a *splutp*. The lord starts out on horseback and meets Gawain's host in the street. The latter inquires where his master is going:

- W. 363, 12                Scherules im widerreit:  
                               er vrâcte, war im wære sô gâch.  
 C. 5223                    Si l'ancontrent enmi la rue  
                               E li vavasors le salue  
                               Si li demande ou il aloit

In the ensuing conversation they decide that it would not hurt to see Gawain:

- W. 364, 23                der vûrste sprach: nû lâz mich in gesehen.  
                               dâ mac niht arges ûz geschehen.

- C. 5228                    Ce ne me doit grever ne nuire  
                               Fet danz Gerins ne desseoir  
                               E vos i porroiz ja veoir  
                               Le plus bel chevalier de terre<sup>20</sup>

In both stories Gawain states that he did not take part in the combat because he is pledged for another battle. His reasoning in each case is very much alike:

- W. 350, 1                er dâhte: sol ich strîten sehen  
                               und sol des niht von mir geschehen,  
                               sôst al mîn prîs verloschen gar.  
                               kum aber ich durch strîten dar  
                               und wirde ich dâ geletzet,  
                               mit wârheit ist entsetzet  
                               al mîn werltlicher prîs.  
                               ich entuon es niht deheinen wîs:  
                               ich sol ê leisten mînen kampf.

- C. 5057                    Mes il panse e a reison  
                               Qu'an l'apele de traison  
                               S'estuet que desfandre s'an aille  
                               Que s'il n'aloit an la bataille  
                               Si com il ot an covenant  
                               Il avroit lui honi avant  
                               E apres son linage tot  
                               E por ce qu'il est an redot  
                               Qu'il ne soit afolez e pris  
                               Ne s'est del tornei antremis

When, however, the lord's youngest daughter asks him to become her knight, Gawain acquiesces. In both stories the daughter returns sitting in front of her father on his horse:

- W. 373, 8                et bat si heben vûr sich.  
                                
                               C. 5348                Sa fille an reporte li aire  
                               Sor le col de son palefroi

In their conversation father and daughter decide that Gawain must have a present. He receives a sleeve made out of new red material:

- W. 374, 25                dô hiez tragen dar diu wîse  
                               samlt von Etnîse.  
                               unversniten wât truoc man dâ mite,

<sup>20</sup> The Mons MS reads:

P. 6644                    Par foi, ce ne me doit pas nuire,  
                               Wolfram's expression goes back to Mons rather than to MS Paris, 794.

- C. 5412                   E il fist un vermoil samit  
                               Fors de son cofre ilueques trere  
                               E si an fist maintenant fere  
                               Une manche bien longue e lee

In the French poem the girl carries the sleeve personally to Gawain, whereas in the German she sends her friend Clauditte. Before the battle starts Gawain goes with his host to mass:

- W. 378, 24               ein phaffe in eine messe gap:  
                               der sanc si beide got und in.

- C. 5444                   E furent au mostier alé  
                               Oir messe qu'an lor chanta

Here the resemblance ceases. Crestien's description of the combat is extremely short. Gawain defeats his adversary at once and departs immediately. Wolfram's vivid imagination brings the battle before us in detail. A red knight, in whom we recognize Parzival, appears and accomplishes wonders. After his departure the lovers are reconciled and their wedding follows. At the very end of the book, however, there is a passage which has a close parallel in Crestien, although at a different place:

- W. 397, 25               er enrite ûz mit dem degene balt.  
                               Gâwâns strâze tîf einen walt  
                               gienc: dar sânde er weideman  
                               und spîse verre mit in dan.

- C. 5280                   Ge vos i bailleraî conduit  
                               Fet li sires qui vos manra  
                               E por ce qu'il vos covanra  
                               Par povre terre a trespasser  
                               Vos donrai vitaille a porter  
                               E chevaux qui la porteront.

Gawain's next adventure is told in Wolfram's eighth book. The hero rides on through dense woods until he reaches the country where his single combat is to take place. In the distance he sees a castle. Its king comes riding toward him, accompanied by 500 or more knights. He addresses Gawain, telling him to call on his beautiful sister in the castle, and continues on his hunt. The sister receives Gawain with a kiss after the custom of the time, and the two fall in love at once. Suddenly an old knight enters and calls Gawain the murderer of her father.

Nevertheless, the girl stands by him and flees with him to a tower, where he is attacked by knights and citizens. He defends himself with a doorbolt and uses a chessboard which the girl hands him as a shield. She hurls the heavy chessmen upon the onrushing attackers. In the meantime the king has returned. Suddenly *Kingrimursel* appears, complains over this breach of the guest law, and on his request the king stops the battle. A knight *Lidamus* proposes the postponement of Gawain's single combat for one year. A solemn dinner follows. The king tells Gawain during their conversation that he was defeated not long ago by a knight who made him vow that he would ride on the quest of the Grail. *Lidamus* proposes to send Gawain on this quest in the king's stead, and the next morning the king gives Gawain leave for this purpose. Gawain departs alone on his horse Gringuljete, sending back his retainers.

Crestien tells us that Gawain spends the night in a monastery. In the morning he sees deer in a forest and rides after them. His horse suddenly goes lame. Gawain's retainer discovers that it has lost a shoe. While looking for a blacksmith they meet a hunting party. The leader, whose name is not given, sends Gawain to his beautiful sister, with a knight as his companion. Then follows the love scene and the battle in the tower.

Comparing the two versions we notice that each begins with a hunting scene, though these are entirely different. The two stories show marked similarity when Gawain meets the king. In Wolfram the latter states that he will return as soon as possible:

W. 402, 27                    ich kum iu schierre, denne ich sol.

Crestien expresses the same idea:

C. 5707                    Que ge m'an voldrai revenir  
                               Por lui conpaignie tenir  
                               Au plus tost que ge porrai onques.

The king adds in jesting tone that Gawain will not miss him much while in the company of his sister:

W. 402, 29                   geschet ir die swester min:  
                               ir enruocht, wolde ich noch lenger sin.

C. 5701                    Tel solas e tel conpaignie  
                               Li face si ne li poiat mie  
                               Tant que nos soions revenu;

Of Crestien's fascinating description of the life in the town through which Gawain passes before entering the castle we find nothing in Wolfram. The entrance into the girl's presence, however, is very similar:

- W. 404, 21            ein ritter, der in brähte dar,  
                         in vuorte, dâ sas wol gevar  
                         Antikonfe diu künegin.
- C. 5750                Li chevaliers antre an la tor  
                         Sus avoec mon seignor Ganvain  
                         E si le mainne par la main  
                         Jusqu'a la chanbre a la pucele

The girl receives the guest kindly as her brother wishes her to do:

- W. 405, 10            sît das iuch der bruoder mîn  
                         mîr bevolhen hât sô wol,  
                         ich küsse iuch, ob ich küssen sol.
- C. 5775                E por mon frere qui m'an prie  
                         Vos ferai bone compaignie.

The love scene is more realistic in Wolfram than in Crestien. The interruption is described as follows:

- W. 407, 11            dô gienc zer tür in aldâ  
                         ein ritter blanc, wande er was grâ.  
                         in wâfenheiz er nande  
                         Gâwânen, dô er in erkande.
- C. 5794                Uns vavasors andemantiers  
                         Antra leanz qui molt lor nut  
                         Qui mon seignor Gauvain conut

Crestien's knight addresses the girl quite at length and so ardently that she faints. The German poem does not contain this incident. The approach of the attackers is almost literally the same:

- W. 408, 2             diu juncvrouwe erhôrte sân  
                         den bovel komen ûz der stat.
- C. 5840                Ja vandra ci si con ge croi  
                         La comune de ceste vile

The girl speaks to Gawain about the tower to which she is leading him:

- W. 407, 27            wir suln ze wer uns ziehen,  
                         ûf jenen turn dort vliehen,  
                         der bi mîner kemenâten stêt.

- C. 5842           Ja en verroiz plus de dis mille  
                   Devant ceste tor amassez;  
                   Mes ceanz a armes asez  
                   Dont ge vos armerai bien tost

The chessboard episode is treated as follows:

- W. 408, 19       dô vant diu maget reine  
                   ein schâchzabelgesteine  
                   und ein bret, wol erleget, wît:  
                   daz brâhte si Gâwâne in den strît.
- W. 408, 25       ûf disen vierecken schilt  
                   was schâchzabels vil gespilt:  
                   der wart im sêre zehouwen.  
                   nû hoert ouch von der vrouwen:  
                   ez wære kûnec oder roch,  
                   daz warf si gein den vînden doch.
- C. 5855           Si fist escu d'un eschequier  
                   E dist: amie ge ne quier  
                   Que vos m'ailliez autre escu querre.
- C. 5962           La damoisele les eschas  
                   Qui jurent sor le pavement  
                   Lor rue molt irieement

In the French epic the girl gives vent to her anger in a fervent address directed against the attackers, while in the German she mainly denounces her brother. The following parallels are striking:

- W. 411, 14       die alden und die jungen  
                   treip er von dem turne wider:
- C. 5974           Li plusor arriere s'an fuient
- W. 411, 16       den hiez der kûnec brechen nider.
- C. 5976           E a pis d'acier la tor fueent  
                   Aussi con por la tor abatre

In both poems a knight advises the king to send Gawain on a quest. In the French version it is the quest of the Grail king's bleeding lance, in the German the quest of the Grail:

- W. 428, 20       welt ir mir geben sicherheit,  
                   daz ir mir werbet sunder twâl  
                   mit guoten triuwen um den grâl.
- C. 6158           E il a le seremant fet  
                   Que il metra tote sa painne  
                   A querre la lance qui saine.

Gawain's second adventure ends abruptly in Crestien as does the first one; Wolfram has hundreds of additional lines which describe the meal and the conversation that take place after the battle. The end of the episode, again, is very similar. Gawain takes leave of the girl, sends his retainers away, and starts out alone on his horse *Gringuljete* (W. 432, 25), *le Gringalet* (C. 6171.)

The stories now suddenly return to Parzival and describe his visit with the hermit. Wolfram's ninth book is considered the keystone of his poem; it contains 2100 lines, whereas Crestien returns to Gawain's story after 300 lines.

Gawain's third adventure has about the same length in the French and German texts. The hero now is alone. He sees a wounded knight who is nursed by a lady companion. The resemblance becomes much closer than it is in the first two episodes:

W. 504, 7

eins morgens kom mîn her GÂwân  
geriten uf einen grünen plân:  
dâ sach er blicken einen schilt,  
dâ was ein tjoste durch gezilt,  
und ein phert, daz vrouwen gereite truoc.

C. 6484

Que antre tierce e midi  
Vint vers une angarde avalant  
E vit un chasne haut e grant  
Trop bien foillu por onbre randre  
Au chasne vit un escu pandre  
E une lance tote droite  
D'aler vers le chasne s'exploite  
E de delez le chasne vit  
Un palefroï norrois petit

This sight causes the same thought in the two poems:

W. 504, 15

dô dâhte er: wer mac sîn diz wîp,  
diu alsus werlîchen lîp  
hât, daz ai schiltes phliget?

C. 6493

Si li vint molt a grant mervolle  
Que ce n'estoit chose paroille  
Escu e armes ce li sanble  
E petit palefroï ansanble



The lady is in great misery:

W. 505, 10            ouch saz ein vrouwe an vreuden lam  
                             dâ hinder tîf grûenem klê:  
                             der tet grôz jâmer alsô wê,  
                             daz si der vreude gar vergaz.

C. 6502                A tant desoz le chasne esgarde  
                             E vit seoir une pucele . . . .

C. 6506                Mes ele ot ses doiz an sa tresce  
                             Fichiez por ses chevox detrere  
                             E s'esforçoit molt de duel fere

Gawain asks the lady the same question in both poems, and receives the answer in direct discourse:

W. 505, 24            dô vrâcte er des heldes wîp,  
                             ob der ritter lebete  
                             oder mit dem tôde strebete.  
                             dô sprach si: herre, er lebet noch:  
                             ich wæne, daz ist unlenge doch.

C. 6523                Si ne set s'il est morz ou vis  
                             Si dist: pucele est vostre amis  
                             Cil chevaliers que vos tenez?  
                             Sire fet el veoir poez  
                             Qu'an ses plaies a grant peril  
                             Que de la menor morroit il.

The wounded knight addresses Gawain with words of thanks:

W. 506, 20            dô er Gâwânen ob im ersach,  
                             dô dancte er im sêre

C. 6550                Encois li anclina e dist:  
                             Sire cinc cenx merciz vos rant

He also advises Gawain not to proceed:

W. 506, 30            ir sultz ouch mîden, habet ir sin.

W. 507, 10            Gâwânen er sêre bellben bat.

C. 6555                Mes por vos meismes vos pri  
                             Que vos n'ailliez avant de ci  
                             Que vos ferez trop que fos  
                             Remenez e creez mon los.

In the German poem Gawain dresses the wounds with the lady's veil before leaving:

W. 507, 21                      GAWAIN die wunden verbanet  
mit der vrouwen houbetgewant,

In the French story a similar expression is found much later:

C. 6912                      Mes uns guinple deliee  
Por bien lier i covandroit.

Gawain now reaches the castle of *Logrois*, (W. 507, 29) or *Logres*. (C. 8603). In the German story he finds the mistress of the castle, Orgeluse, sitting near a spring:

W. 508, 17                      ein brunne ûz dem velse schôz:  
dâ vant er, des in niht verdrôt,  
eine alsô klære vrouwen,

Although Crestien does not mention the spring there is at least a possibility that her reflection was in water and not in a hand mirror:

C. 6641                      Trova une pucele sole  
Qui miroit son vis e sa gole

The conversation between Gawain and Orgeluse is very similar. The hero falls in love at once and is not backward in expressing it. Orgeluse treats him with scorn. She knows in the French story that Gawain wants to take her away and is willing to go in order to cause him trouble:

C. 6675                      E ne por quant se tant valoies  
Avoec toi mener m'an porroies  
C. 6680                      Je m'an iroie avoeques toi  
Tant que maleurtez e pesance  
E ire e diax e mesestance  
T'avenist an ma conpaignie.

Wolfram expresses this:

W. 511, 9                      ob ir mich hinnen vüeret,  
grôz sorge iuch dâ nâch rüeret.

In both stories the lady requests Gawain to bring her horse out of a garden:

W. 511, 23                      in jenen boumgarten.  
mîns pherdes sult ir dâ warten.

W. 512, 23                    und brinct mir balde mîn phert.

C. 6677                    Se tant t'an voloies pener  
Que tu m'alasses amener  
De ce jardin mon palefroi

Gawain does not know what to do with his own in the meantime:

W. 512, 2                    dô hete er manegen gedanc,  
wie daz ors sîn erbite.

C. 6688                    Ha bele amie mes chevar  
Ou remanra il se g'i pas

In both poems the lady offers to hold the animal, but tells him to hurry:

W. 512, 10                   sprach si. diz ors mir stên hie lât:  
daz behalde ich, unz ir wider kumt.  
W. 512, 23                   und brinct mir balde mîn phert.

C. 6692                    Non voir sire bailliez le moi  
C. 6694                    Le cheval vos garderai gie  
C. 6696                    Mes hastez vos del retorner

Gawain has to cross a narrow bridge to reach the garden:

W. 511, 21                   vart jenen phat (ez ist niht ein wec)  
dort über jenen hôhen stec

C. 6690                    Que passer ne porroit il pas  
Par cele planche que ge voi.

There he finds many people who do not speak kindly about their mistress:

W. 513, 9                    si enklageten sînen kumer grôz.  
man und wîp des niht verdrôz,  
genuoge sprâchen, denz was leit:  
mîner vrouwen trûgeheit  
wil disen man verleiten  
ze grôzen arbeiten.  
ouwê, daz er ir volgen wil  
ûf alsus riuwebæriu zil.

C. 6714                    E voit assez gent amasee  
C. 6716                    E dient tuit: que deable t'ardent  
Pucele qui tant as mal fait  
Li tuens cors male aventure ait

Gawain is cordially received:

W. 513, 17           manec wert man dâ gein im gienc,  
                           der in mit armen ummevienc  
                           durch vriuntlîch emphâhen.

C. 6737           Einz s'an va saluant les rotes  
                           E il li randent tuit e totes  
                           Son salu . . . .

He finds the horse, saddled and bridled, under an olive tree,  
 with an old knight standing near:

W. 513, 20           dar nâch begunde er nâhen  
                           einem ôlboume: dâ stuont daz phert.  
                           ouch was maneger marke wert  
                           der zoum und sîn gereite.  
                           mit einem barte breite,  
                           wol gevlohten unde grâ  
                           stuont dâ bî ein ritter dâ

C. 6742           E messire Gauvains s'adresce  
                           Au palefroi e tant la main  
                           E le vialt panre par le frain  
                           Que frains ne sele n'i failloit  
                           Mes un grant chevalier avoit  
                           Soz un olivier verdeant

The knight's statement:

W. 514, 6           mîn vrouwe sî verwâzen,  
                           daz si sô manegen werden man  
                           von dem lîbe scheiden kan.

reminds of

C. 6719           C'onques prodome n'eus chier  
                           A maint en avras fet tranchier  
                           La teste . . . .

and of

C. 6773           Qu'il n'aust la teste tranchiee

Gawain, arriving with the horse, is treated by the lady with  
 disdain; she resents that his hand should touch her or even her  
 belongings:

C. 6807           Se tu avoies rien tenue  
                           Qui fust sor moi de ta main nue  
 C. 6810           Je cuideroie estre honie;

Wolfram's text contains something similar at a different place:

W. 512, 17                sprach si, wan dâ lac iuwer hant,  
                              der grif sol mir sin unbekant.

Gawain offers to lift her into the saddle:

W. 515, 23                welt ir, ich hebe iuch uf diz phert.  
C. 6803                    Si vos aiderai a monter.

The offer is refused, the lady being afraid of him:

W. 515, 24                si sprach: des hân ich niht gegert.  
                              iuwer unversichert hant  
                              mac grifen wol an smæher phant.

C. 6804                    Ce ne te lest ja dex conter  
                              Fet la pucele an leu ou vaingnes  
                              Que tu antre tes bras me taignes:

C. 6818                    Je monterai bien par ma foi  
                              Que de t'aie ne quier point

After they leave together Gawain sees a medicinal plant and picks it:

W. 516, 23                ein krût dâ stênde Gâwân sach,  
                              des wûrze er wunden helfe jach.  
                              dô erbeizte der werde  
                              nider zuo der erde,  
                              er gruop si, wider uf er sas.

C. 6876                    Une herbe voit an une haie  
                              Molt bone por dolor tolir  
                              De plaie e il la va coillir;

He knows how to treat wounds:

W. 506, 14                er was zer wunden niht ein tôr:

C. 6874                    E mes sire Gauvains savoit  
                              Plus que nus hom de garir plaie

They now find the wounded knight and Gawain ties the plant on his wounds:

W. 521, 19                si kômen, dâ si vunden  
                              ligen den ritter wunden.  
                              mit triuwen Gâwânes hant  
                              diu wurz uf die wunden bant.

C. 6880                    Tant a alé que il trova  
                              La pucele . . . .

- C. 6922                    E de l'erbe que il tenoit  
                              Sor totes ses plaies li lie

The knight requests Gawain to help his companion onto the horse:

- W. 522, 14                mîner vriundîn runzit  
                              habe wir noch stênde al starkez hie:  
                              nû hebe si drûf, mich hinder sie.

- C. 7014                    E cele pucele prenez  
                              Que vos veez ci delez moi  
                              Si restraingiez son palefroi  
                              Puis si li aidiez a monter

While Gawain fulfills the request the wounded man jumps on Gawain's steed:

- W. 522, 25                Gâwân ûf daz phert si swanc.  
                              innen des der wunde ritter spranc  
                              ûf Gâwânes kastelân:

- C. 7031                    E messire Gauvains a prise  
                              La dameisele si l'a mise  
                              Desor le palefroi norrois . . . .

- C. 7035                    Andrementres qu'il li assist  
                              Li chevaliers son cheual prist  
                              E monta sus . . . .

He calls out that he is going to take the animal:

- W. 525, 8                ich wil dis ors al eine hân  
C. 7051                    Que au cheval as tu failli  
                              Que ge l'ai a mon oes seisi  
                              Si lan manrai come le mien.

Orgeluse laughs at Gawain's plight:

- W. 523, 2                diu vrouwe es lachte mère,  
C. 7109                    E la male pucele rit

Before leaving, the wounded man explains why he hates Gawain. The latter once made him eat with the dogs for four weeks:

- W. 524, 13                dô mich dîn manlîchiu kraft  
                              vienc in herter ritterschaft  
                              und dô dô bræhte mich ze hûs  
                              dînem oheim Artûs,  
                              vier wochen er des niht vergas:  
                              die zît ich mit den hunden az.

- C. 7073                    Si as Gauvain tu me veis  
                               La ou grant honte me feis:  
                               Ne te sovient il de celui  
                               Cui tu feis si grant enui  
                               Que tu feis oltre son pois  
                               Mangier avec les chiens un mois

Gawain states the reason for this punishment: the knight had assaulted a woman:

- W. 525, 20                dô geriet im sin kranker sin,  
                               daz er mit der vrouwen ranc  
                               nâch sinem willen âne ir danc:
- C. 7082                    Es tu ce donc Greorreas  
                               Qui la dameisele preis  
                               Por force e ton boen an feis?

Gawain now proceeds on his way with his lady companion. Another horse, although a very poor one, is furnished him through an incident which occurs in both poems—not exactly at the same place, but with the same purpose. A very ugly looking creature comes up from behind:

- W. 517, 11                dô vuor in balde ein knappe nâch,  
                               15                dô dûhte er in ungehiure.
- C. 6949                    Si se trestorne e voit venant  
                               Un escuier desavenant

He speaks to Gawain in an impudent manner and is thrown from the saddle:

- W. 521, 8                Gāwān in bl dem hāre dô  
                               begreif und swanc in underz phert.
- C. 6984                    Si le fiert de la paume overte  
  C. 6987                    Si qu'il verse e la sele vuide

In both poems Gawain has misgivings about the weak stirrup straps:

- W. 530, 25                diu sticleder von baste.  
                               28                tûf sitzen meit er umme daz,  
                               er vorhte, daz er zetræte  
                               des satels gewæte.
- C. 7139                    Les estriés lons e foible trueve  
                               7341                Si que afichier ne s'i ose.

He finally mounts and rides slowly through big woods until they reach open country:

- W. 534, 17 . . . . ūfz phert er saz.  
 11 Orgelūse und der degē balt  
 di kōmen in einen grōzen walt:  
 18 ez truoc in kūme vūrbaz,  
 anderhalben ūz in erbūwen lant.
- C. 7179 Qui ne set pas qu'il puisse feire  
 De son roncīn don ne puet treire  
 Cors ne galoz por nule painne  
 Voelle il ou non le pas le mainne
- C. 7188 Ensi s'an va sor le roncīn  
 Par forez gastes e sostaines  
 Tant que il vint a terres plaines

A river flows by; at the opposite side stands a castle, unsurpassed in beauty. Ladies are at the windows:

- W. 535, 7 ūberz wazzer stuont daz kastel.  
 W. 534, 23 deheine burc nie der geltch.  
 25 tūrne unde palas  
 manegēz ūf der būrge was.  
 dar zuo muoste er schouwen  
 in den venstern manegē vrouwen.
- C. 7196 De l'autre part de l'eve sist  
 Uns chastiax trop bien compassēz
- C. 7202 C'onques si riche forteresce  
 Ne virent oel d'ome qui vive,  
 Que sor une roche naïve  
 Avoit un pales bien asis
- C. 7208 El pales fenestres overtes  
 De dames e de dameiseles  
 Qui esgaroient devant eles

Suddenly Gawain notices a knight on horseback, ready for battle. In both stories Orgeluse tells him triumphantly that the newcomer will defeat him:

- W. 535, 8 Gāwān der degē snel  
 sach einen ritter nāch im varn,  
 der schilt noch sper niht kunde sparn.  
 Orgelūse diu rīche  
 sprach hōchvartlīche:  
 19 der dort kumt, iuch sol sīn hant  
 sōll veen, . . . .



- C. 7249           Mes sire Gauvains maintenant  
                   Torne sa chiere e voit venant  
                   Un chevalier par mi la lande  
                   Treatot armé, . . . .
- C. 7258           Gel te dirai par saint Martin,  
                   Fet la pucele, lieemant
- C. 7263           Mes por ce que ge sui seure  
                   Qu'il vient por ta male aventure

Gawain defeats his adversary and regains his stolen horse which the latter was riding. A ferryman appears and asks for his fee:

- W. 543, 30           dô kom des schiffes herre  
 W. 544, 19           er gienc zuo GAwâne,  
                   den zins von dem plâne  
                   den iesch er züchtecliche.
- C. 7336           Si vit venir une nacele  
                   Que uns notoniers amenoit
- C. 7340           Si dist: Sire ge vos aport  
                   Saiuz de par ces dameiseles  
                   E avoec ce vos mandent eles  
                   Que vos mon fié ne me toilliez  
                   Randez le moi se vos daigniez.

Gawain does not understand. The boatman explains that Gawain has downed a knight and claims the horse of the defeated man:

- W. 544, 30           ze rehter tjost hât iuwer hant  
                   mir diz ors erworben
- W. 545, 3           wande iuwer hant in nider stach,
- C. 7352           Sire vos avez abatu  
                   A cest port ci un chevalier  
                   Dont ge doi avoir le destrier

Still Gawain objects; he does not like to walk:

- W. 545, 20           sô endarf iuch nimmer des gezemen,  
                   daz ich ze vuoz hinnen gē.
- C. 7357           E il respont amis cist fiés  
                   Me seroit ja a randre griés  
                   Qu'a pié aler m'an covandroit.

Instead of the horse he surrenders the prisoner:

- W. 546, 6           vür daz ors, des ir hie gert,  
                   habet iu den man, derz gein mir reit.  
                   dô vreute sich der schifman.
- 10

- C. 7372                    Amis prenez sanz contredit  
                               Le chevalier e si l'aiez.  
 C. 7410                    E messire Gauvains l'an mainne  
                               Au notonier qui l'an mercie  
 C. 7441                    Li notoniers son oste an meinne  
                               E son prison, grant joie an meinne  
                               Si grant joie com il plus puet.

Bartsch has already pointed out that the menu of the dinner that follows is similar; whereas in Wolfram they eat three birds of a kind, in Crestien they eat three kinds of birds.

- W. 550, 29                dri galander  
 C. 7446                    Ploviere e feisanz e perdriz

Both poets mention that they wash their hands:

- W. 550, 11                der wirt kom, daz wasser man dar truoc.  
 C. 7453                    . . . . e il levent lor mains.

Gawain's next adventure is that of the *Magic Castle*. He wakes up very early:

- W. 553, 2                sus slief er unz des morgens vruo.  
                               dô erwachte der wigant.  
 W. 553, 18                dennoch der tac was niht ze lieht.  
 C. 7458                    Landemain si tost com il pot  
                               Veoir que li jorz aparut  
                               Si se leva . . . .

and sees a beautiful landscape through a window:

- W. 553, 6                der venster einez offen was  
                               gein dem boumgarten:  
                               dar in gienc er durch warten,  
                               durch luft und durch der vogeles sanc.  
 W. 553, 11                er kôs ein burc, die er sâbents sach,  
 C. 7464                    E furent apoié andui  
                               As fenestres d'une tornele;  
                               La contree qui molt fu bele  
                               Esgarda mes sire Gauvains  
                               E vit les forez e les plains  
                               E le chastel sor la faloise:

Gawain asks about the castle. (W. 554, 25-555, 1; 556, 1-9; C. 7470-7473) His host does not like to answer the question:

- W. 556, 15                dô sprach er: herre, vrâgets niht durch got:  
 C. 7474                    E li ostes li respont lues:  
                               Sire nel sai . . . .

Later he tells Gawain that the ladies are waiting for a knight who will free them and become lord of the castle:

- W. 558, 14           hin ze slnem gaste er sprach:  
                           ob daz got erzeige,  
                           daz ir niht slt veige,  
                           sô werdet ir herre dises landes:  
                           swaz vrouwen hie stêt phandes,  
 W. 558, 22           ob die hie erlœset iuwer kraft,  
                           sô slt ir prises gehêret.
- C. 7549            Qu'il atandent que leanz veigne  
                           Uns chevaliers qui les mainteigne  
 C. 7561            S'uns tex en i pooit venir  
                           Cil porroit le pales tenir  
 C. 7567            E osteroit sanz nul delais  
                           Les anchantemanz del palais

Gawain calls for his arms:

- W. 560, 15           er sprach: traget mir mîn harnas her.
- C. 7571            Ostes fet il alons aval  
                           E mes armes e mon cheval  
                           Me fetes sanz demore randre

At the castle entrance he finds a vendor of valuable merchandise:

- W. 562, 22           dô er was vûr die porten komen,  
                           er vant den krâmære  
                           29           sô richen market er nie gesach,  
                           als im ze sehene aldâ geschach.
- C. 7612            Tant vont que au pié del degré  
                           Qui estoit devant le palais  
                           Truevent sor un trossel de glais  
                           Un eschacier tot seul seant  
                           Qui avoit eschace d'argent

Gawain enters the castle. His host has informed him of the *Magic Bed*:

- W. 561, 21           sô ir in die kemenâten gêt,  
                           dâ Lt Marveille stêt.
- C. 7769            Que c'est li liz de la mervolle

Both poets mention Gawain's shield when he sits down on the bed:

- W. 567, 4           Gâwâne wart enblanden,  
                           daz er den swæren schilt getruoc,

C. 7784                      E ot a son col son escu

They speak of the loud noise that ensues:

W. 567, 18                daz al diu burc dâ von erklaenc.  
21                      und al die pusûnære

C. 7787                      E totes les quanpanes sonent  
Si que tot le pales estonent

The shield saves Gawain's life when arrows and stones rain down on him:

W. 568, 21                vûnf hundert staplingen  
mit listeclichen dingen  
ze dem swanke wâren bereite.  
der swanc gap in geleite  
ûf daz bette, aldâ er lac.  
der schilt alsolher herte phlac,  
daz ers emphant vil kleine.  
ez wâren wazzersteine

C. 7791                      E li anchantemant aperent:  
Que par les fenestres volerent  
Quarriax e saietes leanz  
Si an ferirent ne sai quanz  
Mon seignor Gauvain an l'escu;

Both texts mention crossbows:

W. 569, 5                vûnf hundert armbrust oder mër.

C. 7802                      Que grant escrois ot au destandre  
Des arbalestes e des ars;

Crestien does not state their number at this place, but we surmise it from the number of windows through which the missiles come:

C. 7694                      El pales ot fenestres closes  
Bien quatre cenx e cent overtes

I notice that the Mons MS stands closer to Wolfram than does MS Paris 794. It reads:

P. 9202                      Et par les fenestres volèrent  
Quariel et sajaies argans,  
S'en férirent plus de -V-cens  
Monsignor Gauvain en l'escu;

The shield does not protect the hero entirely; he is seriously wounded:

W. 569, 20            die phlle und ouch die steine  
                          heten in niht gar vermiten:  
                          zequaschieret und ouch versniten  
                          was er durch die ringe.

C. 7810                . . . . si l'avoient  
                          An plusors leus navré el cors  
                          Si que li sanz an sailloit fors.

Even now, Gawain's danger is not over; a peasant appears and lets in a lion; the hero has to fight for his life. In both stories the peasant carries a stick, but only in the French version is there a reason for this:

W. 569, 28            an den selben ziten  
                          tet sich gein im ûf ein tür:  
                          ein starker gebûr gienc dar vûr,  
                          einen kolben er in der hende truoc,

C. 7815                Que uns vilains d'un pel feri  
                          An un huis e li huis ovri

Before battling with the lion Gawain removes the arrows from his shield:

W. 570, 26            Gâwân mit dem swerte sln  
                          von dem schilte sluoc die zeine.  
                          die phlle algemeine  
                          wâren hin durch gedrunge,

This reminds us of

C. 7808                E mes sire Gauwains osta  
                          Les quarriax qui feru estoient  
                          An son escu . . . .

Gawain now has become master of the castle. The two poems are quite different in the way they describe his recovery. In the German poem two maidens look after him and disarm him:

W. 575, 1            si sande zwuo juncvrouwen dar  
                          16            si besâhen, ob er lebete:  
                          einiu mit ir klâren hant  
                          den helm von slnem houbete bant  
                          und ouch die vintellen sln.  
                          W. 579, 1            nû, diz wart alsô getân.  
                                                 entwâpent wart her Gâwân

In the French story a maiden enters when he is being disarmed by retainers:

- |         |                                 |
|---------|---------------------------------|
| C. 7849 | A tant vindrent vaslet a flotes |
| 7858    | Maintenant li uns d'ax l'a pris |
|         | Si le comance a desarmer        |
| 7862    | E que que il se desarmoit       |
|         | Une pucele antre ceanz          |

In both stories the queen of the castle bids the maidens to follow his orders:

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| W. 582, 21 | doch, herre, swaz ir gebietet in,<br>daz suln si leisten, habe wir ain.  |
| C. 7888    | E dit: ma dame la reine<br>Biax sire chiers saluz vos mande<br>E a totes si nos comande<br>Que por lor droit seignor vos teignent<br>E que totes servir vos veignent |

We proceed to Wolfram's twelfth book which tells of Gawain's adventure at the *Dangerous Ford*. In both poems the hero dresses in the morning with new clothes:

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| W. 588, 14 | zuo zim was geleget dar<br>hemde und bruch von buckeram                                     |
| 23         | diu niuwen kleider legete er an.  |
| C. 7955    | A tant la pucele s'an torne<br>E mes sire Gauvains s'atorne<br>De la robe qui molt fu riche |

He then goes up into a tower:

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| W. 589, 1 | ûf durch den palas einestt<br>gienc ein gewelbe niht ze wît,<br>gegrêdet über den palas hôch:  |
| 5         | dar ûfe stuont ein klâriu sôl:   |
| W. 590, 2 | durch schouwen gienc her GAWÂN<br>ûf daz warthûs eine  |
| W. 592, 4 | alum sehs mîle in daz lant,<br>swaz in dem zîl geschiht,<br>in dirre siule man daz siht,<br>in wazzer und ûf velde.<br>des ist er wâriu melde:<br>ez sî vogel oder tier, |
| C. 7963   | Si s'an montent par une viz<br>An coste le pales vostiz  |

Tant qu'il vindrent an son la tor  
 E virent le pais antor  
 Plus bel que nus ne porroit dire;  
 Mes sire Gauvains tot remire  
 Les rivières e terres plainnes  
 E les forez de bestes plaines

He sees Orgeluse who is accompanied by a knight:

- W. 592, 21      GAWÂN an den ziten  
                   sach in der siule rîten:  
                   einen ritter und eine vrouwen  
                   mohte er dâ beidiu schouwen.  
 W. 592, 30      nâch im diu reise wart getân.  
 C. 8251          As fenestres d'une tornele  
                   Ou esgardoit une pucele  
                   Qui venoit tot aval un pré  
                   E un chevalier vit armé

Bartsch has overlooked the interesting parallel:

- W. 593, 4          diu vrouwe condewierte  
                   den ritter mit dem zoume her:  
 C. 8280          Del chevalier que ele mainne

With the exception of this oversight, Bartsch compares the adventure that follows very thoroughly, and I make only a few minor additions. I note the use of the same verb in the French and German versions:

- W. 597, 14          er zôch imz ors an den stat,  
                   er bôt im schilt unde sper.  
 C. 8326          E vaslet corent si li randent  
                   Ses armes por armer son cors  
                   E son cheval li ont trait fors

Trying to cross the *Dangerous Ford* Gawain almost loses his life. Describing his escape out of the water Wolfram tells us:

- W. 602, 26          sin sper dâ bi im swebete,  
                   daz begreif der wigant.  
                   er steic hin tîf an daz lant.

I see in this passage a misunderstanding of Crestien. The Mons MS contains the following incident:

- P. 9887          Et ses chevaus a tant noé  
                   Qu'il prist tière des -III-piés,

Si s'est por salir afficiés,  
Si ce lance si que il saut  
Sor la rive qui molt fu haut;

In both stories the description of the river is very much alike:

W. 602, 8                vürbaz reit her Gâwân:  
er erhörte eins dræten wazzers val,  
daz hete durchbrochen wît ein tal,  
tief, ungeverteclliche.

C. 8462                Tantost jusqu'a la rive amaine  
Mes sire Gauvains son cheval,  
E voit l'eve parfonde aval  
E la rive contremont droite,  
Mes la riviere fu estreote;

Wolfram uses the word *graben* (601, 22), Crestien *fossé* (8469).

After reaching the opposite bank of the river in the German poem the horse shakes itself and Gawain cinches it tighter:

W. 603, 15            sus zôch mîn her Gâwân  
daz ors hin ûz ûf den plân.  
ez schutte sich, dô ez genas.  
19                    er gurte dem orse und nam den schilt.

In the French story Gawain dismounts and removes the saddle in order to let the horse get dry:

C. 8491                E il est descenduz tantost  
E s'a talant que il li ost  
La sele e il li a ostee  
E por essuier acostee;  
Quant li peitrax li fu ostez  
L'eve del dos e des costez  
E des janbes li abat jus.  
Puis met la sele e monte sus

Gawain now meets a knight who carries a falcon on his fist:

W. 605, 3            doch vuorte der degen mære  
einen mûzersparwære  
der stuont ûf sîner klaren hant.

C. 8500                Tant que un seul chevalier vit  
Qui gibecoit d'un esprevier;



Upon Gawain's question the stranger introduces himself:

W. 608, 6            Gāwān vrācte in mēre:  
                       8            nū saget mir, herre, wer ir slt.  
                       13           ich bins der kūnec Gramoflanz.

C. 8591            E vos comant? Grinomalan. z.

He also gives the name of his castle:

W. 610, 25            der kūnec Gāwānen mit im bat  
                              ze Rosche Sablnes in die stat:

C. 8780            Li chastiax se vos nel savez  
                              A non la Roche del Chanp Guin

We hear that his father has been slain by Gawain's father and that he therefore hates Gawain:

W. 608, 22            sln vater der brach triuwe:  
                              im gruoze er mīnen vater sluoc.  
  W. 609, 28            dar ich trage unverkornen haz,

C. 8742            Mes quant de Gauvain me recort  
                              Comant ses pere ocist le mien  
                              Je ne li puis voloir nul bien

Now Gawain discloses his identity:

W. 609, 21            herre, ich heize Gāwān.  
                              swaz iu mīn vater hāt getān,  
                              daz rechet an mir:

C. 8795            Onques mes nons ne fu celes  
                              Ge sui cil que vos tant haez  
                              Ge sui Gauvains.

The king challenges Gawain to a duel and asks him to bring King Arthur as a witness:

W. 610, 12            iu bringet ziuwerm teile  
                              iuwer æheim Artus

C. 8818            E tu aies le roi mandé

Before they part he warns Gawain against the dangers of the river and invites him to go to town with him:

W. 610, 25            der kūnec Gāwānen mit im bat  
                              ze Rosche Sablnes in di stat:  
                              ir enmuget niht ander brücken hān.

- C. 8867                   Gauvains fet il e ge te voel  
                              Mener au meillor port del monde  
                              Ceste eve est si roide e parfonde  
                              Que passer n'i puet riens qui vive  
                              Ne saillir jusqu'a l'autre rive

Gawain refuses politely:

- W. 610, 28               dô sprach mîn her GÂwân:  
                              ich wil hin wider alsô her:  
                              anders leiste ich iuwer ger.
- C. 8871                   E mes sire Gauvains respont  
                              Qu'il n'i querra ne gué ne pont

He jumps back across the water:

- W. 611, 11               er wolde daz ors niht tûf enthaben,  
                              mit sporn treip erz an den graben.  
                              Gringuljete nam beâlze  
                              sînen sprunc sô wîte,  
                              daz GÂwân vallen gar vermeit.
- C. 8878                   Lors point e li chevax sailli  
                              Oltre l'ève delivremant  
                              Que point n'i ot d'anconbrement.

Orgeluse's behavior now changes completely. She tells him why she hates Gramoflanz:

- W. 613, 1               mîn klære sûeze bêas âmis,  
                              28               den verlôs ich vlûstebærez wîp:  
                              in sluoc der kûnec Gramoflanz,
- C. 8900                   Car il me fist si grant enui  
                              Qu'il ocist n'an mantirai mie  
                              Celui a cui g'estoie amie;

Together they return to the Magic Castle. Before entering it he begs her not to disclose his name:

- W. 620, 1               dô sprach er: vrouwe, tuot sô wol,  
                              ob ich iuch des biten sol,  
                              lât mînen namen unerkant,

This reminds of a previous passage in Crestien where Gawain asks that they should not inquire for his name:

- C. 8314                   Mes un don vos demant e ruis  
                              Se vos plect e vos comandez  
                              Que vos mon non ne demandez  
                              Devant huit jorz, si ne voz griet.

They are ferried over the river:

- W. 621, 10            nû was ouch Plipalinôt  
                          mit sîner klâren tohter fier  
                          komen in einem ussier.  
 W. 624, 10            dô heten si sich des bedâht  
                          und vuoren über an daz lant.  
 C. 8940                Si sont au notonier venu  
                          Qui oltre l'eve les an mainne

The ladies of the castle see them coming:

- W. 623, 1             von der burc die vrouwen  
                          dise wirtschafft mohten schouwen.  
 C. 8943                E les dames venir le voient

The knights of the castle receive them with great joy:

- W. 624, 14            manec edel ritter wert  
                          emphiengen in und die herzogin.  
                          si kêrten gein der bûrge hin.  
                          dâ wart mit vreuden geriten,  
                          von in diu kunst niht vermiten,  
                          daz es der buhurt hete êre.  
 C. 8946                Por lui restoient forsené  
                          Trestuit li vaslet del pales;  
                          Or ont tel joie c'onques mes  
                          Ne fu nule plus granz anprise.

Gawain dispatches a messenger to King Arthur, in the German poem with a letter, in the French with an oral message. It seems possible to me that Wolfram conceived the idea of a letter from the passage:

- P. 10634              Toute la cours qui çou véoit  
                          Désire moult á savoir l'uevre  
                          Que li varlés au roi descuevre.

Gawain warns the messenger not to talk too much:

- W. 626. 19            und lâz dir eine witze bt:  
                          verswîc, daz ich hie herre st.  
                          daz dû hie massenle sls,  
                          daz ensage in niht deheinen wîs.  
 C. 9049                Si li dist: vaslez ge te cuit  
                          Molt vezié e molt recuit  
                          Se ge un mien consoil te di  
                          Del bien celer molt te chasti

The messenger promises to obey:

W. 625, 7                der knappe swuor des einen eit,  
er wûrbe liep oder leit,  
daz er des niemen dâ  
gewûlege noch anderswâ,  
wan dâ erz werben solde.

C. 9056                Sire mialz voldroie avoir treite  
La langue par desor la gole  
C'une parole tote sole  
Me fust de la boche volee  
Que volsissiez qui fust celee.

With the arrival of Gawain's messenger at King Arthur's court we have reached the end of Crestien's share in the French story.<sup>21</sup> Bartsch states<sup>22</sup> that Wolfram's poem from now on differs entirely from the French. He does not try to explain why several passages in Crestien's continuation have parallels in Wolfram's text, although pointing out the similarity. Heinzel and Martin both refer to his interesting find.<sup>23</sup> I shall attempt to point out a number of other resemblances, quoting the French text from Potvin III. King Arthur asks the messenger the same question in the German and French versions:

W. 649, 19                hin zem knappen sprach er dô:  
nû sage mir, ist Gâwân vrô?

<sup>21</sup> Potvin's note (III, p. 47) is not very clear. He states: "Après ce vers (10601), au milieu d'une phrase, le MS 794 coupe en deux le poème par ces mots: *Explicyt Perceval le viel*. Le MS de Berne no. 354 s'arrête là: *Explicit li romans de Perceval*. C'est aussi après ce même vers, que les manuscrits commencent à différer entièrement. . . . Cette circonstance ouvre le champ a bien des suppositions. On pourra penser que là s'arrêtait l'œuvre qu'on dit inachevée de Chrestien de Troyes, ou bien que les copistes ont suivi un vieux manuscrit qui n'allait pas plus loin et dont ils respectèrent le texte, antérieur à tous les autres. . . ." On this note see J. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, p. 193: "M. Potvin's note after line 10,601, at the conclusion of Chrestien's part of the poem, is very incorrect. . . ."

<sup>22</sup> K. Bartsch, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, 1877. III, p. 32: "Clinschor's Name kommt in dem französischen Gedichte, welches etwa nur bis zum Schluss der Botschaft des Knappen mit Wolfram stimmt, von da an aber gänzlich abweicht, weil Crestien's Gedicht nicht weiter reichte, nicht vor. . . ."

<sup>23</sup> Heinzel, *Parzival*, p. 69: "Ja auch noch über den als Crestienisch bezeugten Theil des französischen Romanes bei 10601, also im Anfang von Pseudo-Gautier, hat Bartsch noch auf wörtliche Uebereinstimmungen verwiesen; eine ist jedenfalls auffällig. XIII 650, 10—Crestien 10712. See also Martin, *Kommentar*, p. 448.

- P. 10641                    Mais di-moi verté de Gauvain,  
S'il a le cors delivre et sain.

Fulfilling his nephew's request the king proceeds with his court and his army to the Magic Castle. In both poems its inhabitants are at first alarmed when they see a big approaching army:

- W. 663, 20                dô hiez mîn her Gâwân  
                              besliezen die ûzern porten:  
                              dâ anderhalben an den stat  
                              sich leget ein alsô grôzez her,  
                              weder ûf dem lande noch in dem mer  
                              gesach ich rotte nie gevarn  
                              mit alsus krefteclîchen scharn.

- P. 10859                    Ygène la roïne estoit  
                              As estres del palais, et voit  
                              Cele grant ost parmi la préee,  
                              Si en est forment effraée, . . . .

- P. 10867                    Ensamble ne vi tant d'armés

In both poems King Arthur is on horseback when he meets his mother whom he had believed dead:

- W. 671, 20                dô warp niht sô der swære  
                              Artûs, spranc ûf ein kastelân,  
                              al dise vrouwen wol getân  
                              und al die ritter beneben in,  
                              er reit den rinc alumme hin.

- P. 10940                    Et li rois monte el palefroi,

When told that his mother is alive King Arthur also hears his father mentioned by name in both stories:

- W. 672, 7                sus sprach er zuo dem Bertûn:  
                              erkandet ir Utepandragûn,  
                              sôst diz Arnive, sîn wîp:  
                              von den zwein kom iuwer lîp.

- P. 10950                    Mesire Gauwains li a dit:  
                              Sire, grans joie vos atent  
                              Car vostre mère moult entent  
                              À vous esgarder et véoir  
                              Et d'à vous parler se pooir,

- P. 10961                    Quant Uter Pandragon fini,

There is general rejoicing:

- W. 672, 15                ein ander küssen dâ geschach.  
                              vreude unde jâmer sach  
                              al, die daz sehen wolden:  
                              von der liebe si daz dolden.

P. 10979                Li rois et tout cil ki là sont  
                             De la novele grant joie ont.

**Two messengers are dispatched to Gramoflanz:**

W. 677, 1                Artûs der prîses erkande  
                             sine boten sande  
                             ze Rosche Sabînes in die stat:

P. 11170                Tot maintenant, sans contredit,  
                             Sont li mesage andui monté,

**Before his combat Gawain goes to mass:**

W. 705, 1                Gâwâne ein bischof messe sanc.  
                             9                dô der bendiz wart getân,  
                             dô wâpende sich her Gâwân:

P. 11074                Mesire Gauvains sans attendre  
                             A dite sa confession  
                             À -I- évesque Salemon;

**The reception of the messengers also shows marked similarity:**

W. 683, 11                Artûses boten kômen hie.  
                             die vunden den kûnec, nu hœret wie:  
                             palmâtes dicke ein matraz  
                             lac under dem kûnege, aldâ er saz,  
                             dar ûf gesteppet ein phelle breit.  
                             juncvrouwen klâr und ouch gemeit  
                             schuohten iserîne kolzen  
                             an den kûnec stolzen.

P. 11185                Li mesage vienent à l'ost  
                             Guigrenon trovèrent tantost,  
                             Car bien sèvent, sans nul arest,  
                             Sans demander, liqués çou ert;  
                             Sor une keute rice et cointe  
                             D'un frès samit vermel et pointe,  
                             Fu en estant el chevaliers,  
                             Ses -II- bras sour -II- escuiers

**After their return they see Gawain at once:**

W. 688, 4                dô enwart niht langer dâ gebiten,  
                             Artûs boten vuoren dan  
                             und kômen dar, dâ Gâwân  
                             ûf ir widerreise streit.

P. 11267                . . . . Or s'en vont  
                             En l'ost Artu revenu sont;  
                             Truevent Gauvain, sans nule falle,  
                             Devant son tref, prest de batalle.

In both poems the name of Gawain's horse is mentioned at this place, in connection with his retainer:

W. 678, 9                   einen knappen hete er des gebeten,  
daz er im bræhte Gringuljeten:

P. 11101                   Gauwains son Gringalet esgarde  
Que Yonès avoit en garde;  
Sor lui fist metre son atour

In general the stories are quite different from each other, but there is one more parallel. Gawain's sister requests King Arthur, her uncle, to stop the battle between her brother and her lover:

W. 711, 17               giht des diu herzogin vür prîs,  
ob mîn bruoder mir mînen âmls  
sleht durch ir lösen rât?  
des möhte er jehen vür missetât.  
waz hât der kûnec im getân?  
er solde in mîn geniezen lân.  
treget mîn bruoder sinne,  
er weiz unser zweier minne  
sô lûter âne truopheit,  
phliget er triuwe, ez wirt im leit.  
W. 711, 30           sprach zArtûse diu sîeze maget.  
nû denket, ob ir mîn oheim slt:  
durch triuwe scheidet disen strît.

P. 11446               Clarisse en est si esméeue  
Que bien vos puis par vreté dire  
Qu'ele a double duel et doble ire:  
S'ele voit son frère hounir,  
Dont le covient enfin morir,  
Et s'ele voit son ami mort,  
Dont n'ara joie ne confort  
Ne secours en toute sa vie;  
P. 11456           À genellons se mist à tière  
Devant son oncle et pleure et prie,  
Et en pleurant merci li crie  
Et li dist: Biaux oncles, biaux sire,  
P. 11463           Bons rois à qui nus n'ot ains falle,  
Otroiés-moi ceste batalle;

In both poems King Arthur at first expresses his regret over his inability to do so:

W. 712, 3               Artûs ûz wîsem munde  
sprach an der selben stunde:  
ouwê, libiu nîftel mîn,  
11                   den kamph möhte ich wol scheiden,

P. 11471                      Nièce, fait li rois, nel puis faire,

but when he hears of his niece's true love he orders that the battle be called off:

W. 716, 8                      lât ir daz beidiu her ze mir:  
ich wil den kampf undervarn.

P. 11483                      . . . . va tost de chi  
À ton frère et crie merci  
Que fin de la bataille face

The reconciliation is described:

W. 729, 25                      Gāwân und Gramoflanz  
mit kusse ir suone ouch machten ganz.

P. 11556                      Et ont l'acorde porparlée

King Arthur gives his niece to her royal lover in marriage:

W. 729, 27                      Artûs gap Itonjê  
Gramoflanz ze rehter ê.

P. 11564                      Li rois honeure tant celui  
Qui tant estoit preus et hardis,  
Et si estoit amanevis  
Que il sa nièce li otroie;

After P. 11569 I am unable to find corresponding passages in the French and German texts. Until a critical edition of the sixteen Perceval MSS exists it will be impossible to solve the puzzling problem of the similarities in Wolfram and the 950 lines following Crestien's supposed part of the poem. I doubt Potvin's theory that Crestien's part ended at line 10601; it rather seems to me that there is a decided change in the story after P. 11568. It did not escape Jessie Weston<sup>24</sup> that the parallels between Wolfram and the French texts do not cease "at the point of the conclusion of Chrétien's poem." However, I cannot agree with the rather vague conclusion which she bases on this observation. Miss Weston has no doubt gone more deeply into the subject matter of Perceval and Gawain than any other student writing in the English language, but in her hypothesis of the loss of so many written stories she seems to go entirely too far. To my mind we have to reckon with many oral versions. Of their

<sup>24</sup> J. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, p. 192.



influence the authors of the written poems certainly were not always conscious.

To return to firmer ground, I may state as the main result of my investigation that there are far more parallel passages in the Gawain stories of Wolfram and Crestien than heretofore recognized. That they have escaped the attention of commentators is mainly due to the fact that Wolfram's passages do not occur in the same sequence as the corresponding French ones, but are found in entirely unexpected places, hundreds, even thousands of lines from where one would look for them.

As a minor result, I have made the observation that in a number of places the Mons MS stands closer to Wolfram than the MS edited by Baist. Foerster's note<sup>25</sup> "Wenn einmal die V. L. des Kristian'schen Grals vorliegen wird, wird man wohl unschwer die Familie des Hs. bestimmen können, die Wolfram benutzt hat" contains a valuable suggestion. I have compared both the printed French texts with Wolfram; if the manuscripts not now available in print could be studied, I believe that interesting results might be obtained. For instance, Miss Weston mentions<sup>26</sup> that in one of the French texts Guiromelans, before his duel with Gawain, has his *cauces* laced on and that this is omitted in the Mons MS. I desire to point out that this detail is mentioned by Wolfram (683,17).

To be fair to Miss Weston and the adherents of the Kiot theory I must not omit to state that the discrepancies between Wolfram and Crestien are about as numerous as the similarities. For hundreds of lines at a time we look in vain for any parallels. Foerster's statement:<sup>27</sup> "eine so weitgehende wörtliche Übereinstimmung . . . , dass hierdurch ein Kyot gesichert wäre, der durch Tausende von Zeilen seine Quelle, den Kristian wörtlich abschreibt, und nur hier und da in Kleinigkeiten von ihm abweicht" is entirely misleading and ought to be emphatically contradicted. Wolfram offers so many additional names and describes so many events in so different a manner that the theory of a source other than Crestien may be easily upheld. Jessie Weston's assertions<sup>28</sup> that Wolfram knew more about

<sup>25</sup> Kristianwörterbuch, p. 202\*. Anmerkung.

<sup>26</sup> The Legend of Sir Perceval I, p. 204.

<sup>27</sup> Kristianwörterbuch, p. 197\*.

<sup>28</sup> The Legend of Sir Gawain, pp. 32 ff.

the *Magic Castle* than Crestien, and that he also hardly invented the story of the magician Klinschor are no doubt justified. After considering the matter for years I have nevertheless come to the conclusion that the arguments of the proponents of the Kiot theory are not convincing. Küpp,<sup>29</sup> Heinzel and Singer have done excellent scholarly work, but to my mind have lost the true perspective by ascribing too much importance to details. My investigation has led me to the conviction that events only slightly mentioned or even only hinted at in the French story at once took definite shape in Wolfram's mind. As an example I refer to the description of the battle with the lion: how meager is Crestien's story compared to the exciting scene Wolfram has created. When the ferryman in the French poem expresses his fear that the defeated knight might not readily submit to becoming his prisoner (C. 7374-7411) Wolfram immediately conceives a second combat (541,10-543,26) in which Gawain completely subdues his adversary.

It seems to me, therefore, that in all the arguments one point has not been sufficiently stressed: Wolfram's most unusual force of imagination. Combined with this we find in his unique personality a tremendous memory. His treatment of Crestien's story proves to me conclusively that we must take him at his word:

W. 115, 27

ich enkan deheinen buochstap.

I cannot see in this statement "eine polemische Uebertreibung,"<sup>30</sup> nor is it "einer seiner vielen derben Spässe, die er sich mit seinen Lesern erlaubt,"<sup>31</sup> for Wolfram never speaks of his own reading, whereas he mentions Kiot's reading six times, three times specifically using the word "*las*." However, he does not say that Kiot wrote the story. For this reason I do not believe that his Kiot is identical with the writer of the Cangé MS who tells us at the end of Crestien's *Yvain*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> O. Küpp, *Zfd Ph.* 17., (1885) pp. 1-72.

<sup>30</sup> Lichtenstein, *op. cit.* p. 77.

<sup>31</sup> *Kristianwörterbuch*, p. 190\*.

<sup>32</sup> Wilhelm Ludwig Holland, *Li Romans dou Chevalier au Lyon von Crestien de Troies*. Hannover und Paris, 1880. 2. Auflage p. 262. See also *Kristianwörterbuch*, p. 201\* and p. 218\*, Anmerkung.

Cil, qui l'escrist, Guioz a non,  
 Devant nostre dame del val  
 Est ses ostex tot a estal.

Inasmuch as Wolfram uses the expression

W. 400, 1                    als mir diu âventiure sagete.

I can think of no valid argument against the theory that Kiot was a minstrel who recited Crestien's story in French, and possibly also the beginning of Crestien's continuation. I refer to the poet himself:

W. 416, 21                    Klot laschantiure hiez,  
                                   den sin kunst daz niht erliez,  
                                   er ensünge und spräche só,  
                                   des noch genuoge werdent vrô.  
 W. 416, 28                    swaz er in franzois dâ von gesprach,  
                                   bin ich niht der wîtze laz,  
                                   daz sage ich tiuschen vûrbaz.

I also refer to a statement of Crestien about minstrels:

Erec, 2035                    Quant la corz fu tote assanblee,  
                                   N'ot menestrel an la contree,  
                                   Qui rien seust de nul deduit  
                                   Que a la cort ne fussent tuit.  
                                   An la sale mout grant joie ot,  
                                   Chascuns servi de cel qu'il sot:  
                                   Cil saut, cil tume, cil anchante,  
                                   Li uns conte, li autre chante

Crestien even deplores the fact that they do not always render their stories correctly:

Erec, 19                    D'Erec, le fil Lac, est li contes,  
                                   Que devant rois et devant contes  
                                   Depecier et corronpre suelent  
                                   Cil qui de conter vivre vuelent.

Is it a cause for wonder if Kiot tried to enhance his own importance as much as possible? Certainly, Wolfram's statements about the "*meister*" sound as if based on the latter's idle boasts. Kiot may have avoided giving Crestien's name. He may have mentioned him only at the end of the story when he had a welcome opportunity to state that he knew more than Crestien. Quite naturally he added that Parzival became the Grail king,

which Crestien was prevented by death from doing.<sup>23</sup> In Wolfram's lines:

W. 827, 5                    endehaft giht der Provenzâl  
                              wie Herzeloiden kint den grâl  
                              erwarp, als im daz gordent was,

I see no other hidden meaning. That he calls Kiot a "*Provenzâl*" I do not take too literally. His family may, indeed, have come from Provence, but the word "*Provenzâl*" may have come to be merely a family name, like the names Sachse and Bayer in German.

That Kiot was accustomed to recite Crestien's poems may be concluded from an interesting parallel which is not to be found in Martin's otherwise so complete notes. Wolfram's lines:

W. 827, 12                niht mër dâ von nû sprechen wil  
                              ich Wolfram von Eschenbach  
                              wan als dort der meister sprach.

seem to be suggested by the concluding lines of the *Chevalier au Lion*:

Ywain, 6814                Del Chevalier au Lion fine  
                              Crestiens son romanz einzi;  
                              Qu'onques plus conter n'an oi,  
                              Ne ja plus n'an orroiz conter,  
                              S'an n'i viaut manconge ajoster.

Kiot may have used the same conclusion when reciting the Grail story.

In the assumption that a widely traveled French minstrel was the intermediary between Wolfram and Crestien lies, in my opinion, the solution of the Kiot problem. It seems very unjust to throw a shadow on Wolfram's character as Foerster tries to do. Crestien and Wolfram will continue to stand out as the greatest poets that Central Europe produced in the Middle Ages.

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<sup>23</sup> An interesting statement on this point by one of Crestien's continuators, Gerbert, was discovered by Holland (Crestien von Troies. Eine literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Tübingen, 1854, p. 211) in "Pariser hs. der grossen Bibliothek no. 3306, suppl. français," bl. 180, sp. 2, z. 30 ff:

Ce nus dist Crestiens de Troie,  
Qui de Percevaux comencha,  
Mais la mors, qui l'adevança,  
Ne li laissa pas traire affin.

## GOTHICA

### I

#### *The Passive Use of the Active Infinitive after the Verbal Adjectives MAHTS and SKULDS*

The infinite, being a verbal substantive, has in itself no voice and consequently we find the infinitive in Gothic very frequently used in a passive sense. Usually, however, the infinite in Gothic retains an active sense. The question under discussion here is as to why the infinitive should *always* have a passive force after the adjectives *mahts* and *skulds*. There is no deviation from this rule except where *skuld* neutr. (*skulda* plur.) is used as an indefinite subject in the sense of 'lawful,' 'proper.' The usage has become fixed. On the other hand, the infinitive dependent on the finite verbs *magan* and *skulan* is regularly active in sense; this, of course, needs no explanation, for the infinitive is normally active in force.

I believe the reason for the fixed usage of the infinitive in a passive sense after the adjectives *mahts* and *skulds* lies in the meaning of these adjectives. I believe that both of these adjectives retain a passive force (except the impersonal *skuld* 'lawful'). They are past participial formations from the active verbs *magan* 'can,' 'be able [to do something],' *skulan* 'owe.' As such, the primary meaning of the adjectives must have been *mah-ts* 'empowered,' 'capable of,' 'possible'; *skul-ds* 'owed.' I do not think that *mahts* can be interpreted as having any other sense than the passive idea just indicated, and as for *skulds* I believe that this adjective, too, retains its passive sense except in the impersonal usage where it has passed over into an ordinary adjective divested of the verbal idea.

My reason for interpreting these adjectives in a passive sense is that the infinitive dependent upon them is always passive in force. It is easily conceivable that the infinitive, which has in itself no voice, should be viewed as to voice from the standpoint of the adjective upon which it is dependent. In other words, there is no necessity for the passive form of the infinitive if the adjective is already passive in force, for the voice of the infinitive is then determined by the voice of the adjective on which it is dependent.

The past participial adjectives *mahts* and *skulds* are not translated by Streitberg in the Glossary to his *Gotische Bible*.<sup>2</sup> In his *Gotische Grammatik*<sup>3</sup> (§200, 7) Braune translates *skulds* by "schuldig" but does not translate *mahts* (§200,9). Wilmanns (*Deutsche Grm.*,<sup>4</sup> III, §55, p. 100) likewise translates *skulds* by "schuldig" but *mahts* by "möglich." But if *mahts* is passive in force (i.e., = 'möglich,' 'possible to,' 'capable of'), then there is no reason why *skulds* (which, like *mahts*, requires an active infinitive) should not likewise be considered passive in force. The meaning of *skulds* is rather 'geschuldet,' 'verpflichtet,' 'owed' than 'schuldig,' 'owing,' i.e., passive rather than active, except in the case of the impersonal usage, where *skuld* [ist] = 'lawful.'

The following examples will show, I think, that it is just as reasonable to assume a passive sense for the personal verbal adjective *skulds* as for the verbal adjective *mahts*.

### 1. *Mahts*

J. 10, 35 *jah ni maht ist gatafran þata gamēlidð, gatafran* = Ἀσθῆναι, "And the scriptures cannot be broken," lit. "The scriptures are not possible to break;" cf. Ger. *des Brechens fähig*.

L. 8, 43 *jah ni mahta was fram ainomēhun galeikinōn* (= θεραπευθῆναι), "And she could not be healed of any," lit. "She was not capable of cure by any one;" cf. Ger. *des Heilens fähig*.

Mk. 14, 5 *maht wēsi auk þata balsan frabugjan* (= πρᾶθῆναι), "For this ointment could have been sold," lit. "For this ointment would have been possible to sell."

These three examples are sufficient to show that the adjective *mahts* has retained its original passive sense and therefore that the infinitive dependent on *mahts* has derived its passive sense from the adjective; i.e., the infinitive, having no voice in itself, is viewed as to voice from the standpoint of the adjective.

### 2. *Skulds*

The personal adjective *skulds* is used to translate two Greek verbs, a) ὀφείλειν 'owe,' 'ought' and b) δεῖ 'must,' 'shall,' 'ought.' But in both these cases a passive idea may easily be construed in the meaning of the adjective.

a. *ὀφείλειν* 'owe,' 'ought'

Cor. II, 12, 11 *ap̄pan ik skulds was fram izwis gakannjan* (= *ὀφεισασθαι*), "For I ought to have been recommended of you," lit. "I was owed by you a recommendation."

The idea in *skulds* is obviously passive and the agent *fram izwis* may be construed with *skulds was* as well as with the infinitive *gakannjan*. The verbal action implied in the infinitive *gakannjan*, i.e., 'recommendation,' is viewed from the standpoint of someone other than the subject, i.e., passive, because the adjective, which it complements, implies a verbal action from the standpoint of someone other than the subject, i.e., *skulds was* 'I was owed,' not 'I owed.' This fact explains why an infinitive after *skulds* can never govern a direct object, i.e., because *skulds* is passive and thus renders the whole verbal idea passive.

On the other hand, the finite verb *skulan* is active (i.e., *skulan* = 'owe,' not 'owed') and therefore the infinitive dependent on *skulan* is active and may govern a direct object; i.e., here, as in the case of *skulds*, the infinitive is viewed as to voice from the standpoint of the verb (or verbal adjective) upon which it is dependent; cf. J. 13, 14 *jus skulub izwis missø pwahan fōtuns, ūmēs ὀφείλετε . . . πλῆτεν*, "Ye ought to wash one another's feet," i.e., "Ye owe it (to someone) to wash one another's feet," not "Ye are owed a washing (by someone)" = *jus skuldai sijub pwahan*.

b. *δεῖ* 'must,' 'shall,' 'ought'

Wherever *skulds* translates the Greek *δεῖ* = *necesse est*, 'must,' 'shall,' 'be destined,' 'am to,' 'ought,' etc., the adjective may easily be construed as having a passive sense, i.e., *skulds im* = 'I am compelled, destined [by someone or by circumstances],' whereas the finite verb *skulan* must be construed as active, in force; cf. Ger. *das muss ich* with *dazu bin ich gezwungen*.

This fact explains why after the adjective *skulds* in this sense, just as in the sense of 'owed' (= *ὀφείλειν*), the infinitive acquires a passive sense, whereas after *skulan* in this sense (i.e., 'must,' 'shall') the infinitive retains an active sense, i.e., because *skulds* here too is passive in force (i.e., *skulds* = 'compelled,' 'destined').

Thus, J. 12, 34 *skulds ist ushduhjan sa sunus mans*, δει ὑψωθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "The Son of man must be lifted up," lit. "The Son of man is destined a lifting up." The verbal action implied in the infinitive *ushduhjan* 'resurrect' is viewed not from the standpoint of the subject (= the Son of Man) but from the standpoint of someone other than the subject, i.e., the whole verbal idea is passive. Compare this sentence *skulds ist ushduhjan sa sunus mans*, "The Son of Man is destined a lifting up" = "must be lifted up," with L. 8, 43 *jah ni mahta was . . . galeikinon* "And she was not possible to cure" = "She could not be cured."

On the other hand, the finite verb *skulan* = δει 'must' is, like *magan*, active in force and consequently the dependent infinitive is active in force; cf. J. 9, 4 *ik skal waurkjan*, ἐμὲ δει ἐργάζεσθαι, "I must work." Therefore, a passive idea after *skulan* = δει must be rendered by the passive form of the infinitive, cf. L. 9, 22 *skal sunus mans . . . uskusans watrpan* but Mk. 8, 31 . . . *jah uskiusan skulds ist*; both the passive infinitive form *uskusans watrpan* and the active infinitive form *uskiusan* translate the Greek passive infinitive ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι = "[must be] rejected." The difference in the two Gothic idioms is due to the difference in voice between the verb *skulan* and the verbal adjective *skulds*.

The meaning of *skulds* = δει 'must,' 'shall,' etc., is secondary; i.e., 'owed' > 'compulsion (either moral or physical) laid upon one' = 'must,' 'shall,' etc. From this idea was further developed the sense of 'lawful,' i.e., 'that which must (ought) to be observed,' when the adjective is used impersonally. But here the adjective has been divested of its verbal force and consequently of its original passive idea (cf. *þaurf-is* 'needy' from *þaurban* 'need'). Therefore the infinitive dependent upon the impersonal adjective *skuld* [ist] retains its active force, just as after any ordinary adjective; cf. Mk. 6, 18 *ni skuld ist þus haban* (= ἔχειν) *qen brōþrs þeinis*, "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife." So, likewise, when the impersonal use was extended to a plural subject indefinite; cf. Cor. II, 12, 4 *þdei ni skulda sind mann rōdjan* (= λαλῆσαι), "which are not lawful for a man to utter."

Streitberg says (*Got. Bibel* sub *magan*): "*Mahts, maht m. Kopula gibt dem aktiven Inf. passiven Sinn.*" With equally



good reasons he might have applied this principle to *skulds*, of which he says (*ibid.*, sub *skulan*): "Der abhängige Infin. *haf* passiven Sinn." From our foregoing analysis I think it is clear that we are justified in extending Streitberg's first formula as follows: "*Mahts und skulds geben dem aktiven Infinitiv passiven Sinn, weil diese Adjektiva selbst passiven Sinn haben.*"

## II

### *Regarding the Intransitive Use of Transitive Verbs*

Professor Streitberg (*Gotisches Elementarh.*, 6. Auflage, 1920, §285, Anm. 2.) has called attention to certain "unusual" cases of the intransitive use of transitive verbs in Gothic:

"Aufällig ist der *intransitive* Gebrauch der transitiven *daupjan* und *bimaitan* Mc 7, 4 *niba daupjand* 'ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωμαι' und K 15, 29 *þai daupjandans faur daupans* 'οἱ βαπτίζοντες, . . . *duhþ þan daupjand faur ins* 'τί καὶ βαπτίζονται' sowie K 7, 18 *mib faurafillja galapops warþ was, ni bimaitai* 'μὴ περιτεμνέσθω' und G 5, 2 *jabai bimaitiþ* 'ἐὰν περιτεμνηθεῖ'; wohl auch K 15, 58 *ufarfulljandans in waurstwa frauþins sinteino* 'περισσεύοντες. . . ."

Professor Streitberg's list could be considerably extended if we were certain in exactly what respect the intransitive use of a transitive verb should be considered as "unusual" (auffällig).

We have under consideration here the verbs 1) *daupjan* 'to wash (one's self),' 'to become baptized,' 2) *bimaitan* 'to become circumcised,' 3) *ufarfulljan*, 'to be filled with,' 'to abound in.' All these verbs are primarily transitive verbs and the question is as to how they acquired their intransitive or their passive sense.

There can be no doubt regarding the verb *ufarfulljan* 'to fill' which in the passage quoted, Cor. I, 15, 58, *ufarfulljandans περισσεύοντες* 'filled with,' 'abounding in,' has acquired its intransitive sense in accordance with the secondary function of *jan*-verbs derived from adjectives,<sup>2</sup> such as *balþ-jan* (*balþ-s*) 'to be brave,' *bleip-jan* (*bleip-s*) 'to be merciful,' *faúrht-jan* (*faúrht-s*) 'to be afraid,' etc.; so *-full-jan* (*full-s*) 'to be filled with.'

The only difference from a semantic point of view between these verbs and the verb *ufarfulljan* is that the latter has

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilmanns' *Deutsche Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, II, §37. 2, p. 56.

retained<sup>3</sup> the older causative force of the *jan*-suffix along side of its secondary denominative force expressing the state of being which is denoted in the adjective. The reason why Wulfila did not employ a present participle *\*ufarfullnandans* in the passage in question is quite patent. The *nan*-verbs denote an inchoative (i.e., passive) idea and the Greek present participle *περισσεύοντες* denotes a perfected condition, i.e., 'being full of,' 'abounding in' and not the inchoative idea 'becoming full of.' Why Streitberg should have included the verb *ubarfulljan* in the list of those transitive verbs whose intransitive usage appears "unusual" is not clear to me.

As regards the verb *daup-jan*, we evidently have this verb (in the passages quoted) used in the intransitive-medial sense of 'get one's self washed, baptized.' This intransitive sense, it seems to me, may easily be derived from the absolute usage of the verb.

We have not a few examples in Gothic where a transitive verb by virtue of its absolute usage passes over into an intransitive sense;<sup>4</sup> cf. *drōbjan*, 'lead astray,' absol. 'stir up rebellion,' *mērjan* 'proclaim, announce,' absol. 'preach.' Such intransitive *jan*-verbs (= absolute transitives) may have been reinforced in their intransitive sense by the example of those intransitive denominative *jan*-verbs denoting an act, such as *us-daud-jan* (*us-daud-s*) 'to exert oneself,' *haūrn-jan* (*haūrn*) 'to blow the trumpet,' *dulþ-jan* (*dulþ-s*) 'to celebrate a feast,' etc.

The medial or reflexive usage of the verb *daup-jan* 'to wash' is not far to seek if we assume that the verb is first used in an absolute sense, i.e., 'to perform the act of washing,' inasmuch as such an act more often has reference to the subject of the verb than to someone or something other than the subject; cf. the English intransitives 'wash,' 'dress,' 'turn,' 'move,' etc. It is not unreasonable to assume that after the absolute transitive was felt as a purely intransitive verb the sense of the verb should have become medial in Gothic,<sup>5</sup> as well as in Modern

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Erdmann's *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, I, §132, p. 84: "*ufarfulljan* = *Überfülle haben oder bewirken*."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wilmanns' *Deutsche Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, II, §37, 1, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the German intransitive *baden* along side of *sich baden*. From the absolute transitive (= intransitive) verb *baden* we have the present participle

English; cf. the primarily intransitive *jan*-verbs *us-daud-jan* 'to be enthusiastic,' i.e., 'exert oneself,' '*sildaleik-jan* 'to be astonished' = Germ. *sich wundern*, *faurht-jan* 'to be afraid' = Germ. *sich fürchten*, etc.

This assumption is borne out by the facts, for we find in Gothic not only the primarily causative verb *daupjan* but many other primarily causative *jan*-verbs used reflexively without *sik*. For instance, *ga-wand-jan* 'to turn' is used without *sik* 7 times<sup>6</sup> as a reflexive verb along side of the more frequent use with the reflexive pronoun; cf. likewise *was-jan* 'to clothe,' used as a reflexive (without reflexive pronoun) in *hē wasjai*, Mat. 6, 25, *ni wasjai*, Mk. 6, 9, *hē wasjaima*, Mat. 6, 31 but *nih Saulaumon . . . . gawasida sik*, Mat. 6, 29. How the use of the primarily causative verb *daup-jan* 'to wash' (lit. 'to make go down,' '*untertauchen*,' cf. *diups* 'deep') as an intransitive (= reflexive) verb can be considered "auffällig," in view of the parallel usage of *ga-wand-jan*, *was-jan* and other *jan*-verbs, is again unclear to me.

I believe that the intransitive usage of the transitive verb *bimaitan* 'to circumcise' in the passage quoted by Streitberg, Cor. I, 7, 18 *ni bimaitai*, 'let him not be circumcised' and Gal. 5, 2 *jabai bimaitip* 'if ye receive circumcision,' may be explained in the same way as the intransitive sense of *daupjan*, i.e., as an absolute transitive verb which has passed over into a medio-passive sense. Both verbs, as used in the passages in question, evidently render a causative medial idea, i.e., 'get one's self baptized,' 'get one's self circumcised.' There is no strict line of demarkation between the medial and the passive<sup>7</sup>; consequently both the verbs *daupjan* and *bimaitan*, as used in the passages in question, may be translated as passive tho they are, strictly speaking, causative medials.

It will be noted that the simple verb *maitan* 'to cut' and its derivatives (cf. *af-*, *ga-*, *us-maitan*), except *bi-maitan*, are never used in an intransitive sense. This fact points toward the

*der Badende* 'he who bathes,' 'he who is bathed,' 'the bather' used exactly parallel to the Gothic *þai daupjandans* 'those who bathe,' 'those who are bathed = baptized.'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Streitberg's *Gotische Bibel*<sup>3</sup> sub *ga-wandjan*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. N.H.G. *sie schlugen sich* = *es wurde geschlagen*; or *nennt sich* = *er wird genannt*.

possibility that the intransitive-medial sense of *bi-maitan* 'to circumcise' owed its development to the example of *daupjan* 'to wash.' Since *circumcision* was a ceremonial act like that of *baptism*, it is possible that the verb *bi-maitan*, contrary to the usage of the other derivatives of *-maitan*, acquired a medial sense after the model of *daupjan*. Such an assumption is not at all necessary in order to explain this use of *bi-maitan* but it should be taken into consideration as a possible factor in the development of this use.

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## A CONJECTURE ON THE WIFE OF BATH'S PROLOGUE

When reading the Wife of Bath's Prologue for the first time, I remember my surprise upon reaching line 193 to find that the Prologue continued for several hundred lines, whereas I had expected a tale to follow. With each reading since, I have experienced the same difficulty in adjusting my expectation to what I actually found. This repeated experience, and I suspect it has come to all readers of Chaucer, finally incited me to investigate the matter. The result is a theory which holds that the first part of the Prologue through line 193 was originally preceded by the present Shipman's Prologue plus a number of lines which were later omitted, and that the whole served as a Wife's Prologue to the present Shipman's Tale. Later a change in design inspired Chaucer to remove D.1-193 from this position, to add to the lines the account of the five husbands, and to prefix the whole to the present Wife of Bath's Tale. To give this conjecture some degree of plausibility is the purpose of the following pages.

Since the crux of the problem lies in the lines revealing the Pardoner's interruption, it would not be amiss to quote them in full.

Up sterte the Pardoner, and that anon,  
'Now dame,' quod he, 'by god and by seint John,  
Ye been a noble prechour in this cas!  
I was aboute to wedde a wyf; alas!  
What sholde I bye it on my flesh so dere?  
Yet hadde I lever wedde no wyf to-yere!  
'Abyde!' quod she, 'my tale is nat bigonne;  
Nay, thou shalt drinken of another tonne  
Er that I go, shal savoure wors than ale.  
And whan that I have told thee forth my tale  
Of tribulacioun in mariage,  
Of which I am expert in al myn age,  
This to seyn, my-self have been the whippe;-  
Than maystow chese whether thou wolt sippe  
Of thilke tonne that I shal abroche.  
Be war of it, er thou to ny approche;  
For I shal telle ensamples mo than ten.  
Who-so that nil be war by othere men,  
By him shul othere men corrected be.  
The same wordes wryteth Ptholomee;

Rede in his Almageste, and take it there.'  
'Dame, I wolde praye yow, if your wil it were,'  
Seyde this Pardoner, 'as ye bigan,  
Telle forth your tale, spareth for no man,  
And teche us yonge men of your praktike.'  
'Gladly,' quod she, 'sith it may yow lyke.  
But yet I praye to al this companye,  
If that I speke after my fantasye,  
As taketh not a-grief of that I seye;  
For myn entente nis but for to pleye.  
Now sires, now wol I telle forth my tale.—

Any interpretation that considers the Wife's Prologue an integral composition must explain the passage quoted in somewhat the following manner. The Wife assures the Pardoner, after his attempted joke, that he will change his mind about marrying when she has told him the woe her five husbands suffered, and she warns him to profit by their example. The Pardoner tells her to continue with her experiences and to teach the young men in the company her habits. After consenting to this request she resumes her "preamble" with the words "now wol I telle forth my tale." That this is a possible interpretation goes without saying, but upon close examination certain difficulties appear which, I think, make more probable the explanation that "tale" does not refer to the Prologue but to an actual tale that once followed the passage. It is true that, besides using the term to mean a more or less artistic story, Chaucer employs it to mean discourse, account, and the like. Further on in the Wife's Prologue she says, after digressing from her theme,

But now sir, lat me see, what I shal seyn?  
A! ha! by god, I have my tale ageyn. (D. 585-6)

where nothing more is meant than that she has caught again the thread of her discourse. A similar interpretation may be placed upon the following line which comes after a digression in the Canon's Yeoman's Prologue: "Passe over this; I go my tale unto." (G. 898) These are the only lines in which the term could possibly refer to a narrator's prologue, and in both it seems to be used figuratively. Even in these two cases there is interesting evidence that the prologues were not considered tales. At the end of her matrimonial autobiography the Wife says, "Now wol I seye my tale, if ye wol here," indicating

that she did not consider what went before a tale, while the Friar jokingly remarks, "This is a long *preamble* to a tale!" (My italics.) The Canon's Yeoman, likewise, hardly considers his preamble a tale when at the conclusion of it he says the company will know that appearances are deceptive after he has completed his "tale." To these instances might also be added the Summoner's Prologue, the conclusion of which reads, "My prolog wol I ende in this manere," although the rascal would have had some justification in calling his prefatory matter a tale by virtue of the unsavory story contained therein.<sup>1</sup>

It is needless to point out that the normal and by far most frequent use of the word is to designate a story detached from personal experience and imaginatively conceived. Although we might not go far astray in suspecting personal experiences to be, to a certain extent, concealed in the Wife's (Shipman's), Merchant's, and Canon's Yeoman's Tales, the episodes are given the outward form and semblance of an artistic composition. I think the Host, as master of ceremonies and referee of the game, would have objected strenuously had any pilgrim tried to satisfy his obligation of telling a story by recounting his personal experiences. A tale is detached from the teller; creation and not experience is its source, and so we find the term consistently and universally used to designate, individually and collectively, the pilgrims' stories. Furthermore, in the passage under discussion the word is used three times in a phrase that is practically a formula for beginning a tale, that is, "Telle forth your tale," and is never used, as far as I can discover, in the *Canterbury Tales* with any other meaning.<sup>2</sup> The Host bids the Reeve, "Sey forth thy tale," and the Friar, "Tel forth your tale," and, though using a different but equivalent word, he commands both the Franklin and the Manciple,

<sup>1</sup> The line, "My tale is nat bigonne", D.169, might mean, as Professor Kittredge interprets it, that she has just got started, but may it not more naturally be taken in a literal sense, in which case, "tale" cannot possibly refer to the Prologue, which introduces the five husbands at the beginning, and which has progressed through one hundred and sixty lines? (See *Mod. Phil.*, vol. 9, p. 442.)

<sup>2</sup> There is one other prologue, the Canon's Yeoman's, in many respects very similar to the Wife's. It is long, is autobiographical, and suffers an interruption, when the Canon warns the Yeoman to say no more. The Host, more

"Telle on thy tale." The Pardoner says he presents his credentials to the people, "And after that than telle I forth my tales," and the Canon's Yeoman returns to his tale with "And telle forth my tale of the chanoun." Finally, the Host, after quieting the row between the Summoner and the Friar, bids the Wife, "Tel forth your tale," the identical expression that she uses just before resuming her Prologue.<sup>3</sup>

A further study of the phraseology of this passage discloses two words which, to my mind, are inconsistent with the traditional interpretation of the lines. The Wife prays the company that they will not take her seriously "If that I speke after my fantasye," though in the account of her numerous husbands she appears in no joking mood. In this line Skeat defines "fantasye" as pleasure, but cites no other example of such a use, so that he seems to be explaining the word as the customary interpretation of the passage demands. Certainly the normal meaning of the word is imagination or something fancied or imagined. Of the some sixteen examples of Chaucer's use

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eager to hear the latter's experiences than the Pardoner to learn the Wife's "praktike", bids him "telle on, what so bityde", and the Yeoman answers,

Al that I can anon now wol I telle

. . . . .  
But natheles yow wol I tellen part;

Sin that my lord is gon, I wol nat spare;

Swich thing as that I knowe, I wol declare. (G. 704, 717-19)

Under circumstances exactly similar to the Pardoner's interruption, the word "tale," much less the expression "tel forth thy [or my] tale", is not used once in referring to the personal experiences that are to follow. The scribe's rubrics here are absolutely unreliable, because at the end of the passage quoted occur the words, "Here endeth the Prologue of the Chanouns Yemannes Tale," "Here beginneth the Chanouns Yeman his Tale," and just after the Yeoman has indicated that he will tell a tale the following rubric is found: *Explicit prima pars. Et sequitur pars secunda.* The beginning of the Tale at line 972 is very obvious for Chaucer always begins actual tales very formally with an identification of characters or setting or both. Relative to his actual Tale, the Yeoman uses the word three times: at the conclusion of his Prologue; in "Al-though my tale of a chanoun be"; and in "telle forth my tale of the chanoun." (G.994,1020)

<sup>3</sup> It is well to notice the similarity of the line which the Wife speaks before resuming her Prologue to that which she uses to introduce her Tale: "Now sires, now wol I telle forth my tale," and "Now wol I seye my Tale." In fact, at the end of the majority of the prologues, definite notice that a tale is to follow is served in some such fashion as this. The use of the possessive in "my tale" suggests the obligation of telling a story laid upon each of the pilgrims.



of the term that I have examined, nine mean imagination or something imagined or dreamed; six mean strange or unfounded ideas, notions, or desires having no basis in reason, nature, or probability; while only one may mean pleasure or desire.<sup>4</sup> Also, the definitions given in the *N.E.D.* (phantom, delusive imagination, hallucination, imagination, visionary notion, caprice, whim, inclination, desire) suggest that usage makes against the interpretation Skeat gives the word. Last but not least, there is one line in the *Canterbury Tales* which uses the word in the same phrase employed here. In the Squire's Tale the people crowd around the brazen horse "And maden skiles after hir fantasies" (F. 205); that is, they imagined for the wonder all kinds of strange explanations far from the truth. The lines that follow bear out this interpretation. Therefore, it seems more probable that the expression "If that I speke after my fantasye" is equivalent to "If I tell an imagined or fictitious story." Thus, reference to the Prologue is ruled out, for the Wife surely did not desire the company to consider her matrimonial adventures anything other than truth,<sup>5</sup> and would hardly have apologized for the story of her life on the ground that after all it was only a fanciful story. The word is more applicable to a story born or recorded in the imagination and representing no actual occurrence.

The other expression occurs in the line "For I shal telle ensamples mo than ten," a palpable exaggeration whether she refers to her five husbands or to a single story.<sup>6</sup> Would not

<sup>4</sup> *Hous of Fame*, 593; *Troilus*, II, 482; III, 1032; IV, 1615; *Book of the Duch.*, 28; A.3835, 3840; F.205,844. *Troilus* III, 275, IV, 193, 1470; A.3191; B.3465; D.516. B.3475.

<sup>5</sup> As ever mote I drinken wyn or ale,  
I shal seye sooth, (D.194-5)

<sup>6</sup> This appears to be only a conventional hyperbole inspired by the intensity of her answer to the Pardoner. In the altercation between the Friar and the Summoner the former threatens to tell a tale or two about summoners, and the Friar literally goes him one better. One possible interpretation of the line might consider the tales the fifth husband read to the Wife as the ensamples, but this explanation is unlikely for two reasons. First, these stories are designed to show, as Professor Lawrence says (*Mod. Phil.* XI, p.253), the undesirability of women rather than marital tribulation, though of course the latter is indirectly suggested. The story of Eve, that opens the account, can hardly be introduced as an ensample of the woe in marriage, but rather of the disastrous doings of women. Second, these stories come only incidentally into a dramatic episode of

Chaucer be stretching the meaning of "ensample" in making it cover an actual experience or autobiographical account? An ensample is generally raised from the plane of accidental experience to the more enduring domain of universality. The term may be used to mean pattern or simply comparison, but when used with a narrative connotation, as the expression "telle ensamples" indicates, and its use even in connection with the Wife's story of her life would necessitate, it is not employed by Chaucer, according to my knowledge, to mean the actual experience of the teller. In general, an ensample is a story of a traditional or fictitious nature the purpose of which is to portray a truth, teach a lesson, present a model of proper conduct in certain situations, or afford a warning. After Arcite's death Egeus "shewed hem ensamples" of the changeableness of fortune; the ensamples the Pardoner used so effectively had a lesson in view; Dorigen, in casting about for a proper solution of her difficulties, cites numerous stories of women in similar circumstances, and says "What sholde I mo ensamples heer of sayn"; and at the close of the story of Sampson, the Monk says, "Beth war by this ensample old and playn" not to tell secrets to wives.<sup>7</sup> The hoarier and more frequently told a story was, the more authority it possessed.<sup>8</sup> It is one of Criseyde's chief concerns that her story will become an ensample of woman's fickleness, while later Chaucer says he wrote *Troilus and Criseyde* that lovers might be warned "By swich ensample" from faithlessness.<sup>9</sup> A story was a terrible weapon in the mouth of an angry man, as the altercations between the Miller and Reeve and the Summoner and Friar well attest. That an ensample possessed more weight than simple experience is curiously shown in the case of the Canon's Yeoman. He gives a graphic and most sincere account of the manner in which he has been duped, but does not depend upon that to

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the autobiography, are told against the Wife, and arouse her anger, so that she would hardly approve their use against the Pardoner. Her disapproval of them is expressed in too certain a way.

<sup>7</sup> A.2842; F.1419; B.3281.

<sup>8</sup> Than telle I hem ensamples many oon

Of olde stories, longe tyme goon;

For lewed peple loven tales olde. (C.435-87)

<sup>9</sup> L.G.W., Prologue B, 474.

convince his audience of the folly of alchemists. Only a story can perform that service, as the end of his Prologue indicates:

He that semeth the wysest, by Iesus!  
Is most fool, whan it cometh to the preef;  
And he that semeth trewest is a theef;  
That shul ye knowe, er that I fro yow wende,  
By that I of my tale have maad an ende. (G. 967-71)<sup>10</sup>

Although it cannot be denied that "tale" might refer to an autobiography, "now wol I telle forth my tale" mark a resumption of the Prologue, "ensample" be drawn from the personal experience of the narrator, and "fantasye" signify mere desire, the fact that in each case the unusual, sometimes very unusual, interpretation rather than the normal meaning must be adopted to support the traditional explanation of the passage, induces me to explain the lines in a different way.

The sudden break after line 193, followed by what appears to be merely a splicing line, the apology where it would seem no apology is due,<sup>11</sup> if she is referring to the Prologue, the little dramatic episode out of which a tale would naturally spring (the Wife's second tale actually follows an interruption similar to this)—all indicate that a tale once followed this passage. Furthermore, the Wife gives us unnecessary assurance when, after saying she knows all about the woe that is in marriage,

<sup>10</sup> Another interesting example of the superiority of a tale over personal experience in proving a point is found in the Merchant's Epilogue, where the Host says,

Lo, whiche sleightes and subtiltees  
In women been! for ay as bisy as bees  
Ben they, us sely men for to deceyve,  
And from a sothe ever wol they weyve;  
By this Marchauntes Tale it preveth weel. (E.2421-5.)

It is not the Merchant's own experiences, of which he has given more than a hint in his Prologue, but the Tale that convinces Harry Bailly of Woman's wickedness.

<sup>11</sup> There are a number of instances of an apology preceding a tale. Chaucer introduces the Miller's Tale with

Avyseth yow and putte me out of blame;  
And eek men shal nat make earnest of game. (A.3185-6)

The Squire ends his short Prologue with

Have me excused if I speke amis,  
My wil is good; and lo, my tale is this. (F.7-8)

Also observe the introduction of excuses before the Monk's and Franklin's Tales. I know of no instance where an apology is made for a prologue.

she hastens with pride to declare that she was the agent rather than the victim of it. This information would certainly have been needless, had she expected to recount her matrimonial experiences, for no one who reads the story of her five sorrowful husbands can be in any doubt as to who held the whip.

There is one more point to make before leaving this part of the discussion. The Prologue is not a unified whole, but presents two unified and well developed conceptions, each followed by an interruption and apparently leading up to an exemplifying tale.<sup>12</sup> Both spring from the same beginning, the mention of the five husbands, but the theme of the first is a defense of the sensual pleasures of marriage, accompanied and concluded by an enthusiastic determination to enjoy them. The last lines possess some of the distinct characteristics of a formal conclusion. In the second part the Wife tells the story of her married life for the purpose of showing how she secured the mastery, reaching her climax and conclusion in the bliss that followed upon the capitulation of the fifth sufferer, and thus preparing the way for her story, which inaugurates the central theme of the DEF Groups.<sup>13</sup> While the theme of the first part runs through the second in a minor key, the two principal conceptions are distinctly different.

This separation is especially apparent in the sources Chaucer used. St. Jerome's *Contra Jovinianum Duo Libri*, with a few hints from the *Roman de la Rose*, furnished the foundation of the earlier part and is used in the later, but the extract from Theophrastus' *Liber Aureolus de Nuptiis*,<sup>14</sup> contained in Jerome's work, the *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum de non Ducenda Uxore*, and Deschamps' *Miroir de Mariage*<sup>15</sup> seem to have restricted their influence to the second part, while the chief influence of the *Roman de la Rose* is also revealed here. Granting that the different nature of the themes call for different sources,

<sup>12</sup> It may be necessary to point out that the Wife's first Tale sprang from the interruption, while her second Tale exemplifies the theme of the second part of her Prologue.

<sup>13</sup> See Professor Kittredge's important article, "Chaucer's Discussion of Marriage," *Mod. Phil.* vol. 9, pp. 435-467.

<sup>14</sup> See Skeat's edition of Chaucer, vol. V, p. 296.

<sup>15</sup> See Professor Lowes' significant "Chaucer and the *Miroir de Mariage*," *Mod. Phil.*, vol. 8, pp. 165-187, 305-335. All the parallels cited are from the second part of the Prologue.

still I find it hard to believe that had Chaucer developed the whole Prologue under the same inspiration, he could have restricted all ideas from these works so closely to the second part. The difference argues a later date for the second conception. Finally, had Chaucer composed the whole Prologue at one time and under the same circumstances, he would have achieved a more artistic composition; he would not have developed in well rounded manner two distinct ideas, but would have fused them in some way. At least, the tone would have remained the same. As the Prologue now stands, the tone of the first part is combative and argumentative, while that of the second is expository and descriptive.

In view of the foregoing considerations I interpret the lines containing the Pardoner's interruption in a manner that requires a tale to follow. The Pardoner interrupts to say that he had intended marrying, but that if he is to pay for it in the flesh, he will abstain. The Wife tells him to wait, that she has not told her tale, and she assures him that he will change his mind when he has heard her story, which will exemplify the tribulation that is in marriage, and which she is especially fitted to tell because by experience she knows all about marital woe. This tale will be an example to him, if he is wise enough to be warned by other men, not to get married. The Pardoner urges her to tell her story, through which she will reveal to the young men her "praktike." After apologizing for any reflections upon husbands, she proceeds.<sup>16</sup>

If the hypothesis that I have advanced is not live enough to tempt the interest of the reader, he will hardly be rewarded in reading further, for all future discussion is based upon this understanding of the Pardoner episode. If, however, such an interpretation is granted as possible, some deductions follow that may be of interest.

<sup>16</sup> The lines "Of which I am expert in al myn age" and "And teche us yonge men of your praktike" offer the chief obstacles to my interpretation. I take them to signify that her experience will only be reflected in the story, not that it will actually be recounted. It would not be hard to show that the present Shipman's Tale reveals the Wife's practice. The fact that with Chaucer's later idea she does give a vivid account of her "praktike" has led, I believe, to a less likely interpretation of the Pardoner episode, and may be responsible for Chaucer's retaining the lines, when he changed his design.

The first question that arises is, What tale once followed line 193? Fortunately there is one that ever since the days of Tyrwhitt has been recognized as at one time belonging to a woman, and is now generally given to the Wife on evidence so convincing that it need not be discussed here.<sup>17</sup> The next question that arises is, Does the present Shipman's Tale satisfy the requirements revealed in the Pardoner's interruption: namely, that it be such a tale of the woe of marriage that it can act as an ensample to men against marrying? We need not read far in the story before a husband's tribulations are introduced:

But wo is him that payen moot for al;  
The sely housbond, algate he mot paye;  
He moot us clothe, and he moot us arraye,  
Al for his owene worship richely,  
In which array we daunce Iolily.  
And if that he noght may, par-adventure,  
Or elles, list no swich dispence endure,  
But thinketh it is wasted and y-lost,  
Than moot another payen for our cost,  
Or lene us gold, and that is perilous.

The story fully bears out the warning of the last line, for in her desperation over finances the wife brings it about that the husband furnishes the money used to corrupt her, and at the end he is defrauded of payment and forced to yield to his wife, who stiffly bears him on hand that nothing is wrong. Could any better ensample against marriage be desired?<sup>18</sup>

If, then, the first part of the Wife's Prologue was, in Chaucer's original design, followed by the present Shipman's Tale, what is the relationship of the former to the present Shipman's Prologue, which, in the modern arrangement, precedes that tale?<sup>19</sup> It first becomes necessary, however, to show that there is some reason for believing that the latter Prologue was written for the Tale, because Skeat believes it was written

<sup>17</sup> See Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Ch. Soc., pp. 205-6.

<sup>18</sup> It is hardly necessary to point out that the present Wife's story cannot be the tale indicated. Besides the fact that it grows naturally out of the second part of the Prologue, D.1252-58 show that the narrative is far from revealing the tribulation in marriage and from displaying a warning against marriage. Quite the opposite.

<sup>19</sup> Arch.Selden MS alone gives authority for this arrangement.

for the Squire's Tale, and others hold that it was composed for the Summoner before Chaucer found another use for the pimply wretch. There is evidence that the Prologue was composed for the Tale, and thus, since the Tale was written for the Wife, the interruptor in the Prologue must have originally been she. The lines

My Ioly body shal a tale telle,  
And I shal clinken yow so merry a belle,  
That I shal waken al this companye;

sound more feminine than masculine, but there is more definite evidence. The word "joly" in Chaucer frequently, though by no means always, has some kind of amorous connotation, and for that reason is more appropriate to the Wife than to the masculine contenders for the place, with the exception of the Squire, who, as will be shown, can hardly be considered.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore "joly," or its derivatives, is a term frequently used by the Wife.<sup>21</sup> Chaucer evidently, and for good reason, associated the word with her. Finally, the expression "My Ioly body" occurs also in the Tale (B. 1613) and in no other passage in Chaucer of which I am aware. This fact seems to me to link Tale and Prologue definitely together, and to assign them both to the Wife, for the expression is sufficiently unique to argue a relationship between the two passages in which it is used.

Thus we have tried to connect the first part of the Wife's Prologue with the present Shipman's Tale, and the present Shipman's Prologue with the same Tale. Our next step is to

<sup>20</sup> In the Miller's Tale more frequently than in any other the word is used in describing Absolon "Iolif and amorous." In fact, the "Ioly Absolon" is the counterpart of "hende Nicholas."

<sup>21</sup> In which array we daunce Iolily (B. 1204)  
And forth she gooth as Iolif as a pye (B. 1399)  
Ye shal my Ioly body have to wedde (B. 1613)  
And I was yong and full of ragerye  
Stiborn and strong, and Ioly as a pye (D. 455-6)  
But lord Christ! whan that it remembreth me  
Up-on my yowth, and on my Iolitee (D. 469-70)  
This Ioly clerk Iankin, that was so hende (D. 628)

Compare the last line with "Ioly Absolon" and "hende Nicholas." In all but one of the instances given above the wife uses the term as regards either herself or a woman with whom she is closely identified.

close the triangle by connecting the two prologues so as to show that they are fragments of an original Wife's Prologue. When the Parson rebukes the Host for swearing, the latter accuses him of being a "loller," not because he is heretical, but because he is what, in later times, might have been called a puritan.<sup>22</sup> The itinerant Lollard preachers who went about preaching in the highways and byways certainly sought to spread heretical opinions,<sup>23</sup> but they were even more concerned with preaching to the people somewhat in the fashion of the early Methodists in the eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup> In fact, the duty

<sup>22</sup> That Chaucer had in mind the evangelistic rather than heretical side of Wycliffism is apparent from the fact that the Parson had given the Host no evidence at all of heresy but only of strict piety, and that there is no indication from the character of the Parson given in the General Prologue that he was in any way heretical. What the General Prologue does reveal to us is a character spiritualized in sincere piety and in the desire to induce others to walk in the straight and narrow path, a character who never misses an opportunity to lead others to a pious way of life. (See the Parson's Prologue.) The Host had probably heard the Lollards preaching in London with a stirring of conscience—he had one—and he feared a "predicacioun" might mar the joy of the occasion by troubling his spirit again. Later in the poem, noting the Clerk's quiet demeanor and studious attitude, and evidently fearing just such a preachment as in the earlier passage he had reason to believe the Parson was about to deliver, the Host makes a special plea for a merry tale:

But precheth nat, as freres doon in Lente,

To make us for our olde sinnes wepe. (E.12-13)

Harry Bailly does not wish his conscience disturbed, and the only two pilgrims, judging by the characterizations given in the General Prologue, likely to bring about such an undesirable event were the Parson, who did not hesitate to "sniben sharply for the nones," and the Clerk, whose speech was always "souninge in moral vertu."

<sup>23</sup> In 1382 an act was passed "to arrest preachers who went about from county to county and from town to town without licence of their ordinaries, preaching daily 'not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places' . . . sermons containing heresies and notorious errors." James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, 1908, vol. 1. p.19.

<sup>24</sup> "He [Wycliffe] set on foot an irregular body of itinerant preachers, and supplied them with an English Bible to direct their teaching. . . . The 'poor priests' were not necessarily intended to conflict with the rights of the benefited clergy. The conception that lay at the root of the institution was practically the same as that which had inspired the founders of the great mendicant orders. . . . The main principle on which they were designed to act was to supplement the services of the Church, which, held as they were in a language not understood of the people, tended to become a lifeless formality, by regular religious instruc-



of preaching to the people in terms they could understand was one of the points stressed by the Wycliffites.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the Lollards were constantly preaching against corruption, worldliness, and sin, exhorting the people to a more moral life.<sup>26</sup> With this side of Lollardy many of the more sincere officials of the church, such as the Parson, must have been in sympathy.<sup>27</sup> Now the interruptor, who takes up the Host's cause, also does not desire his (or her) way of life to be questioned nor his conscience stirred. "We leve alle in the grete god," and is not that religion enough without being disturbed about matters of conduct? Why is it necessary to introduce "some difficultee" or unpleasantness? And if he is a loller, he will probably speak heresy.<sup>28</sup> Clearly, the objector thinks his own conduct is sufficiently good. Throughout the *Canterbury Tales* who of the pilgrims gives any evidence of such an attitude? The Wife of Bath alone, who in the first part of her Prologue vehemently seeks to justify her conduct. Therefore, it seems to me no impossible inference, not only that the Wife was the original objector in the Shipman's Prologue, but that her vindication followed at a short distance from this point.<sup>29</sup>

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tion in the mother tongue." R. L. Poole, *Wycliffe and the Movement for Reform*, 1902, p.101. Cf. also p.103, and *Encycl. Brit.* under Lollards.

<sup>25</sup> Poole, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>26</sup> "Preach the Word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and doctrine." Wycliffe's *De officio pastoralis*; quoted in H. Simon's *Chaucer a Wicliffite, Essays on Chaucer*, Ch. Soc., p. 241.

<sup>27</sup> "The gentleness with which the movement was met is probably explained in some degree by the fact that the bishops recognized the general high character and moral efficiency of the Lollard preachers." Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>28</sup> "Or springen cokkel in our clene corn" represents the introduction of a new idea, as "Or" clearly indicates. The idea of heresy occupies a distinctly minor place in the passage.

<sup>29</sup> If this conjecture is correct, lines B. 1178-81 probably read in the original version as follows:

'Nay, by my fader soule! that shal be nat,  
Seyde the Wyf of Bathe; 'he shal nat preche,  
He shal no gospel glosen heer ne teche.  
We leve alle in the grete god,' quod she,

When a dissyllabic masculine name was substituted for the Wife, changes were necessary in the second and fourth lines of the passage. The manuscripts indicate that such changes were made. In the second line the majority of the MSS read, "Seyde the Squyer, here shal he not preche"; 4 MSS read "Seid this squiere he shal not here preche"; Harl. 7333 reads "Seyde the squiere shall he not here

There is still more evidence connecting the two fragments. In laying down the law to the Parson, the Wife says "He shal no gospel glosen heer." It seems that is exactly what the Parson did, for in the course of her reply she says, "Men may devyne and glosen up and doun" (D. 26), and "Glose who-so wole, and seye both up and doun" (D. 119), where she seems

preche"; and Harl. 7334, "Sayde the sompnour he schal heer naught preche." Three characteristics of the above versions are apparent: first, the various positions "heer" occupies; second, the awkwardness of all the versions; and third, the fact that in only one MS, the unimportant Harl. 7333, does the accent fall on "shal," and in this MS the reading is so awkward as to preclude the possibility that Chaucer wrote it. Skeat, evidently perceiving the difficulties of the line, reads without comment, "Seyde the Shipman; 'heer he shal not preche,'" an order justified by *no* MS and revealing an awkward "heer he." Of course, the metrical accent should fall on "shal," as it does in the preceding and following lines. Of all the numerous lines in the Wife's Prologue expressing determination, only one, D. 48, fails to place the metrical accent on the proper word. It is true that in D. 149 Skeat reads "In wyfhode I wol use" and in D. 154 "An housbonde I wol have," but against the majority of the MSS. E., HL 7334, and Cm. support Skeat in the first case, but Hn., Cp., Pt., Ln., and Dd. read "In wyfhode wól I use," and in the second case, HL 7334, Cm., Dd., Hn., and Cp. read "An housbonde wól I have." Certainly art demands that the rhetorical and metrical accents coincide. Furthermore, the change, conscious or unconscious, from the inverted to the normal order is a more natural one for a scribe to make than the converse. Thus MS authority, reason, and art favor the readings Skeat rejects. In this passage Tyrwhitt's text is superior to Skeat's. For the reasons given above, I believe that "heer" was not in the original conception of the line, but was suggested by the "heer" immediately below and hurriedly inserted to supply the needed syllable when a dissyllabic name was substituted for the Wife. It may also be pointed out that in the line which follows, "He shal no gospel glosen heer," all of the 22 MSS, save Rawl. Poet. 141, reveal "heer" in the same position.

As regards the fourth line, a considerable number of MSS read, with slight variations, "He leueth alle in the grete god he": Corpus, Sloane 1685 (the grete godhe), Barlow 20, Lansdowne 851, Royal 18 C ii, Sloane 1686 (the grete quod he), Laud 739, MS li. 3. 26 in Camb. Univ. Libr., Camb. Univ. Libr. Mm 2.5 (the grete godde hye), and the Petworth. Though the slight similarity between "god" and "quod" might lead to the omission of one or the other, the fact that in all the MSS, except Sloane 1686, "quod" is omitted suggests that when "she" was altered to "he," "quod," perhaps in its abbreviated form, was in some way damaged so that some careless scribe, or scribes, overlooked it. Carelessness is certainly revealed in "He" for "We" at the beginning of the line. The reading "grete godde hye" in Mm. shows that the scribe was trying to make a little sense out of the obscure place, and that the obscurity must have existed at least as far back as the MS copied by the scribe whose MS the scribe of Mm. copied.

to be looking directly at her opponent. She will stand for no glossing; she believes in a literal, common-sense and unsophisticated interpretation of the gospel. Again, note the emphatic determination of "that shal be nat," "he shal not preche," and "He shal no gospel glosen." Where else in the *Canterbury Tales* do we find such determined accents? Only in the first part of the Wife's Prologue, especially in lines D. 148-155. Is not her voice as clearly audible in the earlier as in the later passage?

My theory, then, proposes that in the Shipman's Prologue and in the first part of the Wife's Prologue we have the beginning and end of an original Wife's Prologue which was prefixed to the Tale later given to the Shipman, and a central portion of which has been cut out. While it would be going too far to say that the Shipman's Prologue ends too abruptly for a tale to follow, it is true that in the last line or two of most of the prologues definite notice is given that a tale will immediately follow,<sup>30</sup> and that instead of such we have here an abrupt stop. With the beginning of the Wife's Prologue the case is much more decided, for there is nothing like it in the *Canterbury Tales*. We have tales beginning groups, such as the Physician's, though I shall speak of that later, and prologues beginning with some action of the pilgrimage and unattached to the preceding story, but nowhere else does the curtain suddenly rise and reveal one of the pilgrims in the midst of his prologue.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The Miller's Prologue ends with Chaucer's apology for obscenity, and the Monk's with his own apology for failure to arrange his tragedies chronologically. There is no notice served in the Reeve's Prologue, nor in the Second Nun's, but this latter was composed independently of the *Canterbury Tales*, and is not joined to the pilgrimage. See G.78-84.

<sup>31</sup> As the Squire's Tale is now printed, the Prologue begins with some one's (the Host is not mentioned) addressing the Squire, but there appears to be no excuse for separating it from the preceding Merchant's endlink. There is no break here in the Ellesmere, Hengwrt, and Petworth MSS. The Merchant's Tale has set the Host thinking again about his wife, an unpleasant subject which forces expression from him at times but which he is always glad to put away entirely. In order to avoid a repetition of Harry Bailly's domestic woes, Chaucer ingeniously makes him forbear with a sly glance at the Wife of Bath. We have a similar situation in the endlink to *Melibeus*, in which the Host dwells at length upon his wife's vices until in bitterness he wishes to drive the subject from his mind, "But lat us passe away fro this matere." Fortunately, here the rhyme binds headlink and endlink together, or else some scribe might have slipped in a

The beginning is so abrupt that it forces the conclusion that something has been sheared away.

Nothing but conjecture can help us to the possible contents of the excised lines. My guess is that the Parson refused to be silenced by the Wife's rudeness, and seized the opportunity to give the much feared "predicacioun" and to "snibben" [her] sharply for the nones.<sup>22</sup> He could hardly have found a more "obstinat" person, as the later development of the Prologue reveals. In the course of his preachment, for which he must have drawn heavily upon Jerome, we may suppose he placed much emphasis upon the superiority of chastity over marriage, and inveighed sternly against lustfulness in marriage and against second marriages, concluding with some reference to or description of the woe that is in marriage, supported by sufficient authorities.<sup>23</sup> Two points I am sure he made: the

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misleading rubric, resulting in another Group in the *Canterbury Tales*, for there is nothing else that binds the links together. But with the Squire's Prologue, the complete change in subject, revealed in "my tale is do," and the absence of a rhyme link have produced an artificial separation. The æsthetic connection is obvious. The Host, wishing to escape from the bitter thoughts of his own unhappy married life into the fairy land of romance, wisely requests a tale of love from the Squire, the one embodiment of romantic love among the pilgrims. See Tatlock, *The Harleian Manuscript*, Ch. Soc., p. 21, note, and Skeat, *Eight-text Edition of the Canterbury Tales*, Ch. Soc., p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> "The glaring contrast between the asceticism advocated in the *Person's Tale* and the license of this Wife's Prologue is sufficiently evident." (Mead, "The Prologue of the Wife of Bath's Tale," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n.*, vol. XVI p. 395n.) Below are a few passages from the Parson's Tale that are diametrically opposed to the Wife as revealed in the first part of her Prologue, and several of which look like some of the arguments she is answering. "The thridde spece of avourtrie is som-tyme bitwixe a man and his wyf; and that is whan they take no reward in hir assemblings, but only to hire fleshly delyt, as seith saint Ierome; and ne rekken of nothing but that they been assembled; by-cause that they been married, al is good y-nough, as thinketh to hem." (I. 904-5.) "I wot wel that they sholde setten hir entente to plesse hir housbondes, but nat by hir queyntise of array. Seint Ierome seith, that wyves that been apparailled in silk and in precious purpre ne mowe nat clothen hem in Iesu Crist." (I.931-932) "The fourth manere is for to understonde, if they assemble only for amorous love and for noon of the forseide causes, but for to accomplice thilke brenninge delyt, they rekke nevere how ofte, sothly it is deedly sinne; and yet, with sorwe, somme folk wol peynen hem more to doon than to hir appetyt suffyseth." (I. 943) "The seconde manere of chastitee is for to been a clene widewe, and eschue the embracings of man, and desyren the embracing of Iesu Crist." (I. 944. Cf. D.46-8)

wedding in Cana and the Samaritan woman, for I interpret the line "But me was told certeyn, nat long ago is" as meaning "You know that a little while ago I was told." Otherwise the pilgrims would have been mystified by the allusion. Furthermore, a few lines later she breaks out with "Herke eek, lo! which a sharp word for the nones," as if she were calling to judgment a Daniel who had been called upon before, and in "thus seyde he certeyn" she admits that the Parson was correct in his citation of the Samaritan woman. So she goes through her sermon, using Jovinian's arguments, Jerome's concessions, and her own knowledge and common sense to refute the Jeronian arguments of the Parson and to spurn his reprimands.<sup>23</sup> We may suppose that the original Prologue was a kind of Jerome-

"And certes, if that a wyf coude kepen hir al chaast by licence of hir housbonde, so that she yeve nevere noon occasion that he agilte, it were to hire a greet merite." (I.946. Cf.D.93-4) Thise manere women that observen chastitee moste be clene in herte as well as in body and in thoght." (I. 947. Cf. D. 97-8). "The thridde manere of chastitee is virginitee, and it bihoveth that she be holy in herte and clene of body; thanne is she spouse to Iesu Crist, and she is the lyf of angeles. She is the preisinge of this world, and she is as thise martirs in egalitee; she hath in hir that tonge may nat telle ne herte thinke. Virginitee beaure lord Iesu Crist, and virgine was him-selve. (I.948-50. Cf.D.139-41)

It is possible that Chaucer was introduced to St. Jerome when translating the Parson's Tale, in which the latter is quoted several times. The first appearance of St. Jerome in Chaucer's poetry is in the Pardoner's Tale, where he is quoted twice (505, 527). But the ten striking parallels between the Parson's Tale and the Pardoner's Prologue and Tale, pointed out by Koeppel, indicate that Chaucer had translated the former only a short while before he composed, or even while he was composing, the Pardoner's lines. At any rate, we have here clear evidence that the poet was familiar with Jerome's work when he came to the Wife's first Prologue, since I hope to show later that the Pardoner's Tale originally preceded the present Shipman's Prologue, and also evidence that the Parson's Tale was available for Chaucer to draw upon in composing what I have conjectured to have been the Parson's sermon to the Wife. The fact that Jerome's work, the Pardoner's and Parson's Tales, and the Wife's Prologue come together in such an inter-relationship at this point appears to be some evidence for my theory. See Tatlock, *Development and Chronology*, pp.101, 202, 212; Hammond, *Bibliographical Manual*, p. 93; and E. Koeppel, "Über das Verhältnis von Chaucers Prosawerken zu seinen Dichtungen und die Echtheit der 'Parson's Tale,'" *Herrig's Archiv*. vol. 87, pp.33 ff.

<sup>23</sup> See W. W. Woolcombe's *The Sources of the Wife of Bath's Prologue*, Ch. Soc; especially p. 299.

Jovinianian debate on marriage and chastity staged by the two pilgrims with the woman having the last word.<sup>44</sup>

There is one bit of evidence that I hesitate to introduce, and would not, had I not come across it after my theory had crystallized. In the Lansdowne MS there are four lines immediately preceding the Wife's Prologue, which read as follows:

Than schortly ansewarde the wife of Bathe  
And swore a wonder grete hathe  
By goddes bones .I. will tel next  
.I. will nouht glose bot saye the text.

No friend of Chaucer would even suggest that he ever wrote anything closely resembling these lines. Yet why would a scribe go to the trouble of composing four lines that call attention to a gap even more than the abrupt beginning of the Prologue? If he might have done it to cap the Prologue, so to speak, why did he use "ansewarde" when some word like "seyde" would have been more natural? Why the great oath, and why the refusal to glose,<sup>45</sup> with the intimation that the previous speaker had been guilty of glosing? He could hardly have suspected that the interruptor in the Shipman's Prologue, who forbids glosing, was the Wife. Is it possible that he had more than his imagination to draw upon when he composed the lines? I would suggest that when Chaucer first removed the latter part of the Prologue, he broke it at the most logical joint, that is, at the end of the Parson's sermon, which he could not use for his new purpose. Later, however, he discovered that the first lines loudly called attention to something that went before, and he canceled them, but not without leaving traces. Most of the scribes ignored them, but one, acting upon the suggestions found therein, constructed the four lines which reached the Lansdowne MS, and which fit in exactly with what I have proposed. As soon as the Parson has stopped speaking, the Wife in great indignation rises to the contest with the determined declaration that she will tell the plain facts of the case.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> As I have pointed out in a former passage, the Wife's use of "glose" in D.26, 119 indicates that the Parson did exactly what she had declared earlier in the Prologue he should not do.

<sup>45</sup> Of course, I am aware that he may have been inspired by D.26, 119, but if so, he made a lucky guess.

<sup>46</sup> If this spurious passage has no other significance, it reveals beyond doubt that the scribe recognized the Wife as definitely answering some one of the pilgrims.

Nothing distinguishes the first from the second part of the present Wife's Prologue more than its argumentative tone. The account of the husbands is a typical confession of a piece with the Pardoner's and Canon's Yeoman's Prologues, while the first part in only the vaguest fashion touches on her experiences (D. 4-8), but for the most part displays only convictions, resolutions, opinions, and arguments. The spirit of pugnacious debate animates it, as is clearly seen in such expressions as "But that I axe," "Iwoot wel," "Whan saugh ye ever," "I wot as wel as ye," "ye knowe," "For wel ye knowe," "Telle me also," "Why sholde men," and the like. Are we to believe that these pointed "ye's" are directed indiscriminately at the whole crowd as if she were arguing against them all, or at one individual who had called down the avalanche upon his head? Though conscious of a larger audience, she must in her mind be singling out her opponent, the poor Parson!

Whether any of the arguments I have advanced recommends my theory or not, certainly the latter attaches the Prologue vividly to the dramatic setting of the pilgrimage, which, as Professor Kittredge well says, we should keep constantly in mind. Instead of the Wife's suddenly launching a terrific verbal assault upon the whole troop of pilgrims, answering arguments that had not been advanced, and calling attention to statements that had not been made, except in some far-off book of St. Jerome, we see her handling in the roughest fashion and most heretical manner the learned arguments of her pious opponent, and in answer to his implicit and explicit reprimands hurling her defiance in his teeth. Brazen declaration re-enforces vigorous and impudent argument. "Thank God that I have married five; welcome the sixth, whenever he comes along," she declares with emphatic effrontery, while the lines

I wol bestowe the flour of al myn age  
In the actes and in fruit of marriage

express a flaunting determination which reaches its climax in lines 148-155. What had the company done to call forth this frenzied avowal with its remarkable array of emphatic "wol's" and "shal's"? Surely some one had provoked her to such defiant antagonism and violent affirmation. Then, when the battle is over and the tale is told, whom does the Host

select to tell the next story but the finest embodiment of virginity, the Prioress. The propriety of these two women to the dramatic episode and the artistic contrast of their characters and tales, while possibly not evidence for my theory, are an ornament to it.<sup>37</sup>

The next approach to the problem we are discussing carries us over a wide detour via Group C.<sup>38</sup> Because of the geographical reference in Group B<sup>2</sup> the Chaucer Society has moved the latter from the place it occupies in most MSS and put it after the Man of Law's Tale (B<sup>1</sup>). Then C, since it contains no time nor place allusion, is arbitrarily put after B<sup>2</sup>.<sup>39</sup> The chief argument in placing B<sup>2</sup> in such a position is the use of "thrifty tale" in the Lawyer's Prologue and the repetition of the term in the Shipman's Prologue. It has also been pointed out that

<sup>37</sup> The Harleian MS 7334, possibly the oldest of the MSS, is unique in revealing the two parts of the Prologue in proper relative order, although the interruptor is none other than the Summoner and the last five lines of the link are omitted. As much as it hurts to give up what seems at first sight to be manuscript authority for my thesis, evidence forces the conclusion that the arrangement is accidental, with the exception of one point that bears upon my theory. Professor Tatlock has shown that probably the reviser of this MS was not Chaucer, but "some devoted student of Chaucer, well-educated, intelligent, and rather sensitive, but somewhat pedantic and liable to lapses of attention and even good sense." (*The Harleian Manuscript 7334*, Ch. Soc.) Therefore, the unusual placing of the Shipman's Prologue must be due to him. Tatlock suggests that the reviser suppressed the concluding lines of the Shipman's (here the Summoner's) Prologue because the expression "litel Latin" could not apply to the Summoner. I think, however, that it describes him unusually well, for Chaucer goes to some pains (A. 637-46) to explain that there was precious little Latin in his maw, and that his two or three terms appeared only where he was drunk. Possibly the reviser, catching the feminine accents of the lines following the interruption, tried to connect them with the Wife's Prologue, notwithstanding the mention of the Summoner, and canceled the last five lines, so that "My Ioly body shal a tale telle" might immediately precede and more naturally introduce the Prologue. At least, his bringing them together reveals his feeling that the speaker in both Prologues was the Wife.

<sup>38</sup> C consists of the Doctor's and Pardoner's Tales, and B<sup>2</sup> of the Shipman's, Prioress', Chaucer's, Monk's, and Nun's Priest's Tales.

<sup>39</sup> Skeat claims that, though he was forced in some way to accept the Chaucer Society's arrangement, the true order of the tales is ABDEFCGHI. He is willing to violate manuscript authority in the case of B<sup>2</sup> because of the geographical reference in it, but he fails to see that in leaving C behind, he violates the MSS a second time, for in most MSS C and B<sup>2</sup> are not separated. (Vol. 3, p. 434.)



the Host's words "lerned men" in the latter Prologue aptly fit the Lawyer and Parson. A number of years ago Mr. George Shipley explained, successfully I think, that the lines

But it shal nat ben of philosophie,  
Ne *physices*, ne termes queinte of lawe;  
Ther is but litel Latin in my mawe. (B. 1188-90)

must refer to the Pardoner, Physician, and Lawyer, and that "lerned men" is more applicable to all three than to the Lawyer alone.<sup>40</sup> He also called attention to the fact that the last line looks directly at the Pardoner, who has told us that he deliberately introduces Latin into his "predicacioun" to produce a greater impression. Certainly, the hypocrite must have rolled the text *Radix malorum est cupiditas* off his tongue with great gusto. He quotes it twice.

To me the situation seems to be as follows: The tales of the Miller, Reeve, and Cook, the lowest characters of the group, had been extremely indecent, or, as in the case of the Cook, promised to be. The next morning the Man of Law tells the Tale of Melibeus, with its picture of an ideal wife after the Host's own heart, the Physician recounts a tale that tears Harry Bailly's heart strings, and finally the Pardoner tells a thrifty tale that must have impressed as good a literary critic as the Host. The latter, much pleased with the high-grade stories told by the representatives of the learned professions, Law, Medicine, and the Church, and especially bearing in mind the vivid narrative of the last, turns to the Parson, another preacher, with hopes of an equally good tale. But he, like the Pardoner a few minutes before, chooses the wrong man, for the Parson objects to story-telling even more than to swearing. The Wife then interrupts by saying or implying that though she cannot tell such a thrifty tale as the learned men whom the Host has praised, she can tell a merry or *risqué* story that will interest the whole company. At this point it is well to remember that the Pardoner's Tale is ushered in by the "gentils" objecting to the Host's request for "som mirth" to soothe his sorrow-laden breast, and by their asking for "som moral thing." In like manner, I believe, the Parson

<sup>40</sup> "The Arrangement of the Canterbury Tales," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. X, pp. 260-279, and vol. XI, pp. 290-3.

originally interrupted the Wife's declaration and proceeded as I have conjectured earlier in this paper.

Objection to this view, besides the "thrifty" argument, rests largely upon the unlikelihood of the Host's calling the Pardoner a learned man after having addressed him so roughly a few minutes before, and of the interruptor's considering him a philosopher. The latter objection Mr. Shipley has satisfactorily answered. As regards the first, the General Prologue informs us not only that the Pardoner was a "noble ecclesiaste" in church, that is, he made an imposing figure, but also that he could so impress the poor people that he got more money in one day than the parson received in two months. After all, the question is not so much whether the Pardoner was actually learned as whether, with his Latin and the like, he could make the people believe that he was. Again, we must remember that the Host is only joking with the Pardoner, and that even if he were not, he is exposing hypocrisy, not ignorance, two qualities which are by no means synonymous. In fact, we can detect in the Host's words an ignorant man's pride in being too wily to be imposed upon by superior education.<sup>41</sup> We must also remember that the two have become completely reconciled, and whatever was said before, the Host is now perfectly agreeable and even, perhaps, in the mood to say something complimentary in order to close the rift.

Unfortunately, as I think, Mr. Shipley, possibly influenced by the "thrifty" argument, places C before rather than after B<sup>1</sup>, an arrangement which violates manuscript authority, and which distinctly lessens the likelihood that "litel Latin" refers to the Pardoner.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, if C is put after B<sup>1</sup>, the last lines of the Shipman's Prologue refer to the previous tellers in the inverse, and therefore natural, order of their appearance, that is, the last speaker is remembered first and so on. Finally, in recent years Professor Samuel Moore has shown that manu-

<sup>41</sup> Why should he have been? The Pardoner had disclosed all the tricks of his trade, and he was certainly optimistic to think that in the face of such disclosures he could deceive any of the pilgrims.

<sup>42</sup> If this arrangement should be accepted, then the Physician's and Pardoner's Tales would fall on the first day, for the Lawyer's Tale is the first story of the second day. Thus the reference to the first two pilgrims would be considerably weakened.

script authority is overwhelmingly in favor of keeping CB<sup>2</sup> as one solid block of text, and he has also shown, by means of time and place allusions and the integrity of the DEF Groups, that the logical place for CB<sup>2</sup> is between B<sup>1</sup> and D.<sup>43</sup> The arguments of these two scholars taken together are not to be considered lightly.

Since C ends with an Epilogue and B<sup>2</sup>, according to my theory, originally began with the Shipman's Prologue, the two links should articulate. I think it can be shown that they do. When the Pardoner becomes angry with the Host, the Knight, interceding as peace-maker, tells them to kiss and make up, so as not to dampen the spirits of the company.

Anon they kiste, and riden forth hir weye. (C. 968)

Our hoste up-on his stiropes stood anon. (B. 1163)

Here we have three actions in rapid succession, as "anon" indicates: the Knight tells them to become reconciled, they kiss and ride forth, and the Host rises in his stirrups. Since in this line the expression "riden forth" means to ride to the front,<sup>44</sup> we may picture the two pilgrims riding on ahead, with the crowd that had gathered around them falling in behind. Now anyone familiar with horseback riding knows that the only reason why a person rises in the saddle when about to speak is to turn around so as to face those behind him.<sup>45</sup> Thus

<sup>43</sup> "The Position of Group C in the Canterbury Tales," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n.*, vol. 30, pp.116-ff. Professor Moore cites Tatlock's belief that the Harleian MS 7334 in placing C before B<sup>2</sup> could not easily be proved wrong (See *The Harleian Manuscript 7334*, Ch. Soc. p. 26), and Professor Lawrence's article showing that the Nun's Priest's Tale should precede the Wife's Prologue. ("The Marriage Group in the Canterbury Tales," *Mod. Phil.* vol. XI, pp.247-258.)

<sup>44</sup> In B. 3117 Harry Bailly tells the Monk, "Ryd forth," where the expression can only mean "Come to the front." We must remember that it is the Host and Pardoner, not the company, who "riden forth."

<sup>45</sup> There is some evidence to show that the Host frequently rides somewhat in advance of the company when no one is telling a story. In A. 827 he stops his horse and waits for the pilgrims to catch up. In B.15 he turns his horse around in order to face his audience. In the passage under discussion he continues riding, but rises in the saddle so that he can turn around and face his audience without stopping. They had made one stop, and that was enough. A painting by Thomas Stothard entitled "Pilgrimage to Canterbury" reveals the Host in just such a position as the last described, only the Host has slightly turned his horse. (See H. S. Ward, *The Canterbury Pilgrims*, 1904, p.153) If the Shipman's Prologue should follow immediately the Lawyer's Tale, we must

the two lines just quoted stand in relation of cause and effect, and taken together present as clear and natural a picture as can be found anywhere in the dramatic setting of the tales. Furthermore, we are glad to know that the Host will not let such a corking story as the Pardoner has just told pass without comment, though he was at first prevented from expressing his judgment by the Pardoner's attempt to swindle him. When the recent unpleasantness blows over, however, he suddenly remembers the excellent tale and pays his tribute in "thrifty" and "lerner."

Hitherto, all attempts to place C before B<sup>3</sup> have been interested in its articulation with what follows. Can it be coupled to what precedes, that is, to the Lawyer's Tale? I think it can, though some readers may consider my arguments fantastic. In a note following the Nun's Priest's Epilogue, Skeat prints, as given by Tyrwhitt, what he considers to be the best of three spurious Doctor's Prologues:

'Ye, let that passen,' quod our Hoste, 'as now  
Sire Doctour of Physyk, I preye yow,  
Telle us a tale of som honest matere.'  
'It shal be doon, if that ye wol it here,'  
Seyde this Doctour, and his tale bigan anon.  
'Now, good men,' quod he, 'herkneþ everichon.'

In another place Skeat says, "These six lines he (Tyrwhitt) found in *one* MS only: viz., in MS Harl. 7735 (*sic*)", where one is italicized, evidently as argument for the spuriousness of the lines.<sup>46</sup> He gives no other reason. What possible fault can

suppose that the Host was riding ahead of the company while the story was being told, a situation suggested nowhere else in the poem. Tyrwhitt has brought the Pardoner's endlink and Shipman's headlink into their proper positions. (*Canterbury Tales*, 1775, vol. II, p. 200. See also vol. IV, p. 172.)

<sup>46</sup> See Skeat's edition of Chaucer, vol. III, p. 434. As we shall see a little later, instead of appearing in only one MS, these lines appear, slightly disguised, in at least ten others. In this connection Skeat does not quite accurately report Tyrwhitt's opinion of this Prologue. Tyrwhitt's words are: "What I have printed by way of Prologue to the *Doctoures* Tale I found in one of the best MSS but only in one: in the others it has no Prologue. The first line applies so naturally and smartly to the *Frankleines* conclusion that I am strongly inclined to believe it from the hand of Chaucer, but I cannot say so much for the the five following. I would therefore only wish these lines to be received for the present, . . . till they shall either be more authentically established, or superseded by the discovery of the genuine Prologue." *Canterbury Tales*, vol. IV, p. 171.

be found with the lines other than the fifth, which metrically contains too many syllables, perhaps through interpolation of "his tale"? With this one exception the passage reads as smoothly as any in Chaucer, and there is the same easy flow of meaning. Nor is there a single expression used that is not Chaucerian.

If we choose to consider this Prologue spurious, we must answer one very persistent question. Why in the world would a scribe go to the trouble of composing a mere scrap of six lines that loudly emphasizes instead of concealing a gap? Certainly the purpose of the spurious links recorded in the MSS is to connect tales, not to accentuate the lack of connection.<sup>47</sup> If a scribe wrote these lines, he had no purpose in view, or if he had one, he was far from accomplishing it. Of this latter inference we have direct proof, for the Petworth MS, as reproduced in the Six-Text Edition, discloses the following Canon's Yeoman-Doctor link:

Whan that this yeman his tale ended hadde  
Of this fals Chanon which that was so badde  
Our hoost gan say trewly and in certayn  
this preest was begiled sothly forto sayn  
He wenyng forto be a philosophre  
Til he lift right nought in his Cophre  
And sothly this preest had a lither Iape  
This cursed chanon put in his hode an ape  
But al this passe I over as now  
Sir doctour of phisik I prey you  
Telle us a tale of some honest matere  
It shal be done yif that ye wil it here  
Saide this doctour and his tale bygan anon  
Now good men quod he harkeneth euerichon

The transition from the first eight lines to the last six is like passing in an automobile from cobblestones to asphalt containing only a few little bumps. Certainly the man who composed the first part did nothing but copy, rather badly, the second. Furthermore, a comparison of this second part with the six-line Prologue shows that they both represent the same original. Now if this six-line Prologue was written by a scribe, he did

<sup>47</sup> See the spurious links composed to fill this very gap (Skeat vol. 3, p. 434); the various versions of the spurious Pardoner-Shipman Link given in Part I of the Six-Text Edition; and the Merchant-Wife Link, printed from 3 MSS in Miss Hammond's *Bibliographical Manual*, p. 297. The scribes were concerned to connect tales, not to call attention to their separation.

his work so poorly that another scribe, copying the identical MS the first scribe wrote, had to add to it eight lines to connect the Prologue with the preceding tale.<sup>48</sup> Is it not more reasonable to suppose that, for a reason to be discussed later, Chaucer left these six lines introducing the Doctor, with the intention of returning to them later?<sup>49</sup>

Granting that this explanation is correct, it next becomes necessary to discover why the fragment was left dangling to the Physician's Tale. The first line, "Ye, let that passen," quod our hoste, "as now," shows that something has been taken away just at the point where the Host desires to change the subject, and thus we are furnished with a clew in locating the removed portion. Now there is one subject Harry Bailly is always glad enough to banish from his mind, his wife,<sup>50</sup> but in only one instance is the unpleasant memory dismissed in somewhat the same language employed in the line under discussion.<sup>51</sup> After the Tale of Melibeus the Host gives an extended description of his wife, ending with the line, "But lat us passe away fro this matere," after which he abruptly addresses the Monk. Now our case would be hopeless indeed, did we not remember that in his Prologue the Man of Law distinctly says, "I speke in prose." Inasmuch as there are only two prose stories in the *Canterbury Tales*, and inasmuch as the Parson's

<sup>48</sup> This second prologue is found in ten MSS: Selden, Rawl. poet. 149, Hatton, Sloane 1685, Barlow, Laud 739, Royal 17, Royal 18, Petworth, Mm; and since it contains the first prologue, we may say that the latter appears in eleven MSS instead of one. Thus Skeat's main argument falls to the ground. (See Hammond, p. 294)

<sup>49</sup> The scribes did everything possible with the fragment. Some, noting its fragmentary and useless condition, suppressed it entirely. One scribe attempted to fill the gap by an entirely new link connecting Canon's Yeoman and Physician. (See the spurious link from the Lansdowne MS printed in Skeat, vol. 3, p. 435). Another added eight lines that connected the six to the Yeoman's Tale. Fortunately, the scribe responsible for Harley 7335, a MS which Tyrwhitt considered of prime importance, copied fairly well what Chaucer left, with the possible exception of the first line, which I think should read "But let that passen."

<sup>50</sup> See B 3113, E. 2440, and the rejected but authentic "Host's Stanza" in the Clerk's Tale, printed by Skeat in vol. IV, p. 424.

<sup>51</sup> It is true that the Host concludes his comments on the Shipman's Tale with "But now passe over," but the two parts are so closely interknit, that the Epilogue represents an integral composition and rejects the possibility of any splicing."

is obviously unsuited to the Lawyer, *Melibeus* must have been the latter's first story unless Chaucer had a tale he did not put to use, an unlikely event in view of the manner in which he tried to use all his material at hand.<sup>52</sup> So our case becomes very simple. When Chaucer transferred *Melibeus* from the Lawyer to himself, he took along the Host's reflections on his wife, which followed the Tale in its first position, and left dangling the six lines in which Harry Bailly turned from his wife to the Physician.<sup>53</sup>

Since we know that the Lawyer's Prologue was probably written for *Melibeus*, is it not natural to suppose that Chaucer put the same comment in the Host's mouth after the Tale in its first position as follows the Tale in its second location? Furthermore, since the Tale had its roots in Prologue and Epilogue, it is no unwarrantable inference that when it was transplanted, it carried along part of both,<sup>54</sup> and left hanging, as

<sup>52</sup> See R. K. Root, *Poetry of Chaucer*, revised ed., p. 206. Professor Tatlock, following Skeat's suggestion, thinks "we have excellent reason to believe that *Melibeus* was at one time intended for the Man of Law," and makes out a very good case. *Development and Chronology*, pp. 188-197.

<sup>53</sup> The Merchant's endlink and Squire's headlink offer an exact parallel to the original links connecting Lawyer and Doctor. Just as the Host turns abruptly from thoughts of his wife to ask the Squire for a tale of love, so once he turned from the same unhappy subject to ask the Doctor for "a tale of som honest matere." It is worth noting that the Squire's Prologue is only two lines longer than the Doctor's. "Honest thing" in C. 328 may be an echo of "honest matere."

B. 3079 reads "Whan ended was my tale of Melibee," in which "my" can only apply to the new position of the Tale, but, while it is a very simple change for Chaucer to have made, it is unnecessary to impose even this obvious revision upon him. Skeat records no variant readings in the line, but an examination of the Six-Text Edition shows that the Cambridge MS has "this tale" and the Corpus and Lansdowne MSS "the tale." "The" and "this" are so similar one could easily be mistaken for the other, and either serves my purpose. I believe that "the" (or "this") is the older reading, for "my" and "the" are too different to be easily confused, and the change from "the" to "my" is for cause and with reason, while the opposite change would be without cause and against reason. The former is just such a change as an intelligent scribe would make, though, of course, Chaucer may have made it himself.

<sup>54</sup> Though the main argument of my article depends in no wise upon the thesis I develop in this note, and though for that reason I merely put it forward to be considered or ignored as the reader sees fit, I shall briefly give some of the more important arguments for believing that part of the Prologue accompanied the Tale to its new position. After saying that the only stories he knows are those told by Chaucer, and after noting that Chaucer told no discreditable tales,

I have said before, the six lines prefixed to the Physician's story. Thus, if any weight is attached to the foregoing argument, the Physician's Tale was originally joined to the Man of Law's, that is, C followed B<sup>1</sup>.

Over against all the arguments cited in the foregoing paragraphs there is but one bit of definite evidence making for the sequence B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup>. Mr. Henry Bradshaw first proposed, and scholars have almost unanimously accepted, the suggestion that the Host's words, "This was a thirfty tale for the nones" (B. 1165) answer the Lawyer's "I can right now no thrifty tale seyn" (B. 46). In view of the mass of evidence of every kind against such a sequence, I prefer, if nothing else can be said against the argument, to consider the repetition of "thrifty" a coincidence. I believe, however, that in the earlier passage

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the Lawyer asks what he is to do about a story. "But of my tale how shal I doon this day?" Then follow six lines, which read like an introduction to a fuller statement, to the effect that he is loath to be considered a poet, and that he does not care, though he follows Chaucer with an inferior prose story. Now the bare declaration that his tale is to be in prose does not, I think, fully or satisfactorily answer the question asked in the line quoted above. But a complete answer is discovered in lines B. 2127-2154, which contain nothing that connects them only with their new position. Again, Chaucer evidently felt that the introduction of a prose tale into a poem required much comment and even apology, such as are contained in the lines just cited, and he would have felt that need as much in the first use of the story as in the second. It is easily seen how fittingly lines B. 2127-9, that the speaker will tell a little thing in prose which should please the company if they are not unjustifiably fastidious, follow the Lawyer's confession that he knows no poetical tales except those told by Chaucer. It is true that these lines fit perfectly the new position, but that coincidence is not so remarkable as the one noted, for Chaucer was free to lead up to them in any manner he desired. That he does lead up to them is revealed in the Host's asking definitely for a prose tale in which there is "som doctryne." (This passage disposes forever of the untenable idea that the poet was getting even with the Host by what seems to us a long, tiresome disquisition. The Host got exactly what he asked for.) Probably it was the happy inspiration to reveal Harry Bailly as leery of Chaucer's poetical ability and requesting something in prose that moved Chaucer to transplant *Melibeus*. Thus I believe that originally lines B. 2127-54 resided between B. 96 and 97, for the latter line, "And with that word he, with a sobre chere," follows very abruptly the former, but follows naturally B. 2154, "After the which this merry tale I wryte." Furthermore, B. 2126, "'Gladly,' quod I, 'by goddes swete pyne,'" looks like a splicing line, and the concluding couplet,

And therefore herkneth what that I shal seye,  
And lat me tellen al my tale I preye.

which binds the words to their new position, is literally an addition.



the word is not above *all* suspicion. To begin with, if Skeat is correct in defining the term as "profitable," how can it apply to some of Chaucer's stories, such as the cruelty of Medea, which the Lawyer cites as examples of thrifty tales? Second, judging by the *Sir Thopas* episode, I think it somewhat unlikely that Chaucer would apply a complimentary term to his stories. Third, there seems to be an inconsistency between "thrifty" and the three lines following, which, in a manner more conformable to Chaucer's habit, speak of his ignorant rhyming and his doing the best he can. Part of the "thriftiness" of a tale must lie in the way in which it is told as much as in the substance of the story. Thus it might be possible to interpret the passage in this comical fashion: "The only thrifty tales I know are those told by Chaucer, though he cannot tell a thrifty tale." Finally, all the MSS do not show the word. The Petworth and Lansdowne read "trusty" and Harley 7334 "other." Possibly here, as in other cases where it differs from most of the MSS, this old one may reveal the correct word.<sup>66</sup> Certainly its reading obviates all the difficulties of "thrifty." I have noticed another passage in the *Canterbury Tales* that, in general, parallels this:

'Hoste', quod I, 'ne beth nat yvel apayd,  
For other tale certes can I noon,  
But of a ryme I lerned longe agoon.' (B.1897-9)

where "other tale," "can," and "But" bear the same relationship to each other as in the Lawyer's apology if we read "other." While by no means claiming Bentleian certainty for this variant, I do think it warrants sufficient consideration to cast some shadow of doubt upon the other reading, especially when we note that in the Shipman's Prologue all the twenty-two versions, save that of one unimportant MS, published by the Chaucer Society give the reading "thrifty tale." To none of

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *Sterres for sertes*. (Skeat, *The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales*, Ch. Soc., p. 37) I think Professor Tatlock was unduly influenced by tradition when he cited the failure of Harley 7334 to reveal "thrifty" as evidence of careless revision. He certainly is unfortunate in saying that the scribes of Pt. and Ln. wrote "trusty" because they thought "thrifty" odd, for they had no such idea about it when they came to its use in the Shipman's Prologue. (*The Harleian Manuscript*, 7334, p. 18.) There all the 22 MSS printed in the Six-Text Edition, save Hatton MS I, read "thrifty." For the slight value that Tatlock puts upon the "thrifty" link, see *Chronology and Development*, p. 188.

the *Canterbury Tales* can the word apply so aptly as to "The Three Ryotoures."

If this attempt to anchor fore and aft Group C in its original position between B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> is granted some degree of success, we may turn again into the main road.<sup>56</sup> (My nautical and terrestrial figures are sadly mixed, but "no fors.") The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale now stand immediately before the Wife's Prologue, as reconstructed earlier in this article, and the first Tale assigned her. With a great deal of professional pride the Pardoner has just explained the secret of his phenomenal success, describing in most picturesque fashion his manner of preaching and recounting one of his most effective tales. So we may be sure that with a great deal of interest he watched from the side lines the mighty encounter between Parson and Wife. When she reaches her conclusion—it is a conclusion—he breaks out with "Ye ben a noble prechour in this cas!" In these words we can easily detect a professional's patronizing praise of a surprisingly successful amateur, praise that is both condescending and admiring, nor altogether free from a tincture of envy. Even this commendation he hastens to depreciate by a pitiful attempt at a joke to show that he is not taking her too seriously. In the reply to this joke Chaucer skillfully leads the Wife to the tale originally composed for her.<sup>57</sup>

I do not see in what way other than the above we can satisfactorily explain the Pardoner's outburst. But we are not quite through with the hypocrite. As explained earlier in this article, the Wife assures him that she will tell such a tale of marital woe that it will be a warning to him not to marry. She has no sooner begun her story than she embarks upon a

<sup>56</sup> It is necessary to keep in mind that I am trying only to restore the original links and order of tales before the great dislocation which came, as I believe, after Chaucer had made an orderly progress through Groups A, B<sup>1</sup>, C, and B<sup>2</sup>, marred only by the gap following the unfinished Cook's Tale and the small dislocation caused by the removal of *Melibeus* to the position it now occupies and by the later substitution of the Tale of Custance. However, only the restoration of that order, as far as possible, will today produce a logical text.

<sup>57</sup> The Tale springs from the interruption rather than from the Prologue which could hardly have been exemplified in a story, as is the second part of the Wife's Prologue. Unless we consider the Pardoner episode as at one time introducing the Wife's first Tale, its significance is greatly lessened, for it drops entirely out of sight with the further development of Group D.

digression, for a purpose not to be found in the narrative itself, on the high cost of wives. Now in his Prologue the Pardoner had emphasized the fact that avarice was his ruling passion.<sup>58</sup> So when the Wife says,

But wo is him that payen moot for al;  
The sely housbond, algate he mot paye

we may be sure she is looking directly at him. Thus she deftly turns the joke on the Pardoner by declaring that it is not the tortures of the flesh he need fear in marriage, but the hell of expenses, "For in his purs he sholde y-punissshed be" (A. 657). Pay or be cuckolded is the unhappy choice offered him if he marries.<sup>59</sup>

My theory makes it possible to trace the original development of one day's complete quota of tales. The words of the Host at the beginning of the *Man of Law's* Prologue clearly indicate that no tales had been told earlier in the morning, and that the pilgrims were getting away to a late start. After the Lawyer has told the Tale of Melibeus, and Harry Bailly has given a vivid description of his domestic infelicity, the latter suddenly appeals to the Physician for a creditable story. In his answer to the request the Doctor so wrings the Host's heart that he prays the Pardoner for a merry tale, but is thwarted in his desire by the "gentils", who insist upon some honest matter. The Pardoner tells his Tale and falls into an altercation with the Host, with whom he becomes reconciled at the instigation of the Knight. As the two ride on ahead, the Host, suddenly remembering the thrifty story told by his companion, comments on it and calls on another preacher, the Parson, for a tale. When he is promptly rebuked for swearing, he exclaims that the company will receive a "predicacioun" from "this loller heer." The Wife hastily and impudently de-

<sup>58</sup> Cf. C. 403-4, 423-34. "I preche no-thing but for coveityse."

<sup>59</sup> Although it is the Parson who engages the Wife in a grand debate, the Pardoner enters more frequently into her notice. She glances at him in the lines concluding the present Shipman's Prologue, gives him fair warning after his interruption, and makes a final thrust in her comment on the extravagance of wives. In the last two instances we have exactly the same situation that develops at the end of the present Wife's Prologue, where the Friar pokes fun at the length of her preamble and is rewarded by a dishonorable mention at the beginning of her Tale. Each of these three ecclesiastics encountered Dame Alisoun and fared rather badly. At least, she had the last word.

clares that they will receive nothing of the kind, for she herself will tell a merry tale. Here the Parson retaliates with a sermon on virginity, second marriages, and lustfulness in marriage, and is loudly answered by the redoubtable female in lines now found in D. 1-163. The Pardoner's interruption is avenged by her pointing her ensample, the present Shipman's Tale, directly at him. For the next story Harry Bailly calls on the Prioress, a perfect embodiment of virginity and in every way a decided contrast to the Wife. Chaucer is then selected to fulfil his obligation, but is checked in mid career by the Host, who has had enough of the burlesque, and who discreetly asks for "som doctryne" in prose. To meet the need *Melibeus* is bodily removed, with parts of its headlink and endlink, from its earlier position, and later the gap is partially filled by the Tale of Custance. From the bitter recollection of his wife, inspired by Dame Prudence, Harry Bailly turns to the Monk (as he formerly turned to the Doctor), who inaptly replies with his lugubrious narratives, and who is justly interrupted by the Host or the Knight. The Nun's Priest comes to the rescue with a Tale which brings the company to Rochester, the probable resting place for the second night of the pilgrimage.<sup>60</sup>

At this point the idea of the debate on marriage came to Chaucer, and he was inspired to develop the question of sovereignty in marriage through a series of tales.<sup>61</sup> Naturally, the

<sup>60</sup> If we accept Furnivall's conjecture (*Temporary Preface*, p. 19) that the Yeoman and the five City-Mechanics were intended to follow the Cook's Tale, the stories of the first day, with the exception of that of the Knight who opened the bag, find unity in the uneducated characters who tell them. The tales of the second day, however, are characterized by the learning or refinement of the narrators, each of whom, with the exception of the Wife, might make some pretense to learning, and she herself clearly showed that she could hold her own with the best of them. Furthermore, the Clerk is the only learned man, with the possible exception of the Friar, who does not appear in this Group, though the Parson's tale is deferred to the last. The tales of the third day are unified by the marriage theme, and the remaining tales fall on the last day. The number of tales, then, for the first day would be nine and a fraction, for the second eight and a fraction, and for the third seven, or eight if the Wife's long Prologue be considered equivalent to a tale.

<sup>61</sup> How Chaucer happened to conceive of his new design is a matter of interesting speculation. Professor Lawrence (*Mod. Phil.*, vol. XI, pp. 247-258) has shown how in *Melibeus* and the Nun's Priest's Tale the prelude to the marriage Groups was prepared. Possibly it was the latter Tale that inspired him to de-

Wife of Bath could not be left out of the fun, for it devolved upon her to support the claim of the feminists. In employing her to uphold this view Chaucer found an excellent starting point in the mention of her five husbands, whose experiences needed only to be drawn out *in extenso* in order to show how she secured the mastery. But since her original story revealed only a wife's expensiveness, duplicity, and faithlessness, it could hardly serve to exemplify a wife's sovereignty. Therefore, Chaucer assigned her another tale. However, the poet desired to save as much as possible from her original Prologue, especially since her defense of marital sensuality was not entirely irrelevant to the larger question, and since in the defense one aspect of her character was clearly revealed. For this reason he detached her reply to the Parson, together with the Pardoner episode, from its original position, added to it the description of her married life, and prefixed the whole to the present Wife's Tale.<sup>62</sup> The first part of the Wife's original Prologue (the Shipman's Prologue) was left as a headlink to her first Tale,

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velop the theme at length; or possibly the sources that appear for the first time in the second part of the Wife's Prologue gave Chaucer the idea: the extract from Theophrastus, the *Epistola Valerii*, and the *Miroir de Mariage*. This last title especially intrigues the mind. Is it possible that Chaucer first conceived the idea of the marriage debate when he perused this work of Deschamps, probably secured through Clifford in 1393? (See Lowe's "Chaucer and the *Miroir de Mariage*," *Mod. Phil.*, vol. 8, pp. 327-335) At any rate, Professor Lowes has enabled us to establish a half-way point in the development of the poem by the date he fixes for the Wife's Prologue (by my theory the second part of the Prologue), 1393 or early in 1394. Since Professor Lowes leaves the matter of any possible influence of the *Miroir* on earlier passages in a very uncertain and tentative state, we may say that Groups AB<sup>1</sup> CB<sup>2</sup> were developed before then, and the other Groups later. The date of composition of individual tales is another matter, nor do we know when *Custance* was given to the Man of Law.

<sup>62</sup> That there is a distinct difference between the character of the Wife as portrayed in the General Prologue and that revealed in Group D has been generally noticed. (See Lowes, *Mod. Phil.*, vol. VIII, p. 322, and Tatlock, *Devel. and Chron.*, pp. 209-10) But the change from a simple to a complex character occurs only in the second part of her Prologue. (See Professor W. C. Curry's excellent article, "More About Chaucer's Wife of Bath," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n.*, vol. XXXVII.) It can be shown that there is no complexity in the character revealed in the General Prologue, the first part of the Wife's Prologue, and her first Tale. The presence of a finer element in her nature becomes apparent only in the elaboration of her autobiography and in her second Tale. (See Root, *Poetry of Chaucer*, pp. 236-8)

but since the Parson's sermon was connected both with what preceded and with what followed, it was omitted entirely.

Chaucer then had on his hands an unassigned prologue and tale. He first substituted the Summoner for the Wife of Bath, but finding another use for him as Group D developed, he installed the Squire in his place. In the further development of the debate on marriage (and possibly because he recognized the impropriety of the Squire's speaking in such rude terms) he saw fit to introduce the Squire in another connection, and so the Prologue and Tale were again without an owner. Chaucer finally gave the Tale to the Shipman and made the necessary changes in the endlink,<sup>63</sup> but I believe he failed to insert him in the Prologue. By this time the name of the interruptor, whether written over an imperfect erasure or over the previous noun, must have become almost illegible. One or more of the scribes who copied Chaucer's MS interpreted the obscure word as "Squire," with the result that his Prologue was followed by the Shipman's Tale, but in the early version of the DEF Groups the Squire's Tale came first without a Prologue.<sup>64</sup> When the scribes found a Squire's Tale without a Prologue, and a Squire's Prologue without a Tale, they naturally brought the two together, leaving the Shipman's Tale without its Prologue. One early scribe must have read "Sompnour" in Chaucer's MS, and the scribes who copied his MS found themselves in an unhappy plight, for the Summoner was definitely linked to a preceding Tale. Perhaps through contamination of the MSS reading "Squire," or because of the expression "termes queinte of lawe," the "Sompnour" Prologue was put after the Lawyer's Tale.<sup>65</sup> Those scribes, except the one responsible

<sup>63</sup> That Chaucer contented himself with a minimum of revision is seen in the fact that only two lines refer to the Shipman, (B. 1626-27), and one is a padded line. Unfortunately, we shall never know what remarks the Host addressed to the Wife in the first version.

<sup>64</sup> It occupies such a position in a large number of MSS, and the reference to "prime" in the Tale itself (F. 73) indicates that when Chaucer composed the story, he intended placing it in the morning.

<sup>65</sup> In Rawl. 223 it is immediately followed by the Squire's Tale; in Royal 17 D xv it comes before the Merchant's Epilogue and Squire's true Prologue which precede the Squire's Tale; and in Harley 7334 it introduces the Wife's Prologue. Tatlock says "Sompnour" appears in Linc. and Roy. Coll. Phys. MSS, but I know nothing about them. (*The Harleian Manuscript*, 7334, p. 22)

for Harley 7334, who copied a manuscript containing the final version of the DEF Groups could find no place for either a Squire's or a Summoner's Prologue, and suppressed it. Finally, the scribe responsible for the Selden MS, who appears to have been an independent soul, boldly wrote Shipman into the Prologue, and let it remain in its original position, but brought the unattached Lawyer's Tale down to precede it.

Of course, this attempt to explain how the confusion in the MSS was occasioned is highly conjectural, and is distinctly secondary to my main thesis, which is concerned only with the original development of Groups B and C. The theory I propose, however, demands that the Shipman's Prologue be considered the true Prologue to the Shipman's Tale, and insists that the joining of the two is not an arbitrary arrangement of the Chaucer Society. Had Chaucer not intended such an arrangement, the Prologue would have gone the way of the Parson's "predicacioun." Skeat, who entertains a strange hostility to this Prologue,<sup>66</sup> thinks it was originally written for the Squire's Tale, and that it should have been suppressed, as it was in the best MSS, when the young man was otherwise disposed of. It seems incredible that Chaucer should originally have conceived of the Squire as the rude interruptor of the Parson. In the General Prologue we are told, "Curteys he was, lowly, and servisable," while his courteous response to the Host's request for a tale and the high regard which the Franklin feels for his gentility show that his character is maintained to the end. That Chaucer should have inserted him in the Prologue after he saw fit to utilize in a different capacity both the Wife and the Summoner is not so strange.<sup>67</sup> The fact is, no other

<sup>66</sup> See *The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales*, Ch. Soc., pp. 12, 13, 17-20, 22; and *The Eight-Text Edition of the Canterbury Tales*, Ch. Soc. pp. 20, 30, 47. For an earlier contradictory view see his Oxford Edition, vol. 3, pp. 418 ff., where he interprets B.1185-86 as a promise to tell a "licentious story." How in the face of this statement Skeat can think that the Shipman's Prologue was written for the Squire's Tale I do not see. If there is the slightest suggestion of licentiousness in the latter, it must be in the part that was never written. The Shipman's Prologue fits the Shipman's Tale because it was written for it, and not by accident.

<sup>67</sup> There is one bit of evidence that makes against my explanation. In most of the MSS the Prologue, whether introducing the Squire or Summoner, comes after the Man of Law's Tale and before the Squire's. This would seem to indicate

pilgrim could advantageously be substituted for the Wife, because Chaucer had revealed her speaking in tones and words appropriate to herself alone. Those scholars who think Chaucer composed the Prologue for the Summoner are under the necessity of showing for what tale it was written, since the present Summoner's Tale, by virtue of its attachment to the dramatic setting, cannot be considered.<sup>68</sup> According to my theory, whoever was introduced into the Prologue was also intended to tell the present Shipman's Tale; the two were not to be separated.

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that Chaucer detached the Prologue from its earlier position to make it serve as a Squire's Prologue, before the latter was given one of his own. I consider this explanation, however, less probable than the one I have advanced.

<sup>68</sup> See Ten Brink, *History of English Literature*, translated by W. C. Robinson, 1893, vol. 2, p. 159; Tatlock, *Development and Chronology*, p. 218; and Hammond, *Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 244-5, and *Mod. Phil.*, vol. III, p. 163-4.



## SOME PREDECESSORS OF THE *TATLER*

The only precursors of the *Tatler* commonly mentioned by scholars are the *Athenian Mercury* of 1691-96 and Defoe's *Review* of 1704-12, or that part of it known as "Advice from the Scandalous Club." Yet there were many other early serials, much like the *Tatler* in form, which also embodied features later made famous by Steele. Practically all the newspapers and periodicals of entertainment that appeared in the seventeenth century were in the half-sheet-folio form. Each number consisted of a single leaf, printed on both sides—containing, therefore, four columns of matter. Steele's *Tatler* merely followed the customary style of make-up. That, in itself, is not an especially significant fact. It is more important to show that Steele and Addison, for some of the most notable characteristics of their essays in the *Tatler*, and for some of their most popular devices, were indebted to their predecessors.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the earlier *Tatler* had, as a periodical of entertainment, only one distinguishing thing to recommend it—unless we maintain that Steele's pen elevated the style to a marked degree. The author's proposal to have "accounts of gallantry, pleasure, and entertainment" come from White's Chocolate House, poetry from Will's Coffee House, learning from the Grecian, foreign and domestic news from St. James's, and whatever else he had to offer on any subject "From My Own Apartment," was an attractive and rather original idea. Steele proposed, in other words, to limit the kind of matter from each resort of readers. That he did not adhere to this plan for any length of time, is well known. News later appeared in other sections than that from St. James's; and entertainment was not by any means limited to the letter from White's.

Steele's plan was ingenious and, as has been said, rather original. But it must have been suggested by the old device of dating from familiar places. As early as 1690, a half sheet folio called *Momus Ridens* contained sections of facetious news,

<sup>1</sup> Aitken (*Life of Steele*, London, 1889, 1, 239-258) enumerates a random half dozen of the hundreds of serials which appeared before 1709, but makes no effort to connect them with the *Tatler*. He then calls Defoe's *Review* "the only paper . . . which had any influence over the formation of the *Tatler*."

dated from the Hague, from Westminster, and from Whitehall. For this reason it was much like the *Taller* in appearance. But, the *English Lucian* . . . "with reflections on the vices and vanities of the times" approximated the work of Steele even more closely in form and make-up. This interesting periodical appeared for a few weeks in 1698, filled with travesties of the day's news, dated from "White-chapel, Lincoln-Inn-Fields, Old Baly, Drury-Lane, Lombard Street, St. James," and "My Lodgings in Kent Street." The last two datings are particularly suggestive, inasmuch as Steele used St. James's Coffee House and "From My Own Apartment" as two of his most common headings. The *Merry Mercury, or the Farce of Fools*, a paper published the next year, dated its "advices" from similar well known places, in and out of London.

The *Athenian Mercury* of John Dunton is commonly referred to as the ultimate precursor of the many letters in the *Taller*, through which Steele answered the queries of correspondents, fictitious or otherwise. The *Mercury* of Dunton was undoubtedly the earliest question-and-answer periodical of any consequence. But, it has never been pointed out, I believe, that between the *Athenian Mercury* of 1691 and the *Taller* of 1709 were several serials, in whose columns the rather short answers of Dunton gradually expanded into the essay-like letters of Steele. A link between the two is Defoe's *Little Review*, the best example after Dunton of the pure question-and-answer serial. It was begun in 1705, to last for twenty-three numbers, and was an outgrowth of the monthly supplements which accompanied Defoe's *Review*. The *Little Review* is especially important here, because we find in it questions and answers actually developed, in some cases, into the form of letters. Incidentally, Defoe's reforming tendency is nowhere so evident as in the answers in the *Little Review*—also worth noting, in view of its relation to the *Taller*. Finally, the *British Apollo*, 1708-11, should not be overlooked, if only because of its contemporaneity. It was a notably successful publication (a four-page folio) begun a year before Steele's undertaking, combining news and miscellaneous entertainment with questions and answers that were virtually letters. When the *Taller* appeared, the *Athenian Mercury* had been stopped for a decade and Defoe's *Little Review* had not been published for four years,

while the *British Apollo* was Steele's to read at least twice a week. Any suggestions Steele derived from this type of periodical must have come from his contemporary.

The idea of a "club" or group of friends appears in *Tatler* No. 132, dated from "Sheer-lane." It is important here simply as an anticipation of the much more famous coterie of characters in the later *Spectator*. According to Steele, the group of "heavy, honest men" at the Trumpet consisted of Sir Geoffrey Notch, Major Matchlock, Dick Reptile, a bencher at an inn, and the author—only five members. This club idea was certainly one of the least original devices of Steele. The contemporary *British Apollo* was published as "By a Society of Gentlemen." This, in turn, was foreshadowed by Defoe's Scandalous Club, in the *Review*. Earliest of all was the group in the *Mercurius Eruditorum* of 1691—a contentious trio of critics, Alexis, Philemon, and Theodore. The matter of this little serial was presented in dialogue form, the three critics being the speakers. The design of the work, as revealed in the first dialogue, was that each speaker should give the other two, at the time of their regular meeting (supposedly Tuesday), an account of the books he had read during the week preceding. Successive numbers followed the plan outlined, the three critics arguing the merits of the books they had read, in a manner worthy of participants in Blackwood's famous *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, more than a hundred years later. The *Mercurius Eruditorum* thus contains the earliest important anticipation of the "club."

Closely connected with the "club" idea in periodicals, and further important, as possible sources of some of the various "characters" to be found in the *Tatler*, were the *Weekly Comedy*, the *Diverting Post*, and the *Humours of the Coffee-house*.<sup>2</sup> Several writers have pointed out Steele's possible indebtedness to Edward Ward's *London Spy*, 1798, which contained well drawn

<sup>2</sup> These earlier periodicals were naturally influenced by the character writing of La Bruyère, Earle, Overbury, and others, even more than the *Tatler*. Kinship had long existed between the character and essay forms, since essayist<sup>3</sup> found the character a convenient device for making pictures or lessons concrete and impressive. Professor Baldwin has shown how Steele and Addison individualized, while still leaving characters general enough to be recognizable. He has also shown that Overbury's Country Gentleman has something in common with Sir Roger de Coverley (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, 75-114.)

sketches of London types. Little or nothing has been said about the *Weekly Comedy*, "as it is daily acted at the Coffee-Houses in London," a weekly half sheet (1699) also credited to Ward. This serial announced its *dramatis personæ* at the top of the first page. They were:

Snarl, a disbanded captain	Squabble, a lawyer
Truck, a merchant	Whim, a projector
Scribble, a newswriter	Log, a mariner
All-craft, a turncoat	Scan-all, a poet
Cant, a precision	Plush, a quack
Snap, a sharper	Prim, a beau

Prim is easily seen to be akin to Dapper, Beau Pert, or Sir Taffety Trippet of the *Tatler*. Snap, Snarl, and Squabble are types common among the multitude of Steele's and Addison's creations. Five years later, the *Diverting Post* of Henry Playford contained dialogues spoken by such "characters" as Mr. Blunt and Mr. Grumbleton, or Mr. Stingy and Mr. Freeman. It is reasonable to suppose that Steele and Addison were familiar with these periodicals. They may have been influenced by them, as well as by Ward's *Humours of the Coffee-House* of 1707, which employed a *dramatis personæ* of sixteen characters, eight of them identical with those of the *Weekly Comedy*.

John Dunton declared in 1691 that he purposed to have the *Athenian Mercury* "lye for common chatt and entertainment in every coffee-house board"—and his purpose was probably realized at most of such resorts in London. With this early suggestion, and with the additional examples of two periodicals designed to relate the humors of the coffee houses, in 1699 and 1707, it is easy to guess why Steele wished to make his *Tatler* a coffee house and tavern oracle.<sup>3</sup> He had learned from his predecessors the value of this club and tavern business.

The *English Lucian* of 1698, already mentioned, gave considerable space to satirical comments on "Partridge John, a foreteller of things." The *Infallible Astrologer*, a weekly periodical of 1700, was signed by one who called himself "Sylvester Partridge," and regaled the public with salacious "prophesie and predictions of what shall infallibly happen in and about the cities of London and Westminster." This was

<sup>3</sup> See also the early *Coffee-House Mercury* of 1690, a newspaper.

undoubtedly another effort to make sport of John Partridge, the later butt of Swift and Steele. A third periodical, appearing also in 1700, the *Jesting Astrologer*, further indicates that Steele was following well established precedent in his systematic abuse of Partridge, in the lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff.<sup>4</sup> Most writers have been satisfied to refer only to the pamphlets of Swift in this connection, but the fact that at least three earlier periodicals than the *Tatler* had made Partridge a subject of jest is certainly deserving of consideration.

Steele, in including verse in the columns of the *Tatler*, was merely doing what many periodical writers had done before him. In now and then venturing to comment on a book or author, in the *Tatler* or *Spectator*, he was following the broad path laid out by such serials as the *Universal Historical Bibliothek* of 1686, the *Mercurius Eruditorum* of 1691, the *Moderator* of 1692, and the *Muses Mercury* of 1707-8. The minds of English readers were well prepared for the reforming tone of Steele and Addison, by the serials of De la Crose, Dunton, John Tutchin, and Defoe. Even the news elements in journals primarily designed for entertainment were not unprecedented, as is shown by Motteux's *Gentlemen's Journal*, 1692, Dunton's *Post Angel* of 1701, Henry Playford's *Diverting Post*, and the *British Apollo*. Several writers on the subject have taken unnecessary pains to explain the dropping of new elements from the *Tatler*. The fact that the news was dropped from the *Gentleman's Journal*, *Post Angel*, and *Diverting Post* shows that this was not a remarkable circumstance, but rather the logical result of competition. The *Tatler* had to be one thing or the other—it chose to be a journal of entertainment rather than a newspaper. Like the contemporary *British Apollo*, it found that it could not compete with the regular newspapers without abandoning its more distinctive features, and it chose not to abandon them. The *Tatler* was not an isolated example, but was really one of four literary periodicals, within a period of ten years, which began with news elements, but gradually allowed these to be displaced by other kinds of matter.

The superiority of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* over all preceding English periodicals is beyond question. Although unoriginal

<sup>4</sup> See especially *Tatler*, Nos. 1, 56, 59, 96, 118, 216.

in form and tone and in the nature of their contents, the periodicals of Steele and Addison revealed to English readers a better quality of literary journalism. It is now well understood that these writers gradually developed the periodical essay out of the section of the *Tatler* entitled "From My Own Apartment." They thus produced in its highest form the essay serial, but it is not wholly true that they created a new type of periodical—the single-essay type. Many of the earlier half sheet folios consisted of single essays. Probably the best early example is the *Weekly Entertainer* of 1700. The one extant number is filled with an essay containing a moral dream narrative, not very different from many to be found in numbers of the *Spectator*—or even in the later numbers of the *Tatler*. Thomas Baker's *Female Tatler*, which was set up three months after Steele began the *Tatler*, consisted from the beginning of a single essay, dated "From My Own Apartment." This *Female Tatler* was undoubtedly the most serious rival of Steele's publication. It is surely significant that Steele, soon after the appearance of Baker's serial, gradually abandoned all other departments, until—a few months before the end—most of the numbers of the *Tatler* consisted of single essays, under the heading "From My Own Apartment."

Steele was a good journalist. He gave his readers what he knew they liked to read. It is reasonable to believe that, before setting up a new periodical, he made himself intimately acquainted with all the methods and devices of Motteux, Dunton, Defoe, and others of his more successful predecessors. Moreover, there could have been no uncertainty in his mind as to the tone of his publication nor the kind of matter that should fill his columns. De la Crose, Dunton, and Defoe had popularized the corrective tone. Manners and morals, matters of human conduct and social relations, had long been the subjects of discussion by writers of periodicals. For example, the genial observations of Steele regarding the worth of family ties and the delights of conjugal felicity find certain anticipations in the *Ladies Mercury* of 1694 and the *Memoirs of the Curious* of 1701. In its subject matter, the *Tatler* shows constantly the influence of Ned Ward's wit and comment on London life, the reforming urge of Dunton, Defoe, and Tutchin, Motteux's miscellaneous entertainment, and the increasing tendency

to comment on books and writers illustrated in the *History of Learning*, 1691, the *Compleat Library*, 1692, and the *Monthly Miscellany* of 1707-8.

In short, it may be said that everything in the evolution of the literary periodical in England leads up to the *Tatler*. With equal truth it may be remarked that there is hardly a single trait manifested in the *Tatler* that is not somehow illustrated in its predecessors.

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WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT AND JAKOB WASSERMANN

To the short list of the Americans who have directly influenced German authors of the last two centuries we may add now the historian William H. Prescott. His *Conquest of Peru* is apparently not widely known in Germany; at least, the extent to which a recent volume of Jakob Wassermann, one of the leading German novelists of our day, is indebted to Prescott's classic work, is apt to make this impression.

Wassermann's *Der Geist des Pilgers*, published in 1923,<sup>1</sup> was received with great enthusiasm by critics and by the public in Germany.<sup>2</sup> Of the three short stories which the volume contains, the first, *Das Gold von Caxamalca*, is of particular interest to the American reader.

Wassermann was probably inspired by Eduard Stucken's remarkable novel, *Die weissen Goetter* (1918-19); the principle that he had in mind while writing the first story of *Der Geist des Pilgers* appears in the concluding sentences of his suggestive essay on Stucken's work: "Die Geschichte ist ein graesslicher Gespenstertanz, gleichwohl ward ihr . . . die Machtvollkommenheit verliehen, ihre hervorragendsten Verbrechen unter dem Namen von Heldentaten fuer die sogenannte Unsterblichkeit zu praeparieren. Es ist gut, wenn Dichter aufstehen, die diese Luegen entschleiern."<sup>3</sup> *Das Gold von Caxamalca* is an example illustrative of these historic crimes; it deals with the tragic fate of the Inca Atahualpa who lost land and life at the hands of Pizarro and his adventurers. The Rousseauistic contrast between the innocence of primitive mankind and the corruption of a pseudo-Christian civilization is the *leit-motiv* of Wassermann's short story. It is to emphasize this contrast that he slightly modified the historical facts as presented by the American historian.

He stresses, with visible sympathy, the communistic features of Peru's feudal social system; he inserts two non-historical episodes (that of Prince Curacas; and partly the banquet of

<sup>1</sup> Wien-Leipzig-Muenchen, Rikola Verlag.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Guido K. Brand's article in *Die schoene Literatur*, XXV (1924), p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> *Der historische Roman in Deutschland* in *Die Literatur*, XXVI (1923), p. 434.



the Inca with his ancestors); he depicts the Inca as a gentle sufferer, and, perhaps in order to lay stress on the cruelty of the *Conquistadors*, in his version Atahualpa is not strangled as according to Prescott, but is executed by an *auto da fé*.

These are about all the changes which appear in Wassermann's version. He puts the narrative in the mouth of a Spanish knight who, tormented by scruples at his own crimes and those of his fellow-adventurers, retired into a convent thirteen years after the Conquest. Apart from insignificant details and the moralizations of the repentant sinner, Wassermann faithfully followed Prescott in the plot, nay even he went too far in this respect: about two thirds of the *Gold von Caxamalca* is literally translated from Prescott's work. The lack of space does not permit me to cite all the passages which have originated in the *Conquest of Peru*, but a few quotations may illustrate the method of Wassermann:

#### The march of the Spaniards:

Das Wetter, das seit dem Morgen schon gewesen, liess jetzt Sturm befuerchten, bald auch begann Regen mit Hagel vermischt zu fallen, und es war kalt.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 13)

The weather, which had been fair during the day, now threatened a storm, and some rain mingled with hail—for it was unusually cold—began to fall.

(Prescott, *op. cit.*, Philadelphia, Lipincott, 1868, I, 394)

#### Entrance of the Spaniards in Caxamalca:

Niemand trat aus den Haeusern uns zu begruessen, wie wir es von den Gegenden an der Kueste gewohnt waren. Wir ritten durch die Strassen, ohne einem lebendigen Wesen zu begegnen und ohne einen Laut zu hoeren ausser den Hufschlaegen der Pferde und ihrem Echo.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.* p. 13-14)

As he drew near, no one came out to welcome him, and he rode through the streets without meeting with a living thing or hearing a sound except the echoes sent back from the deserted dwellings of all the tramp of the soldiery.

(Prescott, *op. cit.*, p. 392)

#### Reception of the adventurers by the Inca:

Atahualpa erwiderte nichts. Keine Miene und kein Blick liess merken, dass er die Rede verstanden habe. Seine Lider waren gesenkt.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 17)

To all this Atahualpa answered not a word; nor did he make even a sign that he comprehended it. . . . He remained silent, with his eyes fastened on the ground.

(Prescott, *op. cit.*, p. 398)

The entire third chapter of Wassermann (o.c., p. 15-20) is almost literally taken from Prescott, pp. 394-400, f.i.:

Da gewahrte de Soto, dass der Inka das feurige Tier, auf dem er vor ihm sass und das unruhig an seinem Gebiss kaute und den Boden stampfte, mit grosser Aufmerksamkeit betrachtete. De Soto war immer eitel auf seine Reitkunst gewesen; es lockte ihn, sie zu zeigen, er dachte, auch dies werde einschuechternd auf den Fuersten wirken. Er liess dem Tier die Zuegel schiessen, gab ihm die Sporen und sprengte ueber den gepflasterten Platz hin. Dann riss er es herum und hielt in vollem Lauf jaeh an, indem er es fast auf die Hinterbeine warf, so nahe bei dem Inka, dass etwas von dem Schaum, der die Nuestern des Pferdes bedeckte, auf das koenigliche Kleid spritzte.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 19)

#### Pizarro's speech:

... indem er, wie schon so oft, das Unternehmen als Kreuzzug gegen die Unglaeubigen darstellte, entfachte er den verloeschenden Funken der Begeisterung.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 23)

Observing that Atahualpa looked with some interest on the fiery steed that stood before him, champing the bit and pawing the ground with the natural impatience of a war-horse, the Spaniard gave him the rein, and striking his iron heel into his side, dashed furiously over the plain. . . . Suddenly checking him in full career, he brought the animal almost on his haunches, so near the person of the Inca that some of the foam that flecked his horse's sides was thrown on the royal garments.

(Prescott, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400)

... by presenting the enterprise as a crusade, kindled the dying embers of enthusiasm in the bosoms of his followers.

(Prescott *op. cit.*, p. 402)

#### The legend of the origin of the Peruvians:

Da spuerte die Sonne, die grosse Leuchte und Mutter der Menschheit, Erbarmen mit seinem niedrigen Zustand und sandte zwei seiner Kinder aus, dass sie ihm die Segnungen des gesitteten Lebens bringen sollten. Das ueberirdische Paar, Bruder und Schwester, zugleich Gatte und Gattin, zog ueber die Ebenen, etc.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 31)

The Sun, the great luminary and parent of mankind, taking compassion on their degraded condition, sent two of his children, Manco Capac and Mama Oello Huaco, to gather the natives into communities and teach them the arts of civilization. The celestial pair, brother and sister, husband and wife, advanced along the high plains, etc.

(Prescott *op. cit.*, p. 8)

### The arrival of the Peruvians:

Aber erst um Mittag wurden die Peruaner auf der breiten Kunststrasse sichtbar. Voran schritten zahlreiche Diener, deren Amt es war, den Weg von jedem auch dem kleinsten Hindernis zu saubern, Steinen, Tieren und Blaettern. Hoch ueber der Menge sass Atahualpa, den acht der vornehmsten Edelleute auf den Schultern trugen, waehrend sechzehn auf jeder Seite, ueberaus kostbar gekleidet, nebenher schritten.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 39)

It was noon before the Indian procession was on its march, when it was seen occupying the causeway for a long extent. In front came a large body of attendants, whose office seemed to be to sweep away every particle of rubbish from the road. High above the crowd appeared the Inca, borne on the shoulders of his principal nobles, while others of the same rank marched on the sides of his litter. . . .

(Prescott, *oc. cit.*, p. 410)

### The promises of Atahualpa:

Der General und wir andern vernahmen es schweigend, und als Atahualpa keine Antwort erhielt, fuegte er mit groesserem Nachdruck hinzu, dass er nicht bloss den Fussboden bedecken, etc.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 64)

Those present listened with an incredulous smile; and, as the Inca received no answer, he said, with some emphasis, that "he would not merely cover the floor," etc.

(Prescott, *op. cit.*, p. 432)

### Beginning of Chapter 13:

Kaum war das Uebereinkommen getroffen als der Inka Eilboten nach allen Teilen seines Reiches mit dem Befehl schickte, dass man die goldenen Geraete und Gefaesse aus den koeniglichen Palaesten, den Tempeln und Gaerten und oeffentlichen Gebaeuden fortnehmen und ohne Saeumen nach Caxamalca bringen solle.

(Wassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 68)

No sooner was this arrangement made than the Inca despatched couriers to Cuzco and the other principal places in the kingdom, with orders that the gold ornaments and utensils should be removed from the royal palaces and other public buildings, and transported without loss of time to Caxamalca.

(Prescott, *op. cit.*, p. 434)

It is not necessary to go on quoting Wassermann's phrase of Prescott. Picturesque epithets, entire paragraphs were borrowed without a single reference to the American author. Even in the concluding chapters which describe the last hours of the Inca and belong to the few original parts of the short story, there are passages which only an exaggerated euphemism would call reminiscences (description of the Inca's banquet with his ancestors; Wassermann, *o.c.*, p. 125, Prescott, *o.c.*, pp. 33-35).

It is evident that this time Wassermann was wrong. There was no need of "a poet to demask a historic crime." Prescott anticipated him eighty years ago, and it is queer that Wassermann has found the words to vent his wrath at the collapse of an "idyllic" civilization in the text of the American author. His taste was undoubtedly good, but his punctuation was sadly defective; by a deplorable carelessness, he all too often forgot to place the quotation marks.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTES

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**THE LIFE OF SOLITUDE**, by Francis Petrarch. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Jacob Zeitlin. University of Illinois Press. Pp. 316. \$7.50.

Although widely read in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the many manuscripts attest, Petrarch's treatise *De Vita Solitaria* has been almost entirely ignored during the last three hundred years. Of the printed texts, all grossly inaccurate, only that of Basle is easy to obtain. A wretched paraphrase into Italian was made for Lorenzo the Magnificent by Tito degli Strozzi, the Venetian governor of Romagna, and a Spanish translation, now inaccessible, was written a century later, but the work has never before been rendered into French, German, or English. Yet it has no small historical and literary importance. Its main theses, modified by a deep romantic tinge, were disseminated widely by Zimmermann's *Einsamkeit*. Gustav Koerting has called it "the first literary document to show the break with mediaeval and the beginning of modern thought." (*Geschichte der Litteratur Italiens im Zeitalter der Renaissance* I, 579.) The treatise was written *con amore* after years of preparation and contains more passages of fervid eloquence, rising at times into real beauty, than any other of its author's writings in Latin prose. It is second only to the "*Secretum*" in the light it throws upon one of the most enigmatic lives and minds in the history of literature.

Considering the importance of the work he has undertaken, it is to be regretted that Mr. Zeitlin has not approached his task more respectfully. His book frequently shows marked charm of style, and nearly everywhere in it there is a pleasing effect of continuity by no means easy to obtain in translating Petrarch. The translation, however, as Mr. Dino Bigongiari has already shown (*The Romanic Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, p. 89 ff.), is replete with errors. Some of these are attributable to the very defective text, that of Basle, upon which he has depended too confidently, attempting no collation with the texts of Venice or of Berne. Mr. Zeitlin has made no use, apparently, of the numerous manuscripts, although there are three in the British Museum and eleven in the Vatican, one of which was almost certainly corrected under Petrarch's supervision. In his notes he has done little more than name the sources of his author's more easily traceable quotations. Sentences and paragraphs in which Petrarch paraphrases earlier writers or quotes without reference are left to stand without comment as Petrarch's own. Many obscure passages are left

unelucidated. Postponing consideration of all matters in which there is room for divergent opinion, we must conclude, in view of the deficiencies in notes and translation alone, that the book falls short of what we might reasonably have expected.

Mr. Bigongiari's list of the errors in translation, which fills four closely printed pages of his review, is not intended as exhaustive. One example may be given of the sort of thing he has omitted. In the third chapter of the second tractate in Book I Petrarch writes that there is borne into the hall of his Busy Man of the World "*vina priscis calcata Coss.*" (So the words stand, at any rate, in the Basle edition.) In Mr. Zeitlin's translation (p. 113) this phrase is rendered "wine trodden in ancient Cos." To achieve this result the translator had to ignore the number of the adjective, had to forget a stereotyped expression, and had to leave out of account the better texts and manuscripts, in which the words are "*vina priscis calcata consulibus.*"

As Mr. Bigongiari says nothing in his review about the translation of Petrarch's "Foreword," which occupies a folio page and a half in the Basle edition, a few notes upon that passage may be given here. In translation of *neque fictionem si qua esset tamdiu tegi potuisse arbitror* Mr. Zeitlin writes (p. 97) "nor do I think that if there were any simulation it could hold sway there for so long," reading *regi* instead of *tegi* in defiance of context. *Moderantibus vulgi sensibus atque auribus abhorrentes* becomes (p. 97) "alien from the vulgar horde which regulates everything by its sensations" . . . a passage in which the translator's difficulties are not confined to the Latin. In the last paragraph of l. 98 *in dubiis* is translated by the word "clearly." Even if there were authority for the reading *indubius* it would not give this adverbial sense. *Primitias vigilarum* is inadequately rendered (p. 99) by "first-fruits of my labor." At the top of p. 100 the sense of a passage in which Petrarch says that men are remembered after death only for their written words is misrepresented in the translation of *sermo* by "speech" and "conversation," for the context, in which the author addresses his own mind and pen, makes it clear that the less common sense of *sermo* is intended. In the same passage Petrarch says: *Persuasisset forsitan ut et sibi et mihi et famae nostrae parcerent*, which becomes (p. 100) "I might perhaps have persuaded people to spare themselves and me and my good name." But there is nothing in the original about "people." The author is still speaking of his own mind and pen—*animum et calamus*—and it is to these that *sibi* refers. Somewhat farther on Petrarch takes a fling at the pedants of his time *qui quieturum libenter Aristotelem ventilantes per compita cuneatim vulgo mirante praetereunt*. This becomes: "They go about airing their Aristotle at street-crossings while the common

people crowd gaping about them." By ignoring *quieturum libenter* and *cuneatim* the translator loses nearly all the sparkle and vigor of Petrarch's sentence. Similar faults are so frequent throughout the book that we may fairly apply to the present translator the words he has written, quite justly, of his predecessor, Tito degli Strozzi: "He often renders the sense of his original very loosely, and is inclined . . . to disregard difficulties in the text with a gentlemanly freedom."

The task Mr. Zeitlin had before him was not merely to render Petrarch's Latin into English but to make Petrarch's thought fully accessible to the modern reader. It cannot be said that he has done this. His thoughtful and scholarly Introduction, although it contains much acute critical analysis and an able résumé of the history of thought about solitude and kindred topics before Petrarch's time, does not serve the purpose at all completely. Ample annotation of the text itself, the work being what it is, should have been recognized and accepted as an obligation. There is always, of course, much latitude between the needs of different readers in this regard, but scholars who have spent their lives in the study of mediaeval literature would require, for full understanding of Petrarch's treatise, far more information than Mr. Zeitlin gives, and his book was made for a body of readers who need more still. Dealing with a long mediaeval text which has never before been translated into English or edited in any way, with a book into which a very learned man poured forth his erudition, he has written only six notes of an explanatory nature, and these are of little value. The other notes, which name the sources from which Petrarch quotes, are far from complete. One feels that the total effect would be better if there were no notes at all, for then it would have been obvious at a glance that Mr. Zeitlin had attempted only a part—really only a small part—of the task before him. The inadequacy of the notes he has written may be shown by enumerating a few of the problems he has done nothing to clear up.

The *De Vita Solitaria* is an enormous letter addressed to Philip de Cabassolles, Petrarch's bishop and neighbor and friend at Vacluse. Mr. Zeitlin enumerates a few of Philip's titles, such as may be derived from Petrarch's form of address, but he says nothing about the man's vivid and varied life. He does not tell us that Petrarch was closely associated with Philip during the latter's highly unsuccessful incursion into secular affairs as regent of Naples. For some months of 1343-44 the two men lived together in that city in the midst of intrigue, corruption, and brutality. Philip resigned his office in disgust and returned to Vacluse late in 1345. It was in Lent of 1346 that Petrarch began his epistle which, at least ostensibly, is designed to convince his friend of the hopeless depravity of cities, the futility of

all efforts to help the world, and the superior advantages of solitude. Petrarch mentions this Naples experience only by one covert allusion, but he had it constantly in mind and expected his friend to contrast Naples with his quiet diocese of Cavaillon. Here we have the immediate actuating cause of the writing of this treatise. It is true, however, that Petrarch's interest in the subject was of long standing, as we learn from *Familiare* III, 5.

On pp. 100-101 of the translation Petrarch pays his respects to the pedants of his time in just the manner of renescent humanism. A reference to his *Liber de sui Ipsius et Multorum Ignorantia* and a brief indication of his attitude toward Aristotelians and Averroists would have helped us to understand a passage which, without such assistance, is somewhat perplexing.

"I shall appear to have attained the ultimate goal of all eloquence—to have moved the mind of my listener according to my wish" (p. 106) is obviously related to Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 100: *Et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunt*. But where Petrarch does not indicate that he is quoting Mr. Zeitlin usually gives us, as here, no note, so that we get little help from him toward the understanding of a main feature of his author's prose style.

"I am aware," says Petrarch (p. 106 of the translation), "that certain holy men have written much on this theme. In particular, the renowned Basil has composed a little book in praise of the life of solitude. . . . As I have met with it in some very old manuscripts thrust in among the writings of Peter Damianus, I have been doubtful whether it was the work of Basil or of Peter." Here, certainly, is matter to stir the mettle of any editor, and Mr. Zeitlin writes upon it the longest of all his notes; viz., "The work here referred to was printed by Jean Lambert in Paris, without a date, along with three other treatises on the solitary life, and entitled '*Libellus pulcherrimus sancti Basilii de laude Solitarie vite*.' The editor of the collection, while he assents in the traditional ascription to Basil, mentions also the claims of Gregory the Great and of Pietro Damiano and concludes that it may be safest to share the uncertainty of Petrarch concerning the authorship." After a few words about the non-Basilian character of the treatise, Mr. Zeitlin also decides to share that uncertainty, showing thereby somewhat less than his author's bibliographic zeal, for a brief search through the indices of Migne's *Patrologia* would have sufficed for the discovery that the treatise mentioned by Petrarch, printed by Jean Lambert, and copied by dozens of mediæval scribes, is merely Chapter 19 of the eleventh *opusculum* of Pietro Damiano, taken from its context. This, to be sure, would have been a small discovery, but it would have enabled the editor to write a note of real authority instead of merely stopping an obvious gap.



The vivid and spirited description of the Busy Man's *prandium* (a word which Mr. Zeitlin translates "dinner") on pp. 112-115, contains some very interesting touches, due to Petrarch's own observation at mediæval feasts. In all of the larger details, however, it follows very closely the eighth and thirteenth chapters of St. Ambrose *De Elia et Jejunio*, although a few suggestions are taken from the fifth and eleventh of Juvenal's satires. The absence of any note leaves the reader to assume, as usual, that the entire passage was original with Petrarch.

On pp. 113-114 we read this really remarkable description of the Busy Man's table: "Amidst such an impure mixture of divers and mutually hostile ingredients, amidst all these yellow and black and blue condiments, the busy taster not without reason looks for the suspected poison, though against hidden treachery another kind of remedy has been found. Between the wine and the food there shoot forth the livid crests of serpents cunningly twisted among golden branches, and as though by a voluptuary, device Death itself wonderfully stands on guard against the death of the miserable man." To most readers of Mr. Zeitlin's book, one ventures to say, it will seem surprising that any man should choose to adorn his dinner table in this way, but Mr. Zeitlin does not find the matter worthy of the slightest attention. Ignorant readers may ask what kind of serpents' crests are involved, how and why they are twisted among golden branches, and just how, in any case, they can be a "remedy" against treachery. To such obstinate questionings ignorant readers get no answer. Mr. Zeitlin addresses his book, apparently, to those who have the darkest arcana of mediæval magic and medicine at their fingers' ends, who know the lore of the cerastes' crest, the unicorn's horn, the griffon's claw, the raven's foot, and all the other means employed in the middle ages for the detection of poison at the table. Those of his readers who are not thus equipped will find the questions raised by Petrarch's striking picture answered by: Albertus Magnus *De Animalibus*, Liber XXV; Pietro de Abano *De Venenis*, I, 4; Ardoynus *De Venenis*, 1555, pp. 7-10; Thomas Bartholinus *De Unicornu*, p. 218; and Cardinal Ponzetto, *Libellus de Venenis*, II, 1, 4.

On p. 115 we read: "He [the Solitary] knows that no poison is poured into his vessels." This is to translate: *scit non spargi venena fictilibus*. Here is one of the several touches of epigram which the translator misses entirely, for *fictilibus* means not "vessels," merely, but "vessels of earthenware," and Petrarch uses the word intentionally to point the contrast with the golden and gem-studded vessels of the Busy Man which he has just described. The sentence is mentioned here because Mr. Zeitlin might well have pointed out the speech in Seneca which obviously gave hints for Petrarch's entire passage—the speech containing the line *Venenum in auro bibitur* (*Thyestes* 453)

The description of the Solitary's house and table, p. 116, was suggested, together with much else in this section of the book, by Cyprian's famous epistle *Ad Donatum*, which Mr. Zeitlin mentions only in naming the source of a direct quotation.

On p. 120 we read of "Plato's saying that he disliked to fill up twice a day." One does not remember any such saying as this in Plato. A note stating that Petrarch's words are quoted verbatim from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* V. 35 would have been helpful.

The long passage on pp. 122-24, in which Petrarch condemns those who do evil in the service of others, would have been given additional interest and piquancy by a note reminding the reader of Petrarch's own attempt, at the behest of the Visconti, to dislodge Fra Bussolari from the power he had gained for the people of Pavia against the tyrannical Beccaria. Philip de Cabassolles had been guilty of the same fault in his attempt to collect "Peter's Pence" in Germany.

On p. 124 we read of a certain terrible anathema of the Cretans which consists in a prayer that "their enemies may find delight in evil companionship." Mr. Zeitlin does not tell us that this passage is quoted verbatim from Valerius Maximus, *Fact. et Dict. Memorab.*, VIII, 2, 18.

No note informs the reader that the sentence which Petrarch explicitly calls an expression of his own opinion (top of p. 125) is taken almost word for word from Seneca *De Brevitate Vitae*, XIX, 3.

On p. 126, in a passage condemning hypocrites, we read: "I could barely refrain from inserting here the satirist's biting tooth in a way which would be decidedly to the point, but I recalled to whom I was addressing myself and decided to sacrifice a vanity of style rather than to be wanting in true respect." This is a very misleading translation of the original: *vix temperare mihi potui quo minus unum Satyrici dentis morsum huic loco valde, nisi fallor, congruentem interponerem; sed cogitans ad quem mihi sermo est, stylo potius aliquid quam verecundiæ subtrahendum credidi*. Mr. Zeitlin forgets, apparently, that Petrarch habitually refers to Juvenal as "Satyricus," and so he has not seen that his author does not refer here to a contemplated satirical remark of his own but to a quotation from Juvenal. The most important manuscript of the *De Vita Solitaria*, had the translator examined it, would have been just here of great assistance, for in the margin against the present passage a former owner, probably the first, of what is now Vatican 3357 has written: *Scito [i.e., sciscita] quis locus sit quem supprimit*. And below this is written in the same hand but in another ink: *Dixit esse versus Juvenalis. et de virtute locuti, etc.* The person who made this note must have applied to Petrarch himself for the information received. We have the best reason to believe, therefore,

that the passage Petrarch leaves out because he does not think it fit for episcopal ears is that beginning with the twentieth line of Juvenal's second satire. Knowing this, we see that Mr. Zeitlin's translation is wrong in another way, for there can be no question here of "vanity of style." Petrarch has avoided another kind of immodesty. The sentence in Juvenal is obscene.

We have thus considered some thirty pages of the two hundred and twenty to which the translation extends. It will be possible to point out only the more serious gaps in annotation in the rest of the book.

On p. 149 Mr. Zeitlin translates what is certainly one of the most poignant and at the same time amusing expressions of "agoraphobia" in literature—a passage which seems to bring before us the very image of the sensitive poet as he walked the crowded streets of Milan and Avignon, shrinking with high-bred disgust from the public notice without which he could not live. Yet, this entire passage, which the editor leaves his unwary reader to suppose is Petrarch's own, rests even in minute details upon Jerome's *Regula Monachorum*, X., and indirectly upon Juvenal's third satire. This fact, like many others of the same nature, is by no means a negligible bit of information. Petrarch's revealing and characteristic habit of expressing his own deepest convictions, and even emotions, in the words of other men, often without naming his source, can scarcely be too frequently pointed out, for out of it grew in large part one of the main traits of Latin prose style in the Renaissance.

On p. 151 and ff. we have a long passage upon the "divine honors awarded to the inventors of certain arts," which, as usual, we are given to suppose is entirely Petrarch's. Every essential idea in it is derived from Lactantius' *Divina Institutiones* I, 14, ff., Seneca's nineteenth epistle, and Augustine's *Civitas Dei* II, 14, 15. The editor does not tell us that Petrarch's interest in the distinction between the mechanical and the liberal arts, here developed, was of long standing. In *Fam.* VI, 2 he had promised Giovanni Colonna to write a book on the subject, and in *Fam.* X, 2 he dilates upon it to his brother Gerard.

On p. 155 is a passage quoted from Quintilian opposed to the solitary life which Petrarch sets himself to combat. To an editor, at least, it should be interesting that in his own copy of Quintilian, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Petrarch wrote in the margin against this passage: *Respondebis in tractatu vite solitarie*. And below this are the words: *Feci ut potui*. This fact is noted by Pierre de Nolhac in his *Petrarque et l'Humanisme*, a work of which Mr. Zeitlin has made strangely little use.

In the first tractate of his Second Book Petrarch mentions very briefly, for the most part, some thirty Christian hermits of Egypt and Asia Minor. His discussion of them is extremely

hasty and superficial for the expressed reason that they were all well known to most of those who would read his book in his own time. Assuming, perhaps, that they will be familiar to modern readers also, or perhaps that they are not of sufficient interest to warrant attention, Mr. Zeitlin has not burdened his page with additional information concerning any one of them. He does not even tell us where such information may be had or from what sources Petrarch drew. Those sources were: the *Vita Patrum*, ascribed in Petrarch's time entirely to Jerome, the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius; the Athanasian *Vita Antonii*, and Jerome's *Epistolæ, Contra Jovinianum*, and *Regula Monachorum*. To the *Acta Sanctorum*, in which the sources of nearly all Petrarch's knowledge of later Christian hermits may be found, Mr. Zeitlin makes no single reference.

No comment of any sort is made concerning Petrarch's violent onslaught upon women (p. 205 ff.), either to say that it is quoted entire with enthusiastic approval by Boccaccio in his *De Genealogia Deorum* IV, 4, 4, or that it all rests upon Jerome *Contra Jovinianum*.

On pp. 208-209 there is a passage of unusual fervor about certain alleged visits paid by St. Ambrose, "who was already a bishop," to St. Martin during the latter's retirement at Milan. One might reasonably expect a note pointing out that Petrarch is either romancing here or else, more probably, depending upon local tradition, for such visits can never have taken place. St. Martin's brief stay at Milan must have been before 360 (V. Sulpitius' *Vita*, VI), and in that year Ambrose was a law student twenty years of age. He was not made bishop until 374.

Mr. Zeitlin does not tell us that the chapter on St. Romuald (p. 226 ff.) was composed long after the rest of the book was finished, and possibly in the last year of the author's life. On the first page of his Preface he says that Petrarch "had apparently put the finishing touches to his treatise in 1356 (there are only slight traces of later additions)." It may be that Mr. Zeitlin would regard this chapter, which fills five pages of his translation, as a "slight trace," but, even so, his statement would still be erroneous, as I shall show later. The fact that the Romuald chapter is a late interpolation is shown by Petrarch's *Senilia* XVI, 3, and also by the manuscripts. Six of the eleven manuscripts in the Vatican do not contain it. In Vat. 3357 it appears on the recto of folio 14 in a hand which has been thought by some scholars to be the author's own, and which, at any rate, is quite different from any of the other three or four that appear elsewhere in the same manuscript. That this leaf, the verso of which is blank, was inserted after the completion of the manuscript, is shown by the fact that the chapter it contains does not fit exactly into its place between the Carloman and Damiani chapters, the correct position being indicated by marginalia.

Mr. Zeitlin says nothing to explain Petrarch's impassioned defense of the abdication of Celestine V. If he himself realizes how profoundly that event, with its tragi-comic antecedents and romantic consequences, once stirred men's minds and hearts, he does not help his reader to such a realization. (The facts have been brought together in the memorial volume *Celestino V ed il Centenario della sua incoronazione*, Aquila, 1894.) The chief of several reasons for the manifest enthusiasm of this chapter is that Petrarch here has in mind no less a person than Dante as his ideal antagonist. Dante had placed Celestine in hell for his abdication, actuated thereto by political considerations, and this was in itself sufficient reason for Petrarch—who had also his political motives of another kind—to place him high among the saints. Failing to observe this, Mr. Zeitlin has missed entirely what is by far the most interesting literary allusion in the whole treatise. After mentioning Celestine's abdication at the opening of the chapter (II, 3, 18), Petrarch says: *Quod factum . . . vilitati animi quisquis volet attribuat*. There can be no doubt whatever that this is a covert reference to Dante and to the line (*Inferno* III, 60) in which Celestine V is characterized as *colui che fece per villade il gran rifiuto*.

On p. 238 we hear of two volumes concerning Peter the Hermit "written in a passable style and in the vulgar tongue." In accordance with his editorial policy, Mr. Zeitlin does not tell us what books these were, and, indeed, it would be difficult to do so. If we accept the translation of *stylo tolerabili et sermone vulgari*, we may hold that the reference is to some such popular poem as the *Chanson d'Antioch*, which tells Peter's story in full. But if, as seems more fitting, we interpret *sermo vulgaris* as meaning the Latin language unadorned and somewhat unscholarly, we may then suppose that Petrarch refers to the two main sources of information about Peter: William of Tyre's *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, 1175, and the *Historia Hierosolymitane Expeditionis*, 1125, by Albert of Aix. A third possibility would be the *Historia Belli Sacri*, 1140.

The reader will recall Mr. Zeitlin's statement, quoted above, that Petrarch finished his treatise in 1356, "there being only slight traces of later additions." This statement is based upon the opinion expressed by Fracassetti in his note upon *Varia* XIV. Unfortunately, however, Fracassetti himself had failed to observe that much of the fourth tractate of the second book must be referred to a later date than this. In this tractate we have a long and impassioned appeal to the Pope and Emperor for a new Crusade, together with a stern denunciation of the cowardice and selfishness Petrarch thought they showed in failing to organize one. This tractate is the most interesting and important passage in the whole work because it deals with contemporary events. It contains a clear reference to the capture of

John of France at Poitiers, 1356, and to the Treaty of London, signed in 1359. There is also a statement (p. 241) that France and England have been at war for five lustres. Dating the Hundred Years' War from Edward's invasion of the Netherlands in 1339, we get 1363 as the year in which this passage was most probably composed. It happens, moreover, that at Easter of that year the kings of Cyprus and of France were at Avignon, actively planning with Pope Urban for a new crusade. But, then intervened the Pope's quarrel with Bernabo Visconti, King John returned to Paris, and the King of Cyprus was left to fit out an expedition at his own expense which soon came to nothing. Other parts of this fourth tractate were written, perhaps, as early as 1356, but the passage as a whole certainly belongs to a later time.

Upon this entire tractate, which bristles with difficulties of many kinds, Mr. Zeitlin has written three notes which inform us that certain quotations are taken from Lucan, Virgil, and Cicero, respectively. To show the effect of this I shall quote a paragraph which he leaves entirely without explanation: "The greater Spanish lord out of cowardice permits his brothers within his territory (alas, the shame!), wickedly to blaspheme the majesty of Christ on a narrow rock. The one who occupies our seacoast thirsts for and thinks about nothing but the gold in Venice and the blood of Genoa, being at the behest of avarice the satellite of one and the enemy of the other, bound by one party with gold, conquered by the other with steel. But, the remotest of the kings has been deafened by the sound of the ocean waves advancing and receding, and from his great distance he does not hear our sighs, but, being buried in the extreme West, has no care for what the East is doing." Now in the first place the words which are here translated "Spanish lord" are *Hispanus hæreticus* in the better manuscripts. There is nothing here about this lord's "brothers" but about Friars rather, the words of the original being: *Hispanus ille major hæreticus per ignaviam sinit intra suos fines Fratres, proh pudor, angusto in scopulo . . . blasphemari*. But, aside from matters of translation, the reader who wishes to get sense from the page would like to know who this Spanish lord may be, who "his brothers" were, and why they should have chosen a "narrow rock" upon which to blaspheme. Who is "the one who occupies our seacoast," and what is the meaning of this dark allusion to the "gold in Venice and the blood of Genoa"? Who is "the remotest of the kings"? It cannot be said that these quotations are impertinent. A book in which questions of the sort are constantly arising and are never answered is at first a puzzle and finally exasperating. No great amount of research would have been necessary to discover that Petrarch refers here to Peter the Cruel of Castile, who was declared a heretic because of his refusal to drive off the robbers

who infested Avignon; to Peter IV of Aragon, who leagued with Venice in her war with Genoa, and to the King of Portugal, whom Genoa vainly tried to enlist on her side. Petrarch's sympathies, as we know from other evidence, were with Genoa in this struggle. The reference to *Fratres* is apparently to Martin Gonsalve and Nicholas of Calabria, who were burned to death by the Bishop of Toledo in 1360 for calling themselves the Angel Michael and the Son of God, respectively.

On p. 261 there is question concerning the authorship of a certain treatise, *De Moribus Brachmanorum*, which Petrarch found among the writings of St. Ambrose at Milan, and ascribed to the Saint. He thinks, however, that it does not smack of the style of Ambrose and conjectures that it is "the work of Palladius." Mr. Zeitlin is even less concerned with this question than he is with that about *De laude solitarie vite*, for he says nothing about it. It is evident from *Senilia* II, 4, however, that Petrarch rather prided himself upon the acumen he thought he had shown in discovering the false attribution to Ambrose. Furthermore, the work in question has a certain importance in the history of the transmission of Oriental thought to the western world. It is to be found in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* XVII, p. 1131, and is written not by but to a certain Palladius—not he of the Lausiac History but perhaps the Palladius who was later Bishop of Ireland. Its authorship cannot be determined. There is, however, another work on the topic, *De Gentibus India et Bragmanibus*, translated from the Greek, which has always been attributed to Palladius of Helenopolis. Petrarch seems to have confused this with the work falsely ascribed to Ambrose. These two treatises, together with the letters supposed to have passed between Dyndimus and Alexander, and also several quotations from Greek and Latin classics concerning the Brahmans, were published by Thomas Roycroft in London in 1688.

On p. 264 we read: "Even now, as I am writing this, there are found some among us, than whom no nation is more curious in exploring the earth, who assert that there is a man among the Hindoos of this character." Here, apparently, is an allusion to Italian travel in the East during the Fourteenth Century, a matter of interest. Some readers, it may be, would like to know, if possible, to what travelers Petrarch refers, but there is no note. Yet, we may be almost certain that these travelers were members of the Papal embassy led by John Marignola, of Florence, which set out from Avignon for the Orient in 1338 and returned in 1353 after making the greatest missionary effort of the Fourteenth Century and one of the most important of all mediæval journeys. John Marignola was living at Prague in May, 1356, when Petrarch arrived there on an embassy from Visconti, and he was probably in the imperial suite which Petrarch met at Mantua two years earlier.

In the course of a discussion of various philosophers who have retired into solitude, Petrarch says (p. 269): "Examine Parmenides and Atlas and you will find that they left their names in the mountains which they inhabited." The collocation of Parmenides and Atlas as fellow philosophers is interesting in itself, reminding us that Atlas was regarded by Ovid and others as an astronomer, but the implied reference to the Parmenidean mountains raises a difficulty which the editor does not even recognize. Vincent of Beauvais tells us (*Speculum Doctrinale* I, 29) that Parmenides spent fifteen years on a cliff in Egypt studying astronomy, and this tradition was so well established in the middle ages that he was called "Ægyptius." John of Salisbury (*Metalogica* II, 2) says that Parmenides spent his whole life on a cliff in Egypt. Together with this legend there may have grown up a belief in the existence of certain "Parmenidean mountains," situated either in Egypt or else in the general vicinity of Mt. Yaanek.

On p. 267 we are told about the Fortunate Isles. Our editor does not stop to remind those who have forgotten their Horace that these islands are today called the Canaries. He makes nothing whatever of Petrarch's references to recent voyages to those islands, which were in the poet's time the Farthest West, veritable islands of fortune and desire. Petrarch reminds his friend Philip that "recently Clement VI gave a prince to that country, a man of noble stock mixed of the royal blood of Spain and France, whom I once saw. You remember how, on the day when he went out to display himself in the city with crown and sceptre, a great rain suddenly poured out of the sky and he returned home so completely drenched that it was interpreted as an omen. . . . How he succeeded in that dominion situated outside the world I have not learned." As Petrarch's editor has not learned either, or at least does not inform us, it may be said that this ill-starred Prince of Fortune was Don Luis de la Cerda (or Corda), great-grandson of Saint Louis of France and of Alfonso the Wise. He prevailed upon the Pope to crown him King of the Canaries by agreeing to pay annual tribute of four hundred gold florins for lands to which the Apostolic See had no title. The coronation took place in December, 1344, at Avignon. The Pope's disposal of the Islands brought prompt protest from the kings of Portugal and of England. Luis delegated the subjugation of his realm to a Spanish adventurer who soon came to grief, and he was killed at Crecy two years after the coronation, having never seen his kingdom. The whole story, a complete historical romance in itself, is brilliantly told by Millares in *La Historia General de las Islas Canarias*, I, 3, 8.

The foregoing pages, although they can give only a faint suggestion of the shortcomings of Mr. Zeitlin's book in annota-



tion, will show at least that the *De Vita Solitaria* is crammed with forgotten lore of intrinsic interest which scarcely any scholar living has at his immediate command, and which, to the class of readers for whom the book is prepared, is almost utterly unknown. The policy of reducing annotation to a minimum, always sound, will not explain or justify the almost total absence of really explanatory notes in this book, for the minimum of annotation is always that amount which is necessary to render a given text intelligible to those for whom it is intended. Adequate annotation of the treatise would have taken many times the effort required in making even a thoroughly good translation.

As to the literary form of the work Mr. Zeitlin writes (p. 94): "Without knowing the word, perhaps without intending the thing, Petrarch wrote an essay. But, intentional or not, a number of the characteristic features of the essay are unmistakably present." The second sentence is strangely weaker than the first, implying a wise retraction of the indefensibly downright assertion. Dispute about a term so elastic as the word "essay" can lead to no definite result, and there seems to be no good reason why one should not call even Burton's *Anatomy* an essay if it pleases him to do so. The *De Vita Solitaria* is really a very long prose epistle of the Senecan type . . . no more and no less an essay, in form, than Seneca's *De Brevitate Vitæ*, which probably suggested its method and structure—a fact which Mr. Zeitlin does not mention.

In the Introduction there is an able discussion of the history of thought about solitude before Petrarch's time. This passage, necessarily brief and somewhat superficial as it is, helps the reader very considerably toward an intelligent reading of the treatise without in any way or degree atoning for the absence of suitable notes in the body of the book. Some of the material in this section, notably that upon Philo Judæus, of whom Petrarch probably never heard the name, is clearly extraneous, and one could wish for a somewhat more careful and extended treatment of Seneca, whose thought prevades the treatise. Mr. Zeitlin's estimate of the importance and significance of the *De Vita Solitaria* is, for the most part, careful and judicious. He sees that "if there is an important idea in the book it is . . . the establishment of self-cultivation as an adequate guiding motive in life." What he does not see is the full meaning that Petrarch would have given to the term "self-cultivation," if he had known it. He does not see the profound and pervasive importance of Christian thought and feeling in the book and in the man who wrote it, but feels, apparently, that the unmistakable Christian sentiments expressed on nearly every page of the treatise are merely perfunctory lip-service. Repelled, as he well may be, by Signor Giuseppe Bologna's refusal to see

anything but Christian mediævalism in Petrarch, he goes too far toward the other extreme.

In his words on this topic, indeed, Mr. Zeitlin is more cautious than clear, saying on p. 55 of his Introduction: "Doubtless it will be found that the *De Vita Solitaria* reflects the same confusion of tendencies, the same medley of contradictory ideals, that is evident in Petrarch's other writings. But it should not be difficult to distinguish between the revelation of a genuine mental attitude and the avowal, however sincere, of an accepted mode of thought." It is not clear to the present writer just what distinction Mr. Zeitlin would make between the "sincere avowal of an accepted mode of thought"—that is, Christianity—and the "revelation of a genuine mental attitude"—which words refer to Petrarch's alleged preference of Horace and Epicurus to Christ. No matter how universally a given mode of thought may be "accepted," a sincere avowal of it is certainly a revelation of genuine attitude. But, the editor's difficulty is not with words alone, as we see in his next sentence: "Wherever there is an interplay of the individual and the conventional, of the novel and the traditional, it cannot be doubted which element is significant." Now it need scarcely be said that in such an interplay—which goes on, of course, in the mind of every educated man—*both* elements are significant, and it is one of the most interesting and important things to be said about Francis Petrarch that in his mind they were almost equally so. To call him once for all either Christian or Epicurean is to leave out half the man and to ignore the constant struggle between fierce contending opposites written large in his life and in all his work. Petrarch was certainly not a mystic in the full and true sense of that misused word, but Mr. Zeitlin goes too far in the emphasis of his remark about the *De Vita Solitaria*: "Of Christian mysticism one discerns scarcely a trace." There are many definite traces of mysticism in the passages in which Petrarch describes with almost envious fervor the religious ecstasies of his Christian heroes. He aspires to the mystic vision and reckons it the highest of human experiences, yet feels himself unworthy. He is vividly aware of spiritual heights to which he cannot climb, and this is a Christian trait. Nothing but Christianity could have given Francis Petrarch the fleeting but not infrequent moods of deep humility expressed in the *De Vita Solitaria* and the "*Secretum*."

Mr. Zeitlin is undoubtedly right, however, in feeling that Petrarch often uses the Christian tradition of religious solitude as a cloak for something quite different, which we may call self-cultivation. The ideal solitude to which he aspires is that of the mystics who are alone with God, but he cannot climb so high, and after every effort he sinks down again into the student, the poet, the egoist who loves to be alone with his dreams. His

ideal of self-culture is by no means purely selfish, however, for he has firm hold upon what was once an axiom that Being must precede all effective Doing as its condition, and that a man should first ask himself not whether he is willing to serve mankind, but whether he is able.

The true Petrarch was Epicurean as well as Christian, and he seems in this as in so many other regards to have taken his stand upon opposite poles, "trying to occupy all the intervening territory." Horace and Cicero were minor prophets to him. Sitting one day in his garden at Vaucluse, reading the letters of Seneca, he came upon a sentence which seemed written for him alone: "an altar should be set up wherever a river bursts full-grown from a mountain-side." He looked up from his book and saw the River Sorgue springing from the mountain beside him like Minerva from the brain of Jove . . . and he saw what he had to do. He had patterned his garden after that of Cicero at Arpinum; but Cicero would have had an altar, and here, also, was the clear mandate of Seneca ringing across the centuries. From earliest youth he had striven to write and think and act like these two men. An altar he must have, then, and a statue . . . some figure of a nymph, a naiad of the Sorgue. But no, he could do better than that; better than even his Roman master would have known how to do. This statue of his should not be the slim nude figure of any heathen goddess but an image of the Virgin Mary.

Whether or not the poet ever set up this strange monument, of which he tells us at the charming close of the *De Vita Solitaria*, his mere plan and intention was deeply characteristic. Such a statue and altar in such a place, suggested by such example and authority, would have been an appropriate symbol of the man's curiously composite mind and of his steady but, of course, unsuccessful effort to resolve the conflicting claims of heaven and earth, of spirit and sense, of Christ and Cicero. Seeing vividly the charm of ancient Pagan life, feeling deeply the lure of the material world, he also saw and longed for the beauty of holiness. Unable to choose between the Christian and the Classical tradition, he tried to mingle the two in one ample stream—a hopeless effort which gives the clue to his life, to his unhappiness, and to most of what he wrote. Here, then, is an almost perfect image of this perplexing and self-contradictory man: a glimmer of classic marble under ilex and olive trees in a little Ciceronian garden deep-set in a rocky gorge . . . an altar and statue to that garden's tutelary deity, to the Maiden Mother of God.

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**BRIEFE RUDOLF HILDEBRANDS**, herausgegeben und erläutert von Helmut Wocke, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, Halle (Saale), 1925. VIII-240.

Wer die prächtige Rede Konrad Burdachs zur hundertjährigen Geburtstagsfeier Rudolf Hildebrands gelesen hat und sich erinnert, wie er in einer<sup>1</sup> der beigegebenen Anmerkungen den Wunsch ausspricht, es möchte doch bald „eine Sammlung sonstiger wertvoller Briefe Hildebrands folgen,“ wird sich freuen, in der vorliegenden Broschüre diesem Wunsche so bald und so pietätvoll schön Rechenschaft getragen zu sehen.

Einem kurzen, aber innigen Geleitwort des Herausgebers folgen mit Hinzunahme von achtzehn Briefen Jacob Grimms hundertdreißig Briefe aus der Feder Rudolf Hildebrands an vierzehn verschiedene Adressaten, einige Tagebuchblätter und als Beilage ein 1860 veröffentlichter Aufsatz über Wilhelm Grimm (1859); wertvolle erläuternde Fussnoten geben überall die nötige Orientierung; ein bequemes übersichtliches Namen- und Sachregister bildet den Schluss. Gewidmet ist dieser Band unserem hochverehrten und lieben Herrn Kollegen, „Professor Julius Goebel, dem Vorkämpfer deutscher Geisteswissenschaft in Amerika.“

Mit diesen paar dünnen und nüchternen Worten der Einleitung ist nun bei weitem nicht dem Gehalt und dem Inhalte dieser Prachtbriefe Genüge getan. Man muss sie selber lesen und auf sich wirken lassen, um innezuwerden, dass man es hier mit einer gewaltigen, aber auch zugleich menschlich-gütigen Persönlichkeit zu tun hat. Wer die Beiträge zum deutschen Unterricht, seine Gedanken über Gott, die Welt und das Ich, seine Tagebuchblätter eines Sonntagsphilosophen und vor allem die nun schon in 16. Auflage (1922) erschienene Schrift Vom deutschen Sprachunterricht in der Schule kennt, wird ausrufen, wenn er so recht im Zuge dieser Brieflektüre steckt: „Ja wahrhaftig, das ist Rudolf Hildebrand, wie er leibt und lebt!“ Und könnte es anders sein! Das Menschlich-Intime hat Rudolf Hildebrand nie verleugnet, und wie keiner hat er aus ehrlich offenem Gemüt heraus uns Einblicke tun lassen in sein Heiligstes der innern Gedanken und Empfindungen. Bei ihm war es ein empfundenes Wissen, und nicht ein bloss gewusstes Wissen, das er als Gelehrter hochstellte, dem er zeit seines ganzen, vollen, inhaltsreichen Lebens nachstrebte und das er an andere weiterzugeben bemüht war. Und sollte dieser Grundton seines ganzen Wesens, wie er sich in seinen Schriften offenbart, nun in seinen Briefen anders erklingen? Wahrlich nicht! Das wäre doch eine umgekehrte und daher (würde Hildebrand sogleich hinzusetzen) verkehrte Richtung, in der sich der Grad der ge-

<sup>1</sup> Anmerkung 6, S.40, im Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht, Verlag von Julius Beltz in Langensalza. 1924.

steigerten Mitteilung bewegte. Öffnet sich irgendwo und irgendwie das Herz, so ist's im Briefstil. Aber solche Briefe wie die vorliegenden schreibt man heute nicht mehr.

Welche Fülle regen geistig-seelischen Lebens wird da vor uns ausgebreitet, vom fünfundzwanzigsten Lebensjahr bis zum siebzigsten, seinem Todesjahr! In die Jugendzeit weisen die Briefe an Hermann Schmidt (1849) und der kurze eigne Lebensabriss an Hoffman von Fallersleben (1869). Der Briefwechsel mit Jacob Grimm (1852-63) beleuchtet die Anfänge seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit vornehmlich am Deutschen Wörterbuch, erst als Korrektor, dann von 1856 an als Mitarbeiter. Neben den sechs Briefen Hildebrands sind die an dieser Stelle mitgetheilten sechs Tagebuchblätter interessant, zumal das vom 9. Oktober 1859, das einen Besuch Jacob Grimms bei Hildebrand so menschlich fein schildert und folgendermassen anhebt: „Heut früh hab ich hohen Besuch gehabt, Jacob Grimm war bei mir.“ Die Arbeit am Deutschen Wörterbuch sollte sein Lebenswerk werden, und so finden wir fortan in den Briefen an die anderen noch zu nennenden Empfänger immer wieder die lexikographischen Leitmotive durchklingen. So in dem siebenundzwanzig Jahre währenden Briefwechsel mit dem niederländischen Gelehrten und Lexikographen Matthias de Vries (+1892), in der fast ebensolange geführten Korrespondenz mit Michel Bréal, (+1915), dem französischen Philologen, sowie in den Freundesbriefen an Reinhold Köhler, Fedor Bech und Max Rieger. Diesem ist der Brief vom 27. August 1894 gewidmet, der zeitlich letzte dieser Sammlung, von andrer Hand, aber mit Hildebrands Unterschrift. Mit väterlich liebevollem Interesse verfolgt er die Leiden und Freuden seiner früheren Schüler, in den Briefen an Julius Goebel und Ludwig Bock. Seine vollste innere Anteilnahme an dem Schicksal des Vorarlberger Bauer-Dichters Franz Michael Felder (1869) sprechen die Zeilen aus an Kaspar Moosbrugger, dessen Schwager: „Gott, was war Ihr Schwager für ein Mann!“ An dieser Stelle (im Briefe vom 4. Juli 1869) beantwortet Hildebrand die sich selber gestellte Frage: „Wissen Sie was ein deutscher Gelehrter ist? Ein Mann der irgend einer Frage ganz frei von allen Voraussetzungen und Vorurtheilen entgegentritt, der die reine blossе Wahrheit rücksichtslos sucht, auch wo sie auf seine Kosten geht. Das hat die deutsche Wissenschaft so gross gemacht und nur zu dieser Wissenschaft bekenne ich mich, allerdings mit der auf langjähriger Erfahrung beruhenden Gewissheit, dass die reine Wahrheit schliesslich allemal tröstlich, beruhigend, erhebend ist, auch wenn sie einem zuerst weh thut, wohl gar ein Stück von uns wegschneidet.“ Der Autodidaktin Augusta Bender, in gewissem Sinne eine Schicksalsgenossin Felders, gelten die schönen Briefe vom Jahre 1870, in denen von Gott, Unsterblichkeit, dem Ringen nach innerem

Frieden die Rede ist. Ihre seltenen Kräfte schätzt er hoch, durchschaut aber fein diese kräftige Menschennatur, dem der einigende weltliche Mittelpunkt fehlt: „Wenn sich Ihnen Gelegenheit bietet zum Eintritt in die Ehe, dann, liebes Augustchen,“ usw. So spricht der zart-väterlich Gesinnte in tiefem Ernst zur Tochter. Den geistigen Zusammenbruch und das frühe Ende seines vormaligen Schülers Ludwig Bock betrauert er in dem einen Brief (1879) an Frau Pelissier, die sich in Frankfurt seit Jahren mütterlich des Armen angenommen hatte. Mit den drei Trostbriefen (1875) an Frau Julie Klett, deren Gemahl sich plötzlich das Leben genommen hatte, schliesst dieser Band Briefe.

Einen Lebenskreis von fünfundvierzig Jahren umspannt der hier mitgeteilte Briefwechsel. Was Max Rieger in dem Schreiben vom 6. Juni 1867 ausspricht, als er Hildebrands Abhandlung über den deutschen Sprachunterricht empfangen und gelesen hatte, gilt auch hier bei den Briefen, nur, wie oben erwähnt, in noch gesteigertem Masse: „Ihre Abhandlung hat mir Freude gemacht, erstens weil sie mir ganz aus dem Herzen geschrieben ist, zweitens weil sie von Ihnen ist und Ihre ganze Persönlichkeit darin liegt. So ist es freilich mehr oder weniger mit allem, was Sie schreiben.“ Mit diesem Wort Persönlichkeit ist ja schliesslich alles gesagt und gegeben, was uns, den Enkeln, die mächtige Eigenart dieses Gelehrten und Menschen erschliesst. Immer war es das Lebendige, Anschauliche, Sachliche, das Sagen und Hören, worauf er hinsteuerte im Unterricht, im Gymnasium oder auf der Hochschule. Ohrenmetrik besiegte die stark schematisierte Augenmetrik, innere Lexikographie die äussere Wortspielerei. So kam es, dass seine Artikel im Wörterbuch zu reinen Monographien heranwuchsen. Wie schön verstand er es, bei seinem gegenständlichen, a posteriori, Denken immer in die Tiefe zu bohren und zu schürfen! Bei weitester Belesenheit, wie das schon Jacob Grimm im ersten Briefe rühmt, solche Genauigkeit, Teilnahme und Sachkenntnis! Verstand und Wissen mit Gefühl und Anschauung zu verschmelzen, den schroffen Gegensatz zwischen Realismus und Idealismus zu versöhnen—darin war Hildebrand Meister wie keiner.

„Wo recht viel Widersprüche schwirren  
Mag ich am liebsten wandern“

heisst es einmal bei Goethe in den *Zahmen Xenien*. Gilt dieser Spruch nicht auch bei Hildebrand? Aber solche Widersprüche zu vereinen, vermag nur die Milde, die Güte, das Wohlwollen—die Liebe, und Liebe wirbt. Rudolf Hildebrand feiert ja heute geradezu eine Auferstehung.

Möge sein Geist auch bei uns in Amerika einziehen, der Geist des sittlichen Ernstes, der Geist der Gründlichkeit, der Geist

des liebevollen sich Versenkens, im Unterricht, sowie im Leben! Möge die schöne, verdiente Widmung nach Amerika hin nicht nur eine blossе Ehrung, sondern auch ein tiefes Symbol bedeuten, das zu verwirklichen wir alle, die im Fache stehen, bestrebt sein möchten!

„Und dann auch soll, wenn Enkel um *ihn* trauern,  
Zu ihrer Lust noch *seine* Liebe dauern.“

HERMANN ALMSTEDT

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**FOLK-SONGS OF THE SOUTH.** Collected under the Auspices of the West Virginia Folk-Lore Society, and edited by John Harrington Cox, Ph.D., Litt.D., Professor in West Virginia University. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, 1925.

In a paper published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in 1912 the present reviewer expressed the hope that the findings of students of traditional popular song in this country might be published *in extenso* in one inclusive collection, so that problems of origin, distribution, and interrelation might be studied effectively. That hope has not been realized, at least in the form I had in mind, but much of the significant material has since appeared in print in the files of the *Journal*, and a number of important collections are now available in book form. Of these the most significant are Campbell and Sharp's *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (1917) and the volume here reviewed.

Mr. Sharp is primarily a student of folk-music, and his volume is the fullest record we have of the tunes of traditional balladry in this country, set down by one trained to catch all the subtle differences between folk-music and the music of the schools. It is also the richest single collection of American texts of the ballads admitted to Child's collection, and his notes give valuable if not exhaustive information as to where the songs he records may be found in reports of recent tradition in the mother country. Professor Cox's collection is more representative of the range and variety of popular song in America; and his work as editor is especially valuable for its careful notation of the work of other collectors in this country.

*Folk-Songs of the South* contains ballads and traditional songs found in West Virginia by the Folk-Lore Society of that state. Students of balladry will remember the West Virginia song of "John Hardy," published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in 1913 (XXVI 181 ff.) and Professor Cox's very interesting study of the origin and history of that song published later in the same journal (XXXII 50 ff., Oct. 1919). The state

society was organized in 1915, with Professor Cox as president and animating force, and he now makes public the fruits of its first ten years of research. The volume is dedicated to Professor Kittredge, whose unrivaled knowledge of the history of ballads in America has been put freely at the editor's service and has contributed greatly to the scholarly thoroughness of the work.

Despite the title, all the 185 ballads and songs here recorded (many of them in two, three, or more versions, so that the total number of texts runs close to 350) are from the single state of West Virginia. On the other hand, few of them are in any distinctive sense West Virginian, or even Southern. The editor's admirable brief prefaces to the several numbers show that most of them have been found *in ore populi* in widely separated parts of the country, from Maine to Texas and from Nebraska to Georgia. Ballads of merely local currency, it would seem, are generally short-lived. If a ballad of definitely local origin, like "John Hardy" or (presumably) "Little Orphan McAfee," has good ballad quality, it is soon loosed from its moorings and floats freely over the land; if it has not—as in the case of "The Meeks Family Murder," in Missouri, or that of the two feud-songs in the present volume—it does not carry far or live long.

The Introduction, describing ballad conditions in West Virginia and the editor's experience among ballad folk, is refreshingly free from controversy. Yet it is not without its significant implications. Ballads, it seems, live in the memory of persons of various degrees of sophistication and of rather widely different social standing. Among the ballad-singers who have supplied texts for the collection one has been for forty years a schoolteacher; another is a washerwoman and a beggar; another, a printer; another, a shrewd pension agent; another, a successful negro lawyer; and another, a farmer and "a great reader, mostly the Bible, religious books, history and fiction," like Mrs. Brown of Falkland. Several of these Professor Cox visited in person and describes with illuminating directness. Eight are presented in photographs.

The collection is not formally divided into classes, but the items making it up are (with one or two exceptions) arranged on a perceptible plan. First come versions of the ballads found in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, thirty-four in number. Of these all but two had previously been recorded from American tradition.<sup>1</sup> These two are "Get Up

<sup>1</sup> Though some of them can hardly be called traditional in America. The two versions of "The Bonnie House of Airlie" (Child 199), that in the present volume and that printed in the *English Journal* for April, 1918, are both recent importations from Scotland. Of "The Lass of Roch Royal" (Child 76) Cox reports the first full text that has appeared in this country, previous records being only of certain detachable stanzas that have been used in other songs; and this full—and admirable—West Virginia version, "though derived by the contributor



and Bar the Door" (Child 275) and "The Crafty Farmer" (Child 283). The Campbell and Sharp volume contains all but eight of the thirty-four, besides nine others; Barry reported more than half of them from the North Atlantic states ten years ago; twenty-two of them are in the Missouri collection. It becomes increasingly clear that there is a fairly definite body of these ballads that have been kept alive in this country, and that they belong not to any particular part of the country, but to the British tradition in America. The same ballads—"Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight," "The Twa Sisters," "Barbara Allen," "Thomas and Eleanor," "Lord Lovel," "William and Margaret," "The Demon Lover," "The Golden Vanity," "The Farmer's Curst Wife"—appear in list after list of collectors as favorites of ballad folk. It would be interesting to determine just why some have so persisted and other have not; why, for instance, "The Gypsy Laddie" and "The Jew's Daughter" are known wherever ballads are known in America, and "Willie o' Winsbury" is not.

There follow more than a score of pieces (Nos. 35-58) that are distinctly American in origin and theme, but are otherwise highly miscellaneous. Some are widely known, e. g., "McAfee's Confession," "The Jealous Lover" ("Florella," "Pearl Bryan"), "The Lone Prairie"; others, e. g. "The Ashland Tragedy," "Logan County Court House," and the feud-songs of the mountaineers (Nos. 49 and 50), have not spread far from their place of origin, and probably will not last long. Nearly if not quite all of them are the work of local ballad-makers or itinerant singers which has happened—if in each case we knew why we should know a good deal more than we do about popular taste—to linger in the memory of the folk. By far the most interesting of the group are two songs, one certainly and the other probably of negro origin: "John Hardy" and "Maggie Was a Lady" (better known as "Frankie and Albert"). "John Hardy" is based upon the exploits and the fate of a famous negro "steel-driver" (drillman) and gambler who was hanged for murder in McDowell County, West Virginia, in 1894; of the history of Frankie and Albert nothing is known but what the song tells us. Both are of wide currency, and by no means among the blacks alone. But they have peculiarities of structure and temper that distinguish them from the ordinary gallows piece of Anglo-American tradition—a something that I shall not

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from an oral source, probably goes back to print," i. e., to Jamieson and Scott. Cox's version of "The Braes o' Yarrow" (Child 214), like that of "The Bonnie House of Airlie", was learned in recent years from a Scotchwoman. Of the two mentioned above as additions to the list of Child ballads in America, the second (Child 283), told to the grandmother of the contributor "by a soldier during the Civil War," is pretty evidently from a Scotch stall ballad of no great antiquity. The other (Child 275), Cox notes, has been found in Michigan (but not published) by Dr. B. D. Jones.

here attempt to analyze, but that is readily felt in Odum's collections of negro song (*J. A. F.-L.* XXIV 255 ff., 351 ff.), and of which the following stanzas may give a suggestion:

John Hardy laid down a twenty-dollar bill,  
And he didn't ask for change;  
"All I want is a forty-four gun,  
To blow out another nigger's brains, poor boy,  
To blow out another nigger's brains, poor boy."

Maggie went down to the pawnshop,  
Feeling very sore;  
She threw down a hundred-dollar bill  
For blue steel forty-four,  
For to kill that man that done her wrong.

Here are also old favorites like "Joe Bowers" and "Jesse James," specimens of regional satire like "The Arkansaw Traveller" and "The Tucky Ho Crew," and a ballad of the Maine lumberjacks that has wandered down into West Virginia; and here one feels should be, though as a matter of fact they are given much later in the book, "Fair Charlotte" and "Springfield Mountain." One piece in this group, "Black Phyllis," is highly intriguing. The color-word in the title has nothing to do with the blacks. Although the story cannot be clearly made out from the text as recorded (Professor Cox's informant obtained it "from her mother, who learned it about forty years before from a very old washerwoman"), it is evidently a romantic ballad:

And then came black Phyllis, his charger astride,  
And took away Annie, his unwilling bride.  
It rained, it hailed, and I sat and cried,  
And wished that my Annie that day had then died. . . .

And then came her true-love from over the moor,  
And left them a-cursing his cross on the door.  
It rained, it hailed, I waited no more;  
I knew that my Annie he soon would restore. . . .

He fell on Black Phyllis with wild lion's roar;  
They fought and they struggled for hour after hour.  
It rained, it hailed, though wounded and sore,  
He left Phyllis a-dead on the moor.

Then swift as a bird to his true-love he fled,  
Found the cabin in ashes, the ground all a-red.  
It rained, it hailed, though swift he had fled,  
He found he was too late; his Annie was dead.

The refrain—which comes, curiously enough, in the third, not the last, line of each stanza—faintly recalls the opening verse of "The Jew's Daughter." But the story, so far as one can guess at it from the text given, is not known elsewhere, I think, in American balladry.

The next twenty numbers (59-79) deal with incidents or persons in our national history, beginning with a curious cor-

ruption of a once popular poem in praise of Washington, and coming down through the War of 1812 (represented by three pieces) and the strife of the Texas border (represented by a version of "The Texas Rangers") to the Civil War, from which sprang most of the pieces in this group. Their hold upon the affections of the people is evidently weak; in nearly all cases only a single record is reported. Many of them are camp songs, made by (or for) the soldiers after a victory, and expressing sometimes Northern, sometimes Southern sympathies, for West Virginia was divided in sentiment. Others are from the variety stage of the time. Some are sentimental lyrics by known authors that have lingered in the memories of the older folk, like Root's "Just Before the Battle, Mother." These music hall favorites had also a wide circulation as broadsides. They are fading from memory with the generation for whom they were made. Of all these relics of the Civil War the most vigorous is Randolph's "I'm a Good Old Rebel," which must have afforded a welcome vent for Southern feeling under the Reconstruction régime.

The next group (82-126) may roughly be described as American versions or American adaptations, known traditionally in West Virginia, of English broadside ballads; the sort of thing that Such and Catnach and Pitts in London, Partridge in Boston, and Wehman and De Marsan in New York, printed as slip ballads in the last century. For some of them no British print has been traced, but in most of these cases the style of the piece shows well enough to what tradition it belongs. No. 88, "The Bramble Briar," is not known in broadside print on either side of the water, but is traditional on both sides, and is certainly of British origin. A few (Nos. 97, 113, 115?) may be American without immediate English models. And where the broadside print, British or American or both, is known, tradition has frequently introduced changes, most often merely corruptions. Certain numbers (100, "The Orphan Girl"; 104, "William and Harriet"; 113, "The Sailor and His Bride"; 115, "A Gay Spanish Maid"; 123, "The Saucy Sailor"; 126, "Seventeen Come Sunday"; and 125, a particular form of "The Milkmaid") have not before been noted in America, and are therefore valued additions to the record of British balladry traditional in this country. But the bulk of them have been reported by other investigators; indeed, most of them appear in all the considerable collections, and confirm the impression derived from the study of the Child ballads preserved here that there is a pretty definite body of British balladry that has been kept alive in America. It would serve no purpose to list them in this review, though every student of the subject will welcome the old favorites and the very helpful notations, in the preface to each number, of the findings of other students.

Nos. 127-128 are negro minstrel songs; Nos. 129-136 are homiletics—"The Drunkard's Doom," "The Little Family" (the raising of Lazarus), "Wicked Polly," etc. Then comes (Nos. 137-146) what is poetically the most interesting section of all: the love lyrics of popular poetry. Essentially, these are bits of imagery that enshrine the lover's mood. To the sophisticated they are doubtless intolerably trite and childish. Old they are, and simple; as familiar as love and sorrow. And therein lies their charm. For example:

Farewell, farewell. my pretty maid,  
Fare-thee-well for a while;  
For I'm going away ten thousand miles,  
Ten thousand miles from here.

I wish I was some little sparrow,  
And one of them that could fly so high;  
I would fly away to my true love's dwelling,  
And when he would speak I would be close by.

I wish I was in some tall mountain,  
Where the ivy rock is black as ink;  
I would write a letter to my false lover,  
Whose cheeks are like the morning pink.

Love is handsome, love is charming,  
Love is beauty while it's new;  
Love grows older, love grows colder,  
Fades away like morning dew.

A thief can rob you  
And take all you have;  
But an unconstant true lover  
Will take you to your grave.

These pieces are only accidentally or temporarily complete songs; the images and fancies of which they are made up seem to float in the folk memory ready to be taken up into ever-changing combinations. Their poetry lies in the single image—and in the melancholy tunes to which they are sung. Here, too, Professor Cox has added to the record. He has found in West Virginia the first American traditional version of "The Sprig of Thyme"—perhaps the most poetic of all English folk memories of this sort.

After these folk-lyrics follows a miscellany of broadside ballads, parlor songs, negro minstrel pieces, nursery rimes, and folk-humor, most of it of old world origin, though a few pieces seem to be purely American, like "The Young Man Who Wouldn't Hoe Corn." The editor has very properly included all of his findings that have become traditional, and this last part includes those not easily classified. In their very miscellaneousness they are a true reflection of the popular taste of rural America. By way of conclusion appear the tunes

of twenty-six of the ballads in the book, three of them with two tunes each.

Students of this type (or should we say these types?) of poetry have reason to be thankful to Professor Cox. He has given us in a single volume a fully representative body of the folk-song of America, in undoctored texts, and with adequate critical and historical apparatus; and in his introduction he shows us the singers of these songs in their habit as they live.

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*SPIRA, THEODOR*, Shelley's geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung. Giessener Beiträge zur Erforschung der Sprache und Kultur Englands und Nordamerikas. 1 Band. 5. Abhandlung. Gieszen, 1923.\*

Adopting the thesis that Shelley's critical activity is part and parcel of his creative spirit, Herr Spira has devoted a monograph of some 110 pages to setting forth the poet's Weltanschauung, to a study of the relation between Shelley's view of life and the spirit of the times, and to a particular examination of Shelley's doctrine as it applies to the fields of politics, education, culture, religion, and philosophy. The thesis is thorough and well documented, but not very well organized, and it suffers from the defect of many similar German studies, in that the effort to be at all times philosophical results in a heavy treatment of comparatively simple ideas. At the same time Herr Spira's article is a necessary one; many readers, many even among professed students of literary and philosophical history, while ready and willing to grant to Coleridge the attributes of a profound thinker, are unwilling to believe that Shelley may be equally profound. It is only when the various parts of his "system" are assembled that one sees that Shelley's Platonism is quite as well reasoned and as integrated as Coleridge's "system"—no more and no less.

Herr Spira makes *The Defence of Poetry* the center of his observations.<sup>1</sup> He finds this to be not alone a study of the poetic character and a study in æsthetics, but also a system of universal thought, largely Platonic in its reading of life. "A poem," wrote Shelley, "is the very image of life expressed in its eternal truth"—this is the heart of the matter, for poetry becomes synonymous with creative activity (imagination),<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dieser Aufsatz musz uns als hauptsächliche Unterlage für unsere Untersuchung dienen, an die sich alle anderen Zeugnisse je nach Notwendigkeit anreihen. P. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Die Dichtkunst stärkt die Fähigkeit, die das Organ der sittlichen Natur des Menschen ist, in der gleichen Art, wie Übung ein Glied stärkt. p. 162. Das Suchen nach einem in die Praxis des Lebens, in die Tiefe seiner Wirklichkeit

which is, in turn, the essential principle of a true way of life; and those ages which have seen "poetry" or the poetic spirit at work in all the departments of life have been the outstanding ages of mankind; i. e., "das Jahrhundert, das dem Tode des Sokrates vorausging," etc. Herr Spira then points out how, with Shelley, poetry in this broadest sense is the presence of the divine in the temporal, and notes that Shelley's essay on the larger aspect of the problem, the proposed second part of the *Defence*, was not written.

The learned author then indicates that this attitude is but a part of the critico-creative element in the contemporary European movement, instancing in particular Rousseau's theory of education<sup>8</sup> and the classico-romantic movement in Germany with its emphasis upon self-consciousness, the high duty of man, and the conception of a "sinnvolles Leben in der Welt und im Reich Gottes" as a liberating philosophy. Enriched by this excursion into the comparative field, Herr Spira returns to Shelley to study his philosophic program as a liberating force in English life, particularly with reference to "atheism," the British conception of culture as opposed to Shelley's, and similar fields of endeavor. He is concerned to show Shelley's career as being unified by his philosophic concepts and as one constantly directed toward liberation. The whole tendency of European thought is toward such a philosophy as Shelley's, as evidenced in the religious wars of the Seventeenth Century and in Luther, who strove for a new life to be lived "aus dem freiem, schöpferischem Gebot und bindendem Wort." This leads the author to an examination of Shelley's handling of the Christian religion; he has little difficulty in showing that Rousseau, Plato, and Christ are, in Shelley's view, "poets," and the final goal of the study is set forth in the following paragraph:

Wir haben versucht, in die Einheit dieses Werkes hineinzuleuchten. Alle unsere Ausführungen sollen immer wieder auf die Einheit dieses kritisch-dichterischen Werkes weisen. Halten wir uns nicht an die losgelösten kritischen Worte. Auch nicht an das Zufällige im Wortgewordenen der Dichtung, sondern an die Dichtung als Teil des grossen einen Wortwerdens. (P. 232)

This seems to be the attitude of Herr Spira no less than of Shelley. Judgment upon the monograph must accordingly be twofold. As a study of Shelley's cosmological and metaphysical views it has high interest, its main defect being a tendency to see Shelley's thought as always consistent with itself, as seldom

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eingreifenden Denken und Schauen hat ihn (Shelley) von Jugend an leidenschaftlich erfüllt. p. 173. In völliger Freiheit der Geistesentfaltung den Weg zu einer reinen Gestaltung des Lebens aus dem Geiste zu finden, das ist Shelley's Ziel. p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> Dabei ist die Aufgabe der Erziehung übermenschlich gross, unendlich und doch als menschliche Aufgabe, endlich gefasst: in der Tat die eigentümlichste Verbindung kritischer und schöpferischer Elemente, die denkbar ist. p. 198.

developing or contradicting itself; and there is a tendency, too, to take Shelley *au pied de lettre*, which leads to a solemnity about the poet not quite in keeping with the occasional shallowness of his ideas—in fine, it is an apology for Shelley rather than a critical study. As a philosophical document, Herr Spira's monograph has high value in its comparative sweep—in its history of the European movement of romanticism. Judged, however, as an apology for Platonism, it becomes a presentation of a particular philosophic view à propos of Shelley, and as such, is open to the obvious charge that its reasoning is post-dated in a world which is increasingly tending to a determinist reading of psychology and philosophy. Into this aspect of the study there is little opportunity to go; suffice it to say that the modern interpretation of the creative activity in terms of the subconscious, in terms of recent psychology, has no place in the monograph.

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**THE FABLE OF THE BEES:** or Private Vices, Publick Benefits. By Bernard Mandeville. With a Commentary Critical, Historical, and Explanatory by F. B. Kaye. Two volumes. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1924. pp.cxlvi +412, and 481.

The name of Mandeville has undoubtedly suffered both an undeserved odium and an undeserved oblivion, and Professor Kaye has undertaken, in no half-hearted fashion, to rescue him from both. His edition, limited to 750 copies for sale, is truly sumptuous, in paper and typography outstanding even among the imprints of the Oxford University Press. The editorial work is a fine scholarly achievement. An introduction of more than a hundred pages gives us a critical survey of the life of Mandeville, a critical history of the text, and a discussion of Mandeville's thought, its European background, and its influence upon literature, ethics, and economic theory. The critical text is accompanied also by notes explanatory of specific passages, especially notes which elucidate the relation of Mandeville to the thought and life of the time. Several appendixes deal with Mandeville's family, a description of the editions, a synopsis of the important early criticisms of the *Fable*, and a chronological list of references to Mandeville's work from 1716 down to 1923. A special index to the commentary completes the work.

The editor has done his task with devotion. He has had no doubt as to either the literary or the historical importance of his author. As to the first, it has been customary to follow the "genteel" tradition of the Eighteenth Century and put

Mandeville down as "low." But it is also possible to praise his style for this very quality, for its ease and colloquial idiom, its closeness to life, its Dutch gusto. Professor Kaye, at any rate, is quite ready to champion Mandeville's prose as literature. "No style of the age," he says, "has retained more of the breath of life. It is more forceful and vivid than Addison's, and, though it lacks Swift's compression, it has more unction and more colour" (page xxxviii). Such comparisons are, perhaps, too artful. But, emphasis was needed on Mandeville's significance as a literary artist, and the unprejudiced reader will agree that Mandeville had a prose style with salt and savor in it, at least in the first part of the *Fable*. A delectable volume, indeed, could be compiled from the shrewd and witty sketches of life and human nature which are scattered through his pages.

Whatever reservations one might make regarding Mandeville as an artist in prose, his historical importance is beyond dispute. The thorough editorial work makes easy and pleasant the task of studying Mandeville in relation to his age, even though that relationship was quite extraordinarily complex. Professor Kaye has traced Mandeville's obligations somewhat more thoroughly even than Sakmann, whose book (published 1897) has been hitherto the most extensive study of the subject. A multiplicity of traditions, in literature, ethics, psychology, political economy, and anthropology, converged and united in *The Fable of the Bees*, and, as identified with that work, continued as fertile influences for almost a hundred years. It is not too much to say, therefore, that this edition, which marshals and makes accessible such a wealth of material, will henceforth be one of the key-works for the student of eighteenth-century thought.

The editor has also sought to restore to his author something of personal dignity and respectability. Tradition has undoubtedly tended toward malicious gossip—witness the general credibility given to the story that Mandeville, having failed as a physician, sold his pen to the London distillers. Professor Kaye shows that there is no evidence for the charge and a good deal against it. Quite upsetting, also, is the obituary notice from *B. Berington's Evening Post* (quoted on page xxix, note 6), to the effect that Mandeville's accomplishments "justly procured him the Esteem of Men [of] Sense and Literature. In his Profession he was of known Benevolence and Humanity; in his private Character, a sincere Friend; and in the whole Conduct of Life, a Gentleman of Great Probity and Integrity." Even allowing for the conventions of obituary notices, this description could hardly be applied by his contemporaries to a rogue or a buffoon. I believe, however, that we shall have to discount this characterization, if necessary, to preserve at



least a conception of Mandeville as a gay fellow who loved to throw dead cats into the sanctuaries of thought.

Mandeville, in the terminology of his own day, was a "Libertine,"—that is, his *thought* was subversive. (Thus the presentment of the grandjury of Middlesex distinguishes Libertinism in opinions from the immoralities of practice. See volume I, page 385.) It is not at all likely that Mandeville was seriously interested in converting the whole world to immoral conduct. But he amused himself by seeing the orthodox moralists tossed on the horns of a dilemma and therefore, as a mere argumentative and rhetorical device, he gave lip-service to the orthodox rigoristic conception of virtue. Professor Kaye, however, is reluctant to believe that this is mere irony, mere lip-service. He does not believe "that Mandeville was attempting any conscious *reductio ad absurdum* of rigorism, whether or not he has achieved it" (volume I, page iv). There is, I agree, something to be said for Mandeville's sincerity when he contends that there can be no virtue without effort or self-denial. Mandeville was unquestionably sincere in his shrewd criticism of the sentimental conception of virtue found in Steele and Shaftesbury, and some of the color of this sincerity seems reflected back upon his own rigoristic position. However, I should distinguish here between his psychology and his ethics. In his psychology—the psychology of disillusionment—he is sincere, and this psychology gives him adequate basis for his criticism of Shaftesbury. But, when it comes to a prescriptive rigorism, Mandeville demonstrated with malicious glee that it was incompatible with a prosperous material civilization, and, had he been put to the test, he would undoubtedly have decided that London was worth the Ten Commandments.

Nevertheless, it is true that Mandeville is not satisfactorily explained merely by calling him "libertine." His thought derives not only from the free thought of the time, but from certain orthodox tendencies as well. One of the great merits of this edition is that it puts in perspective so vast and so important a body of thought. The student of it will appreciate the complexity of both Mandeville's thought and its background. For instance, especially important is the influence of the ethical and psychological thought of the Seventeenth Century, the psychology of disillusionment, the reduction of all human impulses to selfishness, the unmasking of virtue and finding vice underneath. It was represented by Hobbes in England and by La Rochefoucauld in France; but it is also found in such a severe Catholic as Pascal and such severe Protestants as Jean de la Placette and Jacques Abbadie. (Incidentally, French Libertine books were not always translated into English by Free Thinkers. Charron was first translated in 1615 by Sampson Lennard, a translator of religious books, who had been with Sir Phillip

Sidney at his death. The second translation was published in 1697, by George Stanhope, later Dean of Canterbury and one of the great preachers of his time, a translator also of Thomas à Kempis. *La Fausseté des Vertus Humaines*, by Jacques Esprit, was translated in 1706 by William Beauvoir, chaplain to the Duke of Ormond.) "The severely religious parties," wrote Henry Crabb Robinson, "have always had a sneaking kindness for Mandeville" (quoted in volume II, page 441). Dr. Johnson admitted that the *Fable* had opened his views into real life very much. How deeply indebted Pope was to the same tradition as Mandeville, Professor Kaye has himself admirably demonstrated in a paper at the last meeting of the Modern Language Association. But were not Swift and the others of the group of Tory satirists thoroughly at home in the same tradition? and Dr. Young, at least in his satires? In short, this edition of Mandeville is, in many ways, profitable and stimulating reading to any student of the period.

In his discussion of Mandeville's influence I could wish that Professor Kaye had indicated the interaction of the reputations of *The Fable of the Bees* and Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*. The dates of the editions, as well as the nature of the discussion of both works at that time, indicate that each stimulated the vogue of the other. In this commentary Professor Kaye has, of course, made clear the antithesis between the two. The sound historian will never separate them. They are not only conflicting influences in the Eighteenth Century, but they represent contrasting temperaments and attitudes toward life. It is to be hoped that after this edition Mandeville, as well as Shaftesbury, will no longer be neglected in courses in eighteenth century English literature.

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**NORDISKA ORTNAMN I SPRÅKLIG OCH SAKLIG  
BELYSNING.** Av Jöran Sahlgren. Lund, C. W. K.  
Gleerup. Pp. 92.

This volume, issued in 200 copies, represents reprints of certain investigations published in *Namn och Bygd*, 1922-24. The problems dealt with, especially in the two main articles, are of such fundamental interest for the study of Scandinavian place names that I am sure many readers of this journal will be glad of the opportunity to secure them as brought together in this way. I shall first speak of the sixth (and concluding) article in the series, which is entitled "Oäkta vi-namn," pp. 63-88.

The point of departure is the Närke name KÅVÖ, now pronounced *køve*, which appears in Old Swedish as QUADHOWI.

This has been explained as from *kvapa*, 'rosin', + *vi*, 'sanctuary.' As perforated rosin disks that are apparently votive offerings have been found from the Bronze Age, and as rosin is known to have had a prominent place in folk medicine in the Middle Ages, and, with the help of some other evidence, it has been assumed that there existed a cult of the rosin in Sweden, and that the name *Quadhowi* was a sanctuary of this sort, dedicated perhaps to some fertility god. There have, however, also been other etymologies offered. Sahlgren holds that the word has nothing to do with any cult, and that the last element is simply the OSw. *-vibi*, as in Icel. *bellevibi*, *ungvibi*, etc., hence that the original is *Kvapuvibi*, 'rosin forest,' 'forest of rosinous trees.' And further, that there are a great many other names in final *-vi*, hitherto held to be ancient sanctuaries, but which have no such origin; the ending goes back to *-vibi* (or possibly sometimes at least, to *-vibi*, as the dative of *-viper*). I shall cite merely a few of the arguments in a considerable body of evidence. In the case of *Kävö* some of the early modern writings have the ending *-widh* or *-wedh*, as *Käsvíd*, 1695, and *Käwedh*, 1650. The latter is also the form of the register of lands (*jordebok*) for 1880, where it is interpreted as 'skog' ('forest'). It has been shown that intervocalic *b* in the ending *-stapum* is lost in OSw. times in the Mälär provinces: Upland, Sörmland, Västmanland, and Närke. Consequently, the ending *-vibi* must be assumed to have suffered contraction to *-vii*, later *-vi*. And that this *-vi* became *-ve* in unstressed position seems evidenced by such a form as *Käwedh*, 1650. Sahlgren then calls attention to the fact that those dissyllabic place names in Närke that may with relative certainty be assumed to have the ending *-vi*, 'sanctuary,' all have the vowel *i*, as *Frövi* and *Frösvi*, in Edsberg, and *Odensvi* (pron. *Qnsvi*), in Viby Parish, District of Grimsten. It would, then, seem that Sahlgren is right, that *Kävö* goes back to *Kvapuvibi*. But I do not feel that the material before us is wholly conclusive, for the earliest form with *-d* is the one of 1650 (after which date most of the citations have *-d*). On the other hand a form for 1299 is *Quadowi*, and all other cited forms for the XIVth, XVth, and XVIth Centuries show the ending *-wi* (or *wi*, *vj*), eight of them in all. It is, therefore, possible that by 1650 an old ending *-wi* had in the region in question been confused with the ending *-widh*, *-wedh*, *-we*, and so written after that. But, the form *Käwedh*, 1650, is troublesome; it would seem to necessitate the assumption of the *e*-vowel in the second part as being older, i.e., as existing in this name before, and that the later forms with *-wi*, *-ui*, are merely traditional writings retained after the pronunciation had become *-we*, which is in keeping with Sahlgren's theory that the second element of the word is *-vibi*. It is to be noted that the *d* of the first part is absent for the first time in

the form of 1650; but is written again in that of 1676. That the writing of *-wi*, instead of *-widhi* (*-vibi*) established itself so early is, then, according to Sahlgren's view, in part due to the association with the numerous names in *-vi*, 'sanctuary,' in the Mälar provinces. On the assumption of the correctness of this the author's view on fourteen other names considered, pp. 68-78, and three, p. 85, are almost certainly also of this origin as regards the second component part. Example: *Frövi*, in Ballingsta, has been explained as a sanctuary to Frey (*Frö + vi*), and this in spite of such older writings as *fredawi*, 1292. The word, however, merely means 'the luxuriantly growing woods' (OSw. *frödh*, 'frodighet,' + *-vibi*, 'woods'). In nearly all of the names dealt with Sahlgren's explanation is much the more natural one (cf., e.g., *Kalvsi*, and *Svedvi*). I shall note finally that the discussion of names of the type *Allevi*, *Alganäs*, etc., seems to remove definitely from Swedish place names any evidence of the cult of the *Alci*; the first part is in all cases OSw. *ælgher*, 'elk'; and, further, that the presence of the name of a goddess *Vrindr* in Swedish placenames is made rather doubtful.

The fourth study deals with the word *torp* as second element in Swedish and Danish place names, pp. 10-21; the fifth is a most interesting and convincing piece of research in the name-forms *torp*, *-orp*, and *-arp*, pp. 22-62. In the former article the Halland-South Småland names in *-red*, which show syncope of the vowel in *-red*, seem especially significant. A case in point is BÖRKERED, pronounced Bør-kerd, showing weak stress on the ending *-red*. So names in *-þorp* which have lost the *þ* add the *o* in the same way, as HUMLUÞORP > HUMLOORP > HUMLARP, pronounced *Humlørp*, but GASA-þORP > GASAORP > GASSARP. Cf. also the extensive material given of the type MALMARYD, pronounced *Malmat*, ULVARYD, pronounced *Ulvat*, etc. Sahlgren then shows, as I think conclusively, that the present accepted view of the origin of the form *-erup* in Danish names of the type NYERUP, as being a change of *-aþorp* to *-erup* is wrong. (And how could *-thorp* become *-rup* by any possibility? I have never felt convinced by this explanation). The correct explanation must, with Sahlgren, be that such a name as BONDATHORP through BONDETHORP, and BONDERP, became finally BONDERUP, by the development of an ex-crescent *u* between the *r* and the *þ* of the ending *-erp* (*Bonderp* as *Berkerd* above).

In the fifth study, the distribution of Swedish names in *-arp*, and *-orp* is investigated in a manner that it is a delight to follow, both by reason of its method and manner of presentation, and because of the far-reaching import of the results gained. I shall merely note, in closing, such among the headings as: "Floddalarna som Kulturvägar," and "Teorien om den västgötska kulturen i västra Östergötland." The investigations

as a whole make the volume one of major importance in the study of Scandinavian place names.

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**DAS FORMGESETZ DER EPISCHEN, DRAMATISCHEN  
UND LYRISCHEN DICHTUNG.** B. G. Teubner. Leipzig  
und Berlin, 1923. 227 S.

In seinen Darlegungen geht der Verfasser von Erlebnis und Technik aus. Wie jedes Individuum ist auch der Dichter ein Teil des Universums, doch sein Ein- und Ueberblick ist schärfer und umfassender als der des nicht poetisch schöpferischen Menschen. Dem Dichter ist es gegeben ein Neues zu schaffen. Nach Massgabe seiner Persönlichkeit wählt er aus der Gesamtheit der Erscheinungen diejenigen Einzelheiten aus der Natur, welche die Seele seines Werkes zur sinnlichen Erscheinung bringen, ihr einen Körper geben. Aber nur der idealistische Dichter ist selbst das Mass der Dinge. Der Impressionismus ist zutreffend als unschöpferisch bezeichnet, denn er will nur den Eindruck des Objekts auf das Subjekt geben und so bringt er nur Oberfläche. Auch muss das Körperhafte dem Geistigen weichen. Der Naturalist ist ihm verwandt, da auch er die dichterische Konstruktion verschmäht. Er dringt zwar von der Oberfläche zum Körperhaften vor, gibt aber statt eines organischen Ganzen auch nur Reihe, Summe. Der Realist ordnet und schafft ideenhafte Zusammenhänge, in den Einzelheiten aber hält er sich möglichst nahe an die Natur. Viele Werke, die um die Jahrhundertwende entstanden sind und gewöhnlich als naturalistisch eingeschätzt werden, sind es nur in der Schilderungen der Einzelheiten und in der allgemeinen Atmosphäre, z. B. Gerhart Hauptmanns „Rose Bernd“ und sollten eigentlich dem Realismus zugezählt werden.

Der idealistische Dichter kennt keine derartige Beschränkungen, die sich in den anderen Stilarten mehr oder weniger geltend machen; er strebt vor allem danach einen vollkommenen Organismus zu schaffen und so muss er den Stoff willkürlich begrenzen und in der Wahl und Darstellung der Einzelheiten darf er sich nicht so sehr von der Lebenswahrheit als von der Zweckmässigkeit bestimmen lassen. Hirts Auffassung von den verschiedenen Stilarten ist zutreffend, obschon seine Einschätzung der impressionistischen Kunst als gänzlicher Anarchie eine zu ungünstige ist und auf Widerspruch stossen dürfte. Eine grosse Anzahl der impressionistischen Dichtungen macht allerdings den Eindruck des Chaotischen, und diejenigen, in welchen sich eine gewisse Ordnung und Harmonie geltend machen, würde Hirt wahrscheinlich nicht als rein impressionistisch anerkennen. Er trifft den wunden Punkt des Impressio-

nismus in dem Hinweis auf die Tatsache, dass alles rein Geistige als solches nicht darstellbar ist, und in krass eindeutiger materialistischer Schilderung wird es allerdings immer mehr oder weniger verzerrt. Es muss auch ohne weiteres zugegeben werden, dass jedes bestimmte Erlebnis des Dichters nicht in jeder beliebigen der drei Gattungen mit gleicher Vollkommenheit zum Ausdruck gebracht werden kann. Drama und Lyrik schildern Sein und Werden, sind konkret und haben eine einheitliche Perspektive. Die epische Dichtung befasst sich mit Vergangenen, die Perspektive kann wechseln, ohne dem Werke Abbruch zu tun. Die Zeit ist in dieser Gattung real aber praktisch unbeschränkt und daher ohne Bedeutung; der Raum hingegen ist ideal und setzt keinerlei Schranke. Es ist dieser Umstand, der die erstaunliche Weite des der Epik zugänglichen Stoffkreises bedingt. Es bedarf kaum des Hinweises, dass die Gefahr des Missbrauchs der epischen Form damit zusammenhängt.

In der epischen Dichtung unterscheidet Hirt zwischen Bericht und Darstellung, je nachdem der Dichter die Geschehnisse nur erzählt, berichtet, oder dieselben direkt schildert, vor den Augen des Lesers in lebendiger Rede und Gegenrede zur Darstellung bringt, also der dramatischen Form sich nähert. Das Verhältnis von Bericht und Darstellung ist ein ganz willkürliches und wechselt also von Werk zu Werk. Drama und Lyrik hingegen sind reine Darstellung; Handlung und Dichter in jenem, Wort und Dichter in dieser sind eins, bilden dem Zuschauer oder Hörer gegenüber gleichfalls eine Einheit, während Handlung und Dichter in der epischen Gattung streng geschieden sind. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit Stete, Dichte und Distanz; in den beiden ersten Gattungen sind Stete und Dichte gleichmässig, und die Distanz fehlt. Im Epos wechseln Stete, Dichte und Distanz. Genau genommen ist konkrete Darstellung in der epischen Dichtung nur in der direkten Rede der Charaktere möglich, alles andere sieht der Leser durch die Brille des Autors. In Ideenbericht und -Darstellung erkennt Hirt dem Epos eine gewisse Ueberlegenheit über das Drama zu, spricht aber letzterem unbedingt die erste Stelle im Reiche der Poetik zu, da es aus reiner Darstellung besteht und einen geschlossenen Kreis von Kausalität gibt, wie die Lyrik, dabei aber weit körperhafter ist als diese. Eine Eigenschaft des grossen Epos ist der Ausschluss jeder Zwischenhandlung; man kann aber dem Verfasser nur recht geben, wenn er diese als durchaus zulässig bezeichnet. Ein Kunstmittel, die Zwischenhandlung als solche technisch auszuscheiden, ist die Form der Ich-Erzählung. Selbstredend wirkt aber diese Fiktion nicht immer überzeugend. Im Drama haben wir absolute Realität, im Epos ist diese dagegen immer nur relativ, und da wir hier nie mit eignen Augen schauen

können, gibt es, streng genommen, kein objektives Epos. Situation und äussere Form können den Dichter allerdings veranlassen, sich fast ausschliesslich der Darstellung zu bedienen, wobei er ganz hinter seinen Stoff zurücktritt und einen hohen Grad von relativer Objektivität erreicht. Andererseits wirken aber häufig die Weltanschauung des Dichters und der Kulturzustand seiner Zeit in gerade entgegengesetzter Richtung. Vom grossen Epos gilt das Erstere. Hirt findet, dass hier die Dinge und Menschen einfach nebeneinander erfasst werden. Dies trifft ganz allgemein auf die epische Dichtung überhaupt zu, weshalb aber eigentliche Konstruktion im Epos nicht zulässig sein soll, ist nicht recht ersichtlich. Der Verfasser ist jedoch der Ansicht: „Was der Dramatiker Hebbel dem Nibelungenliede nachrühmt, seine dramatische Komposition, das spricht gerade gegen die reine Epik der gewaltigen Dichtung, sie hat nur eine komponierte, wenn auch grandiose Familienhandlung, nicht mehr das Ganze des Lebensstroms zum Vorwurf.“

„Für die Geschlossenheit der Handlung im grossen Epos sind vor allen Dingen die Schlüsse bezeichnend, dem genauen Auge auch die Anfänge. Wie im Weltverlauf kein Schluss, kein Letztes denkbar ist, menschlichem Blick immer nur ein Abbruch erscheint, so muss das grosse Epos mit kosmischer Distanz, nachdem es den Kreis dessen, was das jeweilige Auge einer Zeit durch ihren Dichter zu schauen vermag, durchlaufen hat, wohl formal abbrechen, aber nicht absolut schliessen. Sein Schluss ist nicht Tod, sondern ein Tor, schritte man hindurch, man wäre wieder am Anfang.“ Also ähnlich, wie im Märchen: „Und wenn sie nicht gestorben sind, so leben sie heute noch.“ —Hirt stellt das „grosse Epos“ zwar nicht als die alleingültige Norm auf, doch in der Bezeichnung selbst liegt eine Bewertung. In seinen Ausführungen über das Drama hütet er sich wohl, z. B. das Drama Shakespeares an den Werken der Alten zu messen, und ein Gleiches sollte auch für die Epik gelten. Hier ist aber die „Stunde der Gnade“ zur grossen Seltenheit geworden. „Das Epos ist ein Haben, Sein, der Roman ein Suchen, Werden.“ Dafür ist aber unsere Weltanschauung unendlich reicher an Tiefe und Ausdehnung als die Homers. Was nun „das Ganze des Lebensstroms als Vorwurf“ des grossen Epos betrifft, so beruhte diese Totalität selbst für die Alten nur auf einer Illusion. Für den Kulturmenschen der Gegenwart ist diese fast zur Unmöglichkeit geworden, und wie viel weiter der kosmische Horizont im Epos oder Roman auch sein mag als im Drama, ist es am Allgeschehen gemessen immer nur ein verschwindend kleiner Bruchteil, den der Dichter zu erfassen vermag. Viele der hervorragendsten Werke moderner Erzählungskunst sind jedenfalls durch „Komposition“ und „Schluss“ gekennzeichnet.

—Während das Epos nur Fläche darstellt, ist der Roman dreidimensional, auch ist in ihm das lyrische Element oft stark betont.

Da das Drama von Hirt unbedingt als Höchstleistung im Bereiche der Dichtkunst eingeschätzt wird, überrascht es uns nicht, dass er demselben doppelt so viel Raum widmet als der epischem Dichtung. Das Drama ist Darstellung von Sein und Werden, Zeit und Raum erfüllende Gegenwart von absoluter Stete und Dichte, letztere allerdings nur eine Illusion, und ohne Scheidung von konkreten und abstrakten Elementen. Hier ist alles sinnfällig, wesenhaft. Von den Ausführungen des Verfassers sind die über den Gebrauch der analytischen Form, die Relativität unserer Zeitempfindungen, über den ununterbrochenen Fluss der Handlung hinter der Bühne, während auf dieser Lyrik und Epik sich auswirken, und vor allem die über den Monolog besonders wichtig und zutreffend. Er weist sehr geschickt nach, dass das Selbstgespräch eines Menschen ganz und gar nicht Monolog zu sein braucht, ja eigentlich nicht Monolog sein kann, falls es psychologische Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat. Die Wurzeln des Dramatischen sieht er im Dualismus des Daseins, und um der Spannung willen ist ein gleichwertiger Gegenspieler erforderlich. Zufall und Intrigue sind unzulässig, und in Bezug auf die Willensfreiheit gilt nur der naive Standpunkt. Der Zwang, das Verhängnis muss von den Charakteren selbst ausgehen; obschon sie von ihrer Umwelt abhängig sind, darf sich das tragische Schicksal nicht aus dieser herleiten. „Ein Mensch kämpft mit allen seinen Kräften im Dienst einer Idee, für die zu streiten ihn Charakter und Stellung in der Welt zwingen; geht er in diesem Kampfe zu grunde, ist das tragisch.“ Es sind also die dem Menschen innewohnenden Kräfte, das Mass des Lebensgefühls und der Energie, die recht eigentlich sein Schicksal bestimmen. „Kraft ist Kern und Wesen des Lebens und auch das Zweckmässige und Vernünftige in den Erscheinungen des Lebens erscheint unter diesem Gesichtspunkte als System ungehemmt in ihrem Wesen sich entfaltender Kräfte. Das Zweckwidrige ist auch nicht zuerst hässlich, weil es unvernünftig ist, sondern weil in ihm Kräfte gehemmt zu sein scheinen, die wir ungehemmt und entbunden sehen möchten.“ (Zitat aus Th. A. Meyer, *Stilgestz der Poesie*.) Der tragische Held ist einerseits der geborene Idealist und die Tragödie ist das Hohe Lied der Empörung. Da aber die Dynamik des Geschehens in seinem eigenen Wesen liegt, ist er zugleich der geborene Sebstmörder. Im Allgeschehen erscheint eine derartige Entwicklung oft unverständlich, vielleicht vernunftwidrig. „Es ist aber die wesentliche, es ist die einzige, die ungeheure Aufgabe unseres Geistes, das Chaos der Erscheinungswelt zu ordnen, Gesetz, Konsequenz zu schaffen.“ Dies leistet die Tragödie



am vollkommensten; die Komödie entspringt aus derselben Wurzel, löst aber den Knoten durch Inkonsequenz. Erstere ist idealistisch, letztere realistisch. Der Inhalt des Tragischen ist von der jeweiligen Weltanschauung abhängig, also in stetem Wechsel begriffen.

Während Epos und Drama den ununterbrochenen Fluss des Lebens, also Geschehen darstellen, versucht die Lyrik Zustände festzuhalten, und in dieser Beziehung erreicht sie Erfüllung und Vollendung. Lyrik ist ein wichtiger Bestandteil des Epos und des Dramas, kommt aber in diesen nicht notwendigerweise unmittelbar zum Ausdruck. Das zu Grunde liegende Geschehen, die Handlung gehen in der Lyrik der Äusserung voraus, und sind hier nur in diesem Sinne vorhanden. Da die Lyrik zeitlose Allgegenwart ist, spielen in ihr Zeit und Raum keinerlei Rolle. Etwaige Zeit- und Ortsangaben haben nur symbolische und suggestive Bedeutung. Es existieren also hier keine derartigen Grenzen wie im Drama, und deshalb ist es dem Lyriker vergönnt, grosse Intensität zu erreichen, während er in der Extensität stark beschränkt ist. Ein lyrisches Gedicht sollte nur einen Gefühlswert zum Ausdruck bringen; dieser sollte auch streng einheitlich sein, und so empfiehlt Hirt Kürze, gibt aber zu, dass sich mehrere homogene Gefühle zusammenfassen lassen. Hier hängt alles von dem Genie des Dichters ab und die Wissenschaft ist rein negativ. An Hölderlins „Archipelagus“ weist Hirt nach, dass grosse Länge eines lyrischen Gedichts, in diesem Falle 296 Hexameter, sehr wohl mit Einheit und Reinheit des Gefühls vereinbar ist. Der Stoff ist im lyrischen Gedicht, wie die räumliche und zeitliche Ordnung, nur Symbol und wird durch die Intensität des Gefühls zu reinem Geiste geläutert. Am interessantesten und wertvollsten sind in diesem Kapitel die Ausführungen über den Rhythmus als das eigentlichste und innerlichste Darstellungsmittel des Lyrikers. Das Metrum wird zu Recht als einzig und allein das Adernetz bezeichnet, der Rhythmus als das darin pulsierende lebendige Blut. In seiner Unterscheidung zwischen Lyrik und Rhetorik und Verwerfung aller Ironie, Satire und Groteske in der Lyrik muss man Hirt unbedingt zustimmen.

Er stellt keinerlei abstrakte Regeln auf, sondern zeigt nur stets durch sorgfältige Analyse, was die Merkmale der drei Gattungen sind. Oft nimmt er Bezug auf die Aussprüche der grossen Dichter selbst, führt Herder, Lessing Goethe, Schiller, Hebbel, Otto Ludwig u. a. an; abweichende Meinungen und Anschauungen sind immer gewissenhaft begründet; auch Kritiker und Theoretiker, wie Julius Bab und Th. A. Meyer, kommen zu Gehör. Besonders wertvoll und anregend sind eine Anzahl genauer Analysen von vorbildlichen Werken aller drei Gattungen. Die Ergebnisse, zu denen der Verfasser kommt,

sind ansprechend, seine Darstellungen klar und fast immer überzeugend, und der aufmerksame Leser findet reichlich Veranlassung zu eigenem Denken und zu einer Neuorientierung in Bezug auf die Gesetze der epischen, dramatischen und lyrischen Dichtung.

JOSEF WIEHR

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**STUDIES BY MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES.** Series Number 1. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. Number 20. Madison, 1924. 238 pp.

The contents are as follows: 1. Hugh Allison Smith: *A Theory for a New History of the French Epic*. 2. Lucy Maria Gay: *La Chanson de Roland and La Chançon de Willame*. 3. Edward Bunker Schlatter: *La Chastelaine de Vergi*. 4. Jeanne Harouel Greenleaf: *L'unité de Lieu dans La Cléopâtre de Jodelle*. 5. Frank Otis Reed: *The Calderonian Octosyllabic*. 6. Casimir Douglass Zdanowicz: *Molière, and Bergson's Theory of Laughter*. 7. Ernest George Atkin: *Villemain and French Classicism*. 8. Maxwell Austin Smith: *The Intimate Poetry of Lamartine and Sainte-Beuve: A Contrast*. 9. William Frederick Giese: *Lamartine—a Portrait*. 10. Joaquín Ortega: *Vicente Blasco Ibáñez*.

Professor Smith, developing further the ideas of Bédier, argues that the Old French Epic is merely a literary genre, and, in fact, an exploitation of the *Roland*; that it is in no sense a source for customs of the time of Charlemagne, but a literary product of the period from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century. Professor Gay contests M. Wilmotte's claim that the author of the *Willame* was a stupid plagiarist of the *Roland*. She finds that the resemblances are largely formal, that the *Roland* is a court poem, and the *Willame* more human. Her arguments suggest a modification, and not an entire refutation of M. Wilmotte's view. Professor Schlatter offers a number of valuable lexicological, interpretative and syntactical notes, together with some corrections of the Kemp-Welch translation. Mrs. Greenleaf shows that the improbabilities in the action of *Cléopâtre* are very considerably reduced if we think of the scene as a public place opening on one side into a graveyard; not far from the entry is a coffin, intended to receive the remains of Antony which are awaiting obsequies.

Professor Reed has made an important contribution to the reading of Spanish verse, especially for foreigners. With a few rare exceptions, he finds four types of the octosyllabic, all having three-beat time, and three of them with anacrusis. He argues that this is a much better guide for reading than the

simple idea that each line must have eight syllables. He discusses at length the difficulties caused by interference of contiguous accents and by the lack of well defined accentual stress. He also throws light on hiatus, deciding that it is regular before the determinant verse accent, and also found before one other rhythmic stress. Professor Zdanowicz finds that Molière's humor may often be adjusted to Bergson's suggestion of the conflict between the mechanical and the living. He finds that it appeals to the intelligence and not to the emotions, and that it usually involves the incongruous. His remarks indicate that Bergson's theories fit many cases in Molière, but not all; that this is one of the hardest of all matters to analyze. Professor Atkin demonstrates that Villemain was not so much an historical critic as Brunetière suggested, that he was chiefly a traditionalist and conservative. Professor M. A. Smith points out that Sainte-Beuve antedated Lamartine in domestic poetry, and that he understood better the English Lake Poets. Nevertheless, he shows that Sainte-Beuve lacked the feeling and the sympathy with suffering necessary to follow the English poets, and that Lamartine is closer to Wordsworth in spirit than is Sainte-Beuve.

Professor Giese says that a complete portrait of Lamartine is lacking. He analyzes him and finds that he was a voluptuous spiritualist, a hypochondriac, a victim of *mollesse*, a dreamy idealist easily discouraged, full of illusion, an enemy of reality, enjoying the sweets of love, with no discrimination between fact and fancy, a professional man of letters until politics called him, very vain, (he considered himself "physically superb and morally sublime"), but amiable, guileless, innocent, generous, lacking in malice, feminine, soft-hearted, and affectionate. Professor Ortega considers Blasco Ibáñez a great impressionist, a fine painter of customs, good at descriptions and at the regional novel, a fighter and a painter of fighters and strong men, but unskilled in sociology, philosophy, and psychology, and in woman characters, and a poor writer technically. He admits the influence of Zola, but thinks it has been exaggerated, and he suggests Galdós, Tolstoi, Gorki, d'Annunzio, Pereda, and Hugo as other important influences.

JOHN VAN HORNE

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**ARES ISLÄNDERBUCH** herausgegeben von Wolfgang Golther. Zweite neu bearbeitete Auflage. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1923. (*Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek*. Heft. 1) 80. pp. xxxii, 54.

Thirty years lie between the first and the second editions of this work, during which time some important contributions to the subject have appeared. The editor has given a brief

survey of these in his introduction which is much longer than that of the first edition. They have not substantially changed his views on Ari and his book, except that he has accepted Bley's conclusion as to its having been written sometime between 1122 and 1133, probably nearer the first than the last year. But, as to the character and aim of Ari's work he is virtually of the same opinion as before. He acknowledges the keenness of Heusler's analysis of the contents of the *Libellus* in its relation to the earlier *Íslendingabók*, but he is not willing to accept his views as conclusive. Of course, no solution of the matter can be final unless by some good luck the text of the earlier *Íslendingabók* should turn up. However, if we may accept the extracts to be found in *Beilage III* of the present edition as emanating from Ari's writings, it would seem that certain portions, at least, of the earlier *Íslendingabók* were fuller than those we now have in the *Libellus*, and this does not agree with the author's own words in the prologue, where the augmentation is emphasized. It was upon this that Heusler based his theory that the *Libellus* really was a revised and augmented edition of certain chapters only of the earlier *Íslendingabók*, and in that found the explanation why various important events were not mentioned at all in the *Libellus* or merely touched upon like the establishment of the Fifth Court and the discovery of Vinland.

Unlike the other volumes in the *Saga-Bibliothek* which all have a standardized spelling, the present one shows the author's orthography, so far as it has been possible to reconstruct it. In such reconstructions one can usually detect some inconsistencies, but most of these which were found in the first edition have been corrected in the second. Considering that Ari's writings were among the first in which the Latin alphabet was applied to the Icelandic tongue, it is hardly probable that his spelling was consistent throughout.

The notes are somewhat fuller than in the first edition, but further annotations would have been desirable, especially concerning persons mentioned in the text. I also miss a reference to Vilh. Finsen's divergent opinion about the composition of the *fjórðungsdómar* (pp. 11-12). Some additions have been made to the third *Beilage* which includes extracts from the *saga* literature supposedly derived from Ari's work.

On p. xxiv Jón Loptsson is called the author of the poem *Noregskonungatal*. This is not right; the poem was written by an unknown poet in honor of Jón, who was a grandson of King Magnus Bareleg. On p. xx "Gegen das jahr 1000" is visibly a misprint for 1100.

The paper is of a poor quality, but otherwise the edition is highly commendable and worthy of the editor.

Cornell University

HALLDOR HERMANSSON

**A HISTORICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE GERMAN RELIGIOUS DRAMA.** By Maximilian J. Rudwin, Ph. D. (University of Pittsburgh Studies in Language and Literature) Pittsburgh, 1924. 286 pp.

Jeder der sich für das deutsche Mittelalter interessiert, sei es für Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte im allgemeinen, sei es für das Drama im besonderen, muss Professor Rudwins Bibliographie willkommen heissen. Unter den Forschern Amerikas, die sich mit dem geistlichen Drama beschäftigt haben, scheint ihm das beste Rüstzeug zur Verfügung gestanden zu haben zu einem Werk solchen Umfangs. Geben doch seine eigenen Beiträge zu diesem Gebiete deutscher Literatur—darunter sechs Bücher—genügend Zeugnis, dass er sich eingehend mit dem Studium des geistlichen Dramas beschäftigt hat.

Leider muss vornweg gesagt werden, dass der Titel irreführend ist; denn man erwartet erstens ein Werk in englischer Sprache und zweitens einen literarhistorischen Überblick weit grösseren Umfangs als die sechsseitenlange, allerdings sehr klar und übersichtlich gefasste "Einleitung." Es scheint fast, als ob das Manuskript bis auf einige Zusätze schon Ende des Jahres 1917 (Sieh S. x) druckfertig vorgelegen hätte, und zwar in deutscher Sprache. Einleitung, *make-up*, Anmerkungen, kurz alles bis auf ein jedenfalls später hinzugefügtes Vorwort von fünf Seiten und eine sehr knappgehaltene historische Einleitung zu dem Oberammergauer Passionsspiel, liegt in deutscher Sprache vor. (Vielleicht waren es redaktionelle Rücksichten die den Verfasser von der Durchführung seines ursprünglichen Planes abhielten).—Obwohl Rudwins Buch durch die recht übersichtliche Anlage und Verteilung des Stoffes einen Überblick über das ganze Gebiet des geistlichen Dramas gewährt, so kann sich der Rezensent doch nicht des Gedankens entwehren, dass das Werk unendlich gewonnen hätte, wenn es in seiner Einleitung tiefer auf den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der einzelnen Spielgattungen eingegangen wäre und deren Verwandtschaft zu einander, sowie die der Spiele innerhalb einer bestimmten Gattung, dem Forscher auf diesem Gebiete so klar wie möglich—oft natürlich nur durch Mutmassungen—vor Augen gerückt hätte. Vielleicht hätte dies innerhalb der Titelsammlung geschehen müssen.

Auf mehr denn vierhundert geistliche Spiele (Siehe Register S. 276 ff.) beziehen sich eben so viele Werke grösseren Umfangs, Bücher und Monographien, sodann ungefähr fünfhundert Sammlungen, Zeitschriften, Zeitungen und ähnliche periodisch erscheinende Veröffentlichungen. Wohl mögen dem Verfasser viele kleinere Aufsätze, die in obskuren Blättern vergraben liegen, entgangen sein, und recht bescheiden bemerkt er (S.

144), dass sein Verzeichnis bei weitem nicht vollständig sei, sowie auch, dass keine Auswahl unter den Besprechungen vorgenommen wurde, was allerdings sehr zu wünschen gewesen wäre. Kein Forscher wünscht sich absolute Vollständigkeit, doch jeder ist dem Bibliographen für eine *gesiebte* Literatursammlung zum Danke verpflichtet. Rudwin wollte dem Literaturforscher einfach das fertig hinstellen, was er sich im Laufe seiner Beschäftigung mit dem geistlichen Drama mühselig aufgezeichnet hat, und man muss ihm zum Lobe sagen: Er hat fleissig aufgezeichnet.

Bis zum Reformationsjahr, mit dem der erste Teil dieser Bibliographie endigt, sind die Spiele in rein chronologischer Folge verzeichnet. Dies Verfahren ist auch in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Teiles (1517-1700) beibehalten. Von da an ist die Einteilung mit Recht eine geographische. Nur solche Nachreformationsspiele sind im zweiten Teil angeführt, die wirklich ein Stück mittelalterlichen Geisteslebens darstellen. Hiermit rechtfertigt Rudwin die Aufnahme des Oberammergauer Passionsspiels, auf das allein sechsundzwanzig Seiten kommen.

Auf die nach Spielen angelegte Titelsammlung folgt ein Verzeichnis der in abgekürzter Form angeführten Titel (nach Autoren und Rezensenten alphabetisch geordnet). Hierzu ist zu bemerken, dass auch hier kein Versuch gemacht wurde die Namen der Verfasser in unabgekürzter Form zu geben, und dass, was vom Standpunkt des Bibliographen ein unwissenschaftliches Verfahren verrät, des öfteren sogar Titel in verkürzter Form auftreten. Ausserdem wäre es von grösstem Nutzen für den Forscher, wenn die Seitenzahl der Bücher, Monographien usw. angegeben wäre. Wie soll man denn wissen, ob eine Abhandlung fünfzig oder fünfhundert Seiten lang ist?

Die nächsten fünfzig Seiten enthalten ein Siglenregister mit Angabe von Bandnummer und Seitenzahl der Artikel und Besprechungen. Dann folgen noch ein Spielregister und ein Namenregister der Regisseure und damit endet Rudwins Buch, das mit grossem Aufwand von Mühe und, nach vielen Stichproben zu urteilen, auch mit grosser Sorgfalt verfasst ist.

Zuletzt möchte der Rezensent der Universität von Pittsburgh zu dem neuen Unternehmen gratulieren, das unter dem Titel *Studies in Language and Literature* mit Rudwins Bibliographie ins Leben trat.

B. A. UHLENDORF

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**THE MONIST.** April, 1925. Kant Commemoration Number.

Immanuel Kant was born April 22, 1724. A bicentenary commemoration of his birth was held at Northwestern University December 4th and 5th, 1924. The present issue of *The Monist* is devoted to the publication of the lectures delivered at that time. These lectures, published under the editorship of Professor Edward L. Schaub, afford an excellent introduction to the philosophy of Kant and should be of invaluable aid to the general reader who wishes to gain in non-technical language an insight into the thought, influence and personality of this great intellectual figure. The lectures are designed to cover the points at which the thought of Kant touched and embraced that of his time and to present the general elements in the Kantian philosophy which have become a permanent part of the intellectual tradition of Europe.

The following is a brief summary of the contents of the Volume:

"The Legacy of Kant," by Edward L. Schaub, deals with the subsequent influence of Kant in Germany, France, England, and America, and points out those aspects of the Kantian philosophy by virtue of which it has proved so fruitful. "The Need and Possibility of an Imperativistic Ethics," by G. T. W. Patrick, is a clarion call to return to the Kantian ethics of duty, discipline, reverence, and piety as a counter corrective of the current ethics of evolutionary naturalism. "The Cultural Environment of the Philosophy of Kant," by Martin Schütze, deals with the broader historical context in which Kant's thinking is set and relates his philosophy to the background of specific conditions which evoked it. "Kant, the Seminal Thinker," by Joseph A. Leighton, points out the elements in Kant's philosophy which have proved stimulating and fruitful in the development of subsequent philosophical thinking. "The Religion of Immanuel Kant," by Edward Scribner Ames, treats of Kant's view of the relation of science and religion, of his identification of religion with moral values, and of his quest of God through reflection upon the moral law. "Kant as a Student of Natural Science," by S. G. Martin, deals with Kant's contributions to natural science and shows that his early scientific essays are sufficient to insure for him a permanent place in the history of science. "Kant's Philosophy of Religion," by J. H. Farley, is an elaboration of the Kantian re-affirmation of justification by faith and a contrast of the Kantian view of religion with that of Bernard Bosanquet. "Kant's Philosophy of Law," by E. L. Hinman, outlines Kant's philosophy of the State in relation to its historical antecedents and concludes by relating Kant's analysis of liberty under law to current American political thought. "Kant's Doctrines Concerning Perpetual Peace," by J. F.

Crawford, shows that Kant's teachings concerning universal peace are not incidental but form a constituent part of his whole system of philosophy. "The Sources and Effects in England of Kant's Philosophy of Beauty," by E. F. Carritt, Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Visiting Professor at the State University of Michigan, presents the view that there is little original in Kant's æsthetics and that his philosophy of beauty "owes nearly everything but its systematic form to English writers." "Kant's Copernican Revolution," by Frank Thilly, deals with the implications for science and knowledge of Kant's view of the mind as essentially an active and constructive agency.

M. T. McCLURE

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*WOMEN CHARACTERS IN RICHARD WAGNER.* Brink, Louise. Nervous and Mental Disease Publ. Co. New York and Washington 1924. pp. XV and 125. (Columbia dissertation).

The foreword and the first 37 pages are primarily an exposition of the theories of Sigmund Freud and his adherents and followers, or rather a presentation of the rudiments of these theories essential to the uninitiated for an intelligent perusal of Miss Brink's study. Sexual life is made the core of human existence, and psychoanalysis is, of course, regarded as an infallible science. Psychology claimed long before the days of Freud an insight into the subconscious; the psychoanalyst goes one step farther, and he can today trace the hidden paths by which human instincts from their dual source come to the surface with such never erring certainty, as though they were recorded as plainly as the main arteries of travel on an automobile map. Miss Brink, surely, is able in almost all instances to determine whether certain features in the *Ring of the Nibelung*—she has confined her investigations to this cycle—have their source in the fecal (nutritive) or in the reproductive interests. On the whole her conclusions seem reasonable and not so far out of the ordinary. The novelty consists chiefly in the terminology and the classification under these two heads. Those who have not yet sworn to the standards of Freud, to be sure, will raise many a question and, possibly, protest. Thus we read: "The first individual experience in life lies in the prenatal home of absolute protection within the mother's womb. There, within the waters of birth, which, in the *Ring*, find their symbolization in the river Rhine, the child lives in undisturbed contentment." Or, in a similar vein: "There are nine daughters, in fact, who shall live only to perform the father's service. The poet seems intuitively to have chosen from the unconscious a number which signifies that these



daughters are the multiplied representatives of the mother whose aid Wotan desired. Dream analysis reveals the number nine, perhaps a reference to the months of intrauterine life, to be associated in the unconscious with a mother fixation." Instances of this nature are frequent in Miss Brink's dissertation. Incest, sadism, and the like, all figure in the psycho-analytic presentation of the various elements of the unconscious embodied in Wagner's works, and, I suppose, all the arguments are convincing to those who have obtained the proper point of view. One is reminded of a situation in "Peer Gynt." The Old Man of Dovre assures Peer:

We troll-folk are less black, than we're painted;  
That's another distinction between you and us.

And when Peer in spite of all argument cannot see things his way, he suggests:

In your left eye, first,  
I'll scratch you a bit, till you see awry;  
But all that you see will seem fine and brave.  
And then I'll just cut your right window-pane  
out—

See, here are the glazier's tools.  
Blinkers you'll wear, like a raging bull.  
Then you'll recognize that your bride is lovely,—  
And ne'er will your vision be troubled, as now,  
With bell-cows harping and sows that dance.

The only trouble is, stupid Peer objects to the operation and is not willing to exchange his point of view, and one cannot altogether blame him. —Some statements made by Miss Brink sound rather dogmatic, even where they are backed up by the authority of Freud or some other of the major prophets of psychoanalysis. But as has been said before: in essence most of her findings are plausible, and, if viewed from a different angle and couched in more familiar language, they would probably be acceptable to most readers. Since knowledge, however, is, supposedly the goal of human life, and the present age seems to be fascinated with the new outlook revealed by psychoanalysis, a dissertation of this character should not surprise anyone. If students of literature only will take the pains to acquaint themselves with the rudiments of this new science, they will find most fertile fields of truly enormous extent for the application of their acumen and the display of their ingenuity. The race, or, at least the civilized portion of it, will have to pass, for better or worse, also through this phase of intellectual development.

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**ENGLISCHE PHILOSOPHIE: IHR WESEN UND IHRE ENTWICKLUNG**, Von Dr. Else Wentscher. Teubner, Leipzig, 1924. Pp. 138.

This volume is a recent addition to the *Handbücher der englisch-amerikanischen Kultur* edited by Professor W. Dibelius, primarily with the laudable object of assisting the educated German public to a better understanding of the English-speaking world. To this end the book will no doubt render some service, though its usefulness for such a purpose is limited by the fact that it gives no account of the new and significant philosophical movements of the last thirty years. The history ends with "der jüngste englische Idealismus"—of the early eighteen-nineties; Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* is the latest work summarized. "J" C. S. Schiller is mentioned only as the author of *Riddles of the Sphinx*; his later phase as the English protagonist of pragmatism is ignored, as is the entire neo-realistic movement now dominant in British philosophy. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the series will include also a volume dealing with contemporary British and American thought. Such a volume would be a much more important aid to the intellectual *rapprochement* of the German- and English-speaking peoples.

The present book offers little not already accessible in English. Though much of it is competently done, it is a conventional treatment of the subject, and repeats some traditional, while adding a few original, errors. One of the former is the supposition that Locke was an empiricist (pp. 20-21). It is amazing how this notion—wholly incongruous with the part of the *Essay* (Bk. IV) in which the nature of knowledge is directly discussed—persists. Few historians of philosophy seem to understand that Locke, and most of the eighteenth century writers influenced by him, combined a sensationalistic view about the mode of *ingress* of individual ideas into consciousness, with a Platonistic belief in the possibility of an intuitive or *a priori* knowledge of inherent and universal relations of implication *between* some of the ideas thus acquired. "General and certain truths," Locke insists, "are found only in the habitudes and relations of abstract ideas; a sagacious and methodical application of our thoughts for the finding of these relations is the only way to discover all that can be put with truth and certainty concerning them, into general propositions." As for generalizations got "only by experience and history," these are "but judgement and opinion, not knowledge and certainty"; so that we may "suspect that natural philosophy is not capable of being made a science" (*Essay*, IV, ch. 12). Dr. Wentscher, in some five pages on Locke's theoretical philosophy, says of the Fourth Book only that it

"beschäftigt sich mit religiösen Fragen und behandelt diese völlig im Geist der Vernunftreligion, des Deismus." The second part of the sentence is also an error. The essence of deism was the assertion of the sufficiency of natural religion, and the consequent rejection of revelation; Locke (IV, ch. 18) expressly repudiates this position.

An amusingly inverted account of Mandeville's ethics is given, whereby he almost assumes the edifying air of a precursor of Kant. As against that looser moralist, Shaftesbury, who "failed to see that virtue is very often to be attained *nur um den Preis der Selbstüberwindung und gegen die natürlichen Neigungen*," Mandeville "placed his finger on the weak spot of eudæmonism; he reminds us that morality and individual happiness have nothing to do with one another, aye, that virtue does not exist to make men happy." He thus points the way toward, though he does not himself achieve, "a positive solution of the ethical problem" in "eine vom Glückseligkeitsstreben freie Grundlage der Ethik." The author of the *Fable of the Bees* would assuredly have been maliciously gratified at the success of his irony in this instance—especially since it is at the expense of that "noble writer, the Lord Shaftesbury." Mandeville has, after all, one thing in common with Plato—he should not be expounded by exegetes without a sense of humor. I mention only one further error, which should cause some heart-burning in the city of St. Louis. The "idealistic school that arose in England" in the 1860s is credited with the founding of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*—which was, of course, in reality the organ of a neo-Hegelian movement that had its beginnings a decade earlier in the heart of the Mississippi Valley, as a joint effect of the German immigration of that period and of the influence of New England Transcendentalism. The author apparently supposes this periodical to be still in existence; it has been dead these thirty years.

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